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# THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES: A PROGRAMME

“THE care which a nation devotes to the preservation of the monuments of its past may serve as a true measure of the degree of civilization to which it has attained.”<sup>1</sup> The chief monument of the history of a nation is its archives, the preservation of which is recognized in all civilized countries as a natural and proper function of government. No government has expended larger sums of money for the purchase of historical papers (many of which should never have passed from the possession of the state), or made more lavish appropriations for the publication of historical documents (too often selected at random and ill edited), than that of the United States; and no government has more signally failed in the fundamental and far more imperative duty of preserving and rendering accessible to the student the first and foremost of all the sources of the nation's history, the national archives. It is to a review of this failure and of its consequences, and especially to a consideration of the remedies to be adopted, that the present article is devoted.

The archives of the federal government are composed of the letters, orders, reports, accounts, and other documents produced in the course of transacting the public business, whether located within the District of Columbia, or wherever the operations of the government extend. The value of these archives may truly be said to be inestimable. In the transaction of current business those of recent date are in constant use while those of earlier origin are frequently referred to. They constitute the chief protection of the state against unfounded or ill-founded claims. In international discussions or disputes they are the principal source from which arguments may be

<sup>1</sup> *Les Archives Principales de Moscou du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères* (Moscow, 1898), p. 3.

drawn to support the contentions of the government. On them are based the titles to millions of acres of land and to thousands of patent rights. The actual money loss, to say nothing of the inconvenience, that would result to the government and to citizens as well, by the destruction of any considerable part of the federal archives, can hardly be calculated.<sup>2</sup>

One might suppose it unnecessary in this connection to dwell at length upon the historical value of the archives, yet there seem to be reasons for doubting that this is sufficiently appreciated, even by those engaged in historical work. For nearly ten years the writer has been in a position where he is nearly certain to learn of any serious historical research that is being conducted in Washington archives, yet for that entire period he can recall not more than two score of such investigations.<sup>3</sup> When one reflects upon the hundreds who frequent the Public Record Office or the Archives Nationales in the course of a single year one is strongly tempted to conclude that those who should be the best friends of the archives have but slight appreciation of their worth. Naturally certain classes of material have less interest than others. Files of money-order receipts do not have the same attraction for the historian as do the volumes of diplomatic correspondence, and the archives of the Department of the Navy are more frequented than those of the Land Office. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that the records of the Department of State and of the Navy and War departments contain all of the historical material in the federal archives. It may be worth while at this point to pass in review certain groups of records in the different departments and bureaus that are deserving of greater attention from investigators than they have received.

In the Department of State the diplomatic archives although well known have in reality been but little used. Here is a group of more than three thousand volumes, comprising the despatches from diplomatic agents abroad, the instructions sent to them, and the correspondence with the agents of foreign powers resident in the United

<sup>2</sup> "The destruction by fire of any one of the executive departments would cause almost irreparable injury, confusion, and delay in the transaction of its business, and this is especially true of the Treasury. This department is the great clearing house of the Government. Here all its debts are paid, and here are preserved the evidences of such payment . . . in the event of their destruction numberless claims against the government would at once arise to embarrass it." (*Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury*, 1890, p. xlvii.) An almost unlimited number of similar citations could be made, all emphasizing the purely material value to the government of its archives. See for example *History of the Movement for a National Archives Building* (Sen. Doc. 297, 62 Cong., 2 sess.).

<sup>3</sup> Exclusive of work done in the Library of Congress where collections are not, for the most part, archival, and exclusive also of the *service commandé* of the Carnegie Institution.

States. The idea seems to have obtained that a large part of this material has been published, but in the part most fully exploited—that prior to 1828 as published in the *American State Papers*—hardly a fourth of the documents has been published.<sup>4</sup> Another group of material, almost unknown and even less used, is the series of some four thousand volumes known as the Consular Archives, which contain the correspondence of the department with our consular officers abroad and with foreign officers within the United States. Many of the consular despatches are the work of keen observers and contain detailed and valuable accounts of conditions and events in the vicinity of their respective posts, especially of such matters as affect American interests. The character of this material is well illustrated by the group of documents recently printed in this journal respecting Toussaint Louverture and the relations between the United States and Santo Domingo.<sup>5</sup> Another group of quite unused material in the Department of State is composed of the two series Domestic Letters and Miscellaneous Letters which together fill about 1,500 volumes. Here is to be found correspondence between the Secretary of State and other officials, both national and state, relating to an infinite variety of subjects, such for example as the suppression of the slave-trade and opium traffic, police service in Asiatic waters, return of fugitive slaves, Mexican troubles, international boundaries, etc. In the Department of State are also papers relating to the administration of the territories,<sup>6</sup> applications for office,<sup>7</sup> and the archives of the Russian-American Company, some seventy-five volumes, in Russian, covering the years 1817 to 1867, and transferred to Washington upon the cession of Alaska. That the various groups which have just been mentioned have been so little used is the more surprising when one considers that they are all in a department where students have long been accustomed to work and where better accommodations are provided than in most of the other departments.

Turning now to the Department of War, we find a very different state of affairs. It is here that the greatest concentration of the

<sup>4</sup> A. C. McLaughlin, *Report on Diplomatic Archives* (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1904), p. 4. For a fuller account of the archives of the various departments and offices see Van Tyne and Leland, *Guide to the Archives of the Government of the United States in Washington* (second ed., Carnegie Institution, 1907), or W. G. Leland, "The Archives of the Federal Government", in Columbia Hist. Soc., *Records*, XI, 71-100 (Washington, 1908).

<sup>5</sup> AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVI, 64-101.

<sup>6</sup> See David M. Parker, *Calendar of Papers in Washington Archives relating to the Territories of the United States* (Carnegie Institution, 1911).

<sup>7</sup> See Gaillard Hunt, *Calendar of Applications and Recommendations for Office during the Presidency of George Washington* (Washington, 1901).

records has been effected and most of the archives are in the office of the adjutant-general. For years, however, no one not connected with the department has been permitted to have access to the records, and it is not surprising therefore that little use has been made of them—except such as have been printed—for historical purposes. It has never been possible even to know with exactness what the war archives comprise. Revolutionary records there are, but in no very great quantity; the correspondence of the Secretary of War is complete since 1800; the records of the regular army and of the volunteer armies are complete since about 1805; and there are also the captured archives of the Confederate government, the records of the Freedmen's Bureau, as well as much else which until within a few months has been wholly inaccessible to students. In other offices of the Department of War, however, a more liberal policy has obtained and the student might have—but seldom has—made good use of considerable material. Thus the office of the inspector-general contains several volumes of early inspection reports, which present an admirable picture of the condition of the army between 1812 and 1836. In the office of the judge-advocate-general are the proceedings of all general courts-martial, and courts of inquiry, while the office of the chief of engineers possesses over 50,000 maps and charts, and the Bureau of Insular Affairs has the records of the Philippine insurrection and of the occupation of Cuba.

In the Navy Department, where students have long received generous treatment, there is material which of late years is becoming better known. Especially is this true of the correspondence between naval officers and the department, which begins in 1802 and fills about three thousand volumes arranged in various series. The greatest variety of subjects is touched on in these letters: Mediterranean affairs, difficulties with the Barbary powers, protection of American commerce, the slave-trade, Central and South American affairs, protection of American missionaries in Syria and Egypt in 1850, the reception of the Hungarian refugees in 1851, scientific and exploring expeditions, negotiations with Japan, and countless other matters are treated in these volumes. Other groups consist of the log-books of the naval vessels, the records of the navy-commissioners, 1815-1842, proceedings of courts-martial and boards of inquiry, and the records of the Marine Corps.

In the Treasury Department the correspondence of the secretary's office—several thousand volumes—constitutes a rich and unexplored field. Such matters are touched on as the removal of the public money to banks, issues of treasury notes, tonnage duties on Mexican vessels, the French indemnity, public lands, the embargo, act, nulli-



fication, the United States banks, etc. It is needless to say that the student of public finance, of customs administration, and of similar subjects can hardly hope to make a thorough study of his topic without prolonged use of this material. Other series there are relating to the French spoliation claims, Southern claims, captured and abandoned property, and issues of notes and bonds, and mention should not fail to be made of the five hundred volumes of loan-office records, 1784-1855, nor of the enormous masses of records in the offices of the auditors.

The correspondence of the Postmaster-General is nearly complete from 1789 and reflects with remarkable fidelity conditions throughout the country at various periods. Especially is it valuable in the study of the westward movement, for the post-office must keep pace with population.

In the Department of Justice the correspondence of the Attorney-General has been preserved since 1817. It deals with a great variety of matters, such for example as proposed legislation of all sorts, land grants to the railroads, frauds in the collection of the revenues, suppression of the Ku Klux movement, protection of voters in federal elections, the Fenian uprising, the Cuban insurrection, filibustering expeditions against Mexico, appointments of federal attorneys, marshals, judges, and clerks, land titles in acquired territory, the execution of the fugitive slave law, and countless other subjects.

In the Department of the Interior are to be found some of the most valuable series, from the student's point of view, in the federal archives. In the office of the secretary, in addition to the general correspondence, are special groups, such as the territorial papers. In the Indian Office are thousands of boxes of letters, reports, accounts, and other papers relating to every phase of the conduct of Indian affairs and history.<sup>8</sup> The records of the General Land Office are among the most valuable of the federal archives and the history of the states that have been carved out of the public domain cannot be fully known until students have made ample use of this source.

The Department of Commerce and Labor is of recent creation but it is in part composed of offices that have long been in existence. Thus its archives include the records of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, rich in maps and correspondence, the records of the Bureau of Navigation with its series of "marine documents" which constitute a record of American vessels since 1815, and the original census schedules—beginning in 1790—of the Bureau of the Census.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> About the only work yet produced that is based on this material is Miss Annie H. Abel's thesis on *The History of Events resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi* (Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report*, 1908).

<sup>9</sup> The schedules of 1790 have been published by the bureau.

The Department of Agriculture, the Civil Service Commission, and the Interstate Commerce Commission all possess records which the student may not overlook, and the records of the courts, somewhat better known because so constantly consulted by lawyers, would well repay a closer acquaintance on the part of the historian.

The archives of the House of Representatives and of the Senate abound in valuable material. Petitions and accompanying papers, drafts of bills, reports of committees, and proceedings of hearings are among the more interesting classes of papers, and in spite of the six thousand or more volumes of *Congressional Documents* that have thus far been printed, the student of almost any phase of our national history may search with profit among the manuscript archives of Congress.

Having thus considered the material and historical value of the federal archives we naturally inquire what measures the government has taken to ensure their safe-keeping and to render them accessible, not only for administrative use but for historical purposes. It takes but a small amount of space to set forth the general legislation on this subject.

The head of each department is authorized to prescribe regulations for the custody, use, and preservation of the records and papers of his department.<sup>10</sup> Provision is made for the punishment of any one who alters, forges, or counterfeits any public record for the purpose of defrauding the government,<sup>11</sup> of any person who wilfully and knowingly steals or destroys any record or paper filed in a public office,<sup>12</sup> or of any public official who withdraws or destroys any paper or record in his custody.<sup>13</sup> Copies of books, records, papers, or documents in any of the executive departments authenticated by the seal of the department are to be admitted as evidence equally with the original.<sup>14</sup> Accumulations of "files of papers" not needed in the transaction of current business and possessed of no permanent value or historical interest, are to be reported to Congress by the head of the department in which they exist, and are to be examined by a joint committee of the two houses. If the committee finds the papers to be indeed "useless" it shall report to Congress and the head of the department shall thereupon sell them as waste paper or otherwise dispose of them.<sup>15</sup> Finally it is provided:

<sup>10</sup> *Rev. Stat.*, § 161.

<sup>11</sup> Act of April 5, 1866. *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 12; *Rev. Stat.*, §§ 5418, 5479.

<sup>12</sup> Act of February 26, 1853. *Statutes at Large*, X, 170; *Rev. Stat.*, § 5403.

<sup>13</sup> Act of February 26, 1853. *Statutes at Large*, X, 170; *Rev. Stat.*, § 5408.

<sup>14</sup> *Rev. Stat.*, § 882.

<sup>15</sup> Act of February 16, 1889. *Statutes at Large*, XXV, 672. Act of March 2, 1895. *Id.*, XXVIII, 933.

That facilities for study and research in the Government Departments, the Library of Congress, the National Museum, the Zoological Park, the Bureau of Ethnology, the Fish Commission, the Botanical Gardens, and similar institutions hereafter established shall be afforded to scientific investigators and to duly qualified individuals, students, and graduates of institutions of learning in the several States and Territories, as well as in the District of Columbia, under such rules and restrictions as the heads of the Departments and Bureaus mentioned may prescribe.<sup>16</sup>

These provisions of law seem very satisfactory and might conceivably provide a sufficient framework for a system of archive administration. But it is hard to make bricks without straw, and archives, which accumulate with astonishing rapidity, can not be properly preserved and made accessible without a place in which to keep them, and as yet that place has not been provided. This failure is not due to the fact that the matter has not been called to the attention of Congress. For over thirty years Presidents and heads of departments, as well as historical scholars, have repeatedly urged upon the legislative branch the necessity of making better provision for the records, but thus far without result. The inevitable effect of this apathy on the part of Congress has been to bring about the well-nigh intolerable situation which to-day confronts official and student alike.

This situation has frequently been described and nowhere more accurately nor in more vigorous terms than in official reports,<sup>17</sup> but we cannot pass over it lightly in the present connection. The great growth of the business of the government, the expansion of the departments, the creation of new bureaus, the assumption of new functions, have all combined to render quarters that were none too ample a quarter of a century ago almost uninhabitable to-day. To this state of congestion with all its attendant inconvenience the accumulation of the records has contributed its full share. The effect upon the archives of this overcrowding has been most disastrous. Those no longer needed in the transaction of current business have, naturally enough, been considered an incumbrance, and, if they could not be destroyed as "useless papers", they have been stored wherever space could be found for them. Thus they are in cellars, and subcellars, and under terraces, in attics and over porticos, in corridors and closed-up doorways, piled in heaps upon the floor, or crowded into alcoves: this, if they are not farmed out and stored in such rented structures as abandoned car-barns, storage warehouses, deserted theatres, or ancient but more humble edifices that should long

<sup>16</sup> Act of March 3, 1901. *Id.*, XXXI, 1039.

<sup>17</sup> See especially *House Report 1767*, 56 Cong., 1 sess.

ago have served their last useful purpose.<sup>18</sup> Nor do the records in current use fare much better. They are, whenever that is possible, a little nearer the clerks who must consult them, but the line of demarcation between the current and uncurrent records is not a sharp one and the former are gradually absorbed into the mass of the latter.

Such a state of affairs cannot exist without subjecting the archives to real and grave dangers. The danger from fire is an ever present one and is clearly set forth in a document of recent origin emanating from the House Committee on Buildings and Grounds.<sup>19</sup> A subcommittee on fire protection after personal investigation and many hearings "found that as a rule the precautions against fire in public buildings were lamentably deficient. In some of the buildings the danger of untold destruction both of life and property is immediate and appalling. Priceless records are in momentary danger of annihilation by fire, being kept for the most part on wooden shelves and cases in non fire-proof structures. The loss of Geological Survey records, Land Office records, historical papers dating from the beginning of the government, records of the Patent Office, Civil Service Commission, and other offices could hardly be measured in terms of millions, and yet, unless wiser measures are followed than at present obtain, we may witness at any moment a loss of Government property beside which the recent Albany State capitol fire would be insignificant."<sup>20</sup>

The apprehensions of the committee are only too well grounded. The archives most exposed to danger are probably those in certain of the rented buildings which are little better than fire-traps, but even in such structures as the Treasury building and the State, War, and Navy building the danger is by no means slight. While these buildings are supposedly fire-proof or nearly so, they are full of inflammable material, and the attics, which are generally packed with records, would spring into blaze, especially during the hot weather, upon slight provocation.

Nor is the past experience of the government with respect to fires reassuring. In November, 1800, the building occupied by the War Department together with all the records was destroyed.<sup>21</sup> Two

<sup>18</sup> The principal rented buildings or parts of buildings used mainly for storage are: old car-barns at 1st and B streets, S. W.; Cox Building, 1707-1709 New York Avenue, N. W.; storage buildings, 920 E Street, N. W.; storage buildings, 418 10th Street, N. W.; 1334 F Street, N. W.; 1338 G Street, N. W.; Union Building. Many other buildings might be mentioned which are used for both offices and storage but mainly for the former. *House Doc.* 785, 61 Cong., 2 sess.

<sup>19</sup> *Hearings and Reports of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds of the House of Representatives.* 62 Cong., 1 sess. (Washington, 1911).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, preface, p. iv.

<sup>21</sup> *Am. State Papers, Misc.*, I. 232.

months later a fire in the Treasury Department destroyed a considerable part of the records in the auditor's office.<sup>22</sup> The losses in 1814, when Washington was occupied by the British, were not great either in extent or importance, except in the House of Representatives,<sup>23</sup> and in any case need not be considered in this connection as they were due not to negligence but to military incapacity. One of the most serious fires was that of March 31, 1833, which destroyed practically all the correspondence of the Secretary of the Treasury.<sup>24</sup> Three years later, the Post-Office records relating to the establishment of post-offices and the appointment of postmasters as well as the journal and orders of the Postmaster-General were burned, together with nearly all the records and models in the Patent Office.<sup>25</sup> The Patent Office was again visited by fire in 1877 and lost 87,000 models and 40,000 sets of photographic copies of drawings, but no records or files.<sup>26</sup> In 1880 a fire started in the War Department but caused no loss of archives, an experience which was repeated a few months later.<sup>27</sup> There have been no serious fires of late years, although several small ones have occurred in the Geological Survey<sup>28</sup> and the Pension Bureau,<sup>29</sup> but this immunity must be attributed solely to good luck and is quite undeserved.

Fire, however, is not the only enemy of archives. Quite or nearly as effective although slower in action are damp and dust, extremes of temperature, lack of ventilation, rough handling, and vandalism. From all of these the archives have sorely suffered. Until recently the archives of the Senate were stored beneath the west terrace of the Capitol, and the writer recalls having found hundreds of volumes covered with mould and literally soaked through. The records of the office of the Treasury auditor are in the sub-basement of the Treasury building, where they absorb moisture during the summer and dry up during the winter while the heating apparatus is in operation.<sup>30</sup> Other Treasury records are stored under the grass plot at the north entrance, in close neighborhood to the large fountain erected there. The basement of the building, occupied originally by the

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 241-242.

<sup>23</sup> *Id.*, II, 245, 248-252. It is nevertheless the fashion in the departments when papers antedating September, 1814, cannot be found to attribute their loss to the depredations of the invader.

<sup>24</sup> *House Ex. Doc. 22, 23 Cong., 2 sess.*

<sup>25</sup> Fire of December 15, 1836. *House Report 134, 24 Cong., 2 sess.*

<sup>26</sup> Fire of September 24. *House Ex. Doc. 2, 45 Cong., 1 sess.*

<sup>27</sup> *History of the Movement for a National Archives Building*, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> *Hearings and Reports of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds* no. 4.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 10.

<sup>30</sup> See testimony of chief clerk of Treasury Department in *Hearing before the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, U. S. Senate*, March 1, 1912.

Corcoran Art Gallery but in recent years by the Court of Claims, is also employed as an archive depot, but after a heavy rain those who consult the archives must navigate through several inches of water.<sup>31</sup>

In all the principal departmental buildings in Washington records in enormous quantities are stored under the roofs where they quickly dry up under the influence of the summer heat and before long become so brittle that they fall to pieces when examined. Other records are in close proximity to steam pipes or heating flues, and suffer a similar fate. It is the exception to find even an effort made to protect papers from dust, while the War and Treasury records that fill several floors of a storage warehouse<sup>32</sup> are gradually deteriorating from the effects of eternal darkness and lack of ventilation.

In consideration of the conditions that have been described it will occasion no surprise to be told that the federal archives have suffered from vandalism. It avails but little to make the theft or mutilation of records a felony when they are freely exposed to the ravages of the first comer. In many offices the older records bear evidence of having suffered under the autograph hunter. The archives of the House of Representatives have been especially ill used and it is the tradition of the file room that the open fire of the "file clerk" was once kept going for an entire winter with bundles of petitions and other papers. Not many years ago a laborer employed by the Treasury Department raided its archives in search of internal-revenue stamps and, to remove the evidences of his operations, destroyed a large quantity of vouchers.<sup>33</sup> More recently still a negro was found endeavoring to dispose of two sacks of Indian Office records as waste paper.<sup>34</sup> While the writer has heard many stories of depredations of the sort described and has seen clear evidence of many others it is highly probable that far more are committed than are ever discovered or perhaps even suspected.

Another source of danger is in the frequent transfer of large masses of records from one place to another. Undoubtedly there have been serious losses in the archives of the Indian Office in this way, while the archives of the various auditors seldom know what it is to remain long in one place. Not only does this frequent handling occasion the actual loss of documents, but it subjects the archives to a great deal of unnecessary wear and they suffer accordingly.

Such conditions not only expose the government to the great

<sup>31</sup> See testimony of Miss Rosa Chiles. *Hearing*, etc., March 1, 1912.

<sup>32</sup> 920 E Street, N. W.

<sup>33</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 236, 57 Cong., 1 sess.

<sup>34</sup> Information furnished Miss Chiles.

financial loss that might be occasioned by the destruction of certain bodies of records but they actually do occasion the government, every working day of the year, a heavy loss through the impairment of efficiency and the obstruction of business. The archives of the office of the Secretary of the Treasury are stored in several widely separated places and under conditions that make their proper arrangement a physical impossibility. Yet these archives, even the most ancient ones, are frequently needed in the transaction of current business. It then becomes the duty of the file clerk to institute a search for the desired papers, a search which in many cases is carried on for days before they are found or finally given up as hopelessly lost. In small offices where no one clerk is especially charged with the care of the records the time lost in searching for papers amounts in the course of a year to a very considerable item.

But the government is not the only sufferer from this state of affairs. It is quite time to consider the sad plight of the student who desires to pursue historical, economic, or scientific studies in the federal archives. The right of the student to use these archives for proper purposes, governmental interests being fully safeguarded, does not, one may assume, need to be supported by exhaustive argument in the pages of a journal devoted to the advancement of historical studies. Should it be questioned by the layman, the official, or the lawmaker, it may be replied that it is a right generally conceded in the civilized countries of the world and expressly confirmed in the United States by the law of March 3, 1901, already cited,<sup>35</sup> which directs that facilities for study and research in government departments and elsewhere shall be provided to proper persons, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the heads of departments. The question of right being thus disposed of let us see what are the conditions under which the student must exercise the privileges accorded him. First he must locate the material he wishes to see, and this is not always an easy task. Each office—frequently each division of an office—maintains its own records.<sup>36</sup> Offices have been abolished and new ones created, they have been transferred from one department to another, their functions have been modified or redistributed, and while in theory and law the records have followed the office or the function, they have in practice frequently failed to do so, and in

<sup>35</sup> See above, p. 7.

<sup>36</sup> The War Department has a general depot in the office of the adjutant-general, but the records of several offices are not included in it. The Navy archives most likely to be used by the historical student are in a single office, while the most interesting records of the Department of State are in two bureaus. Elsewhere there is little concentration of records and there are in Washington considerably over a hundred archive depots, large and small.

some instances have been lost sight of for years, or even appear to have dropped out of existence altogether.<sup>37</sup> Assuming however that the investigator is able to determine the probable location of his material, he must then seek authorization to use it from the head of the department in whose archives it is to be found. The granting of this permission will depend largely upon the nature of the material. Although there is no chronological dead-line the student will find that access to records antedating the Civil War is readily enough granted, but less readily to those of later date, but there is no uniformity of practice in this respect.<sup>38</sup> Armed then with the needed

<sup>37</sup> Not long ago some 760 file boxes of Indian Office archives came to light in the attic of the Interior building where they appear to have lain since 1876. For years there was an informal dispute between the State and Interior departments respecting the transfer of the territorial papers when the administration of territorial affairs was transferred from the former to the latter department in 1873. The State Department asserted that the papers had been transferred, the Interior Department asserted that they had never been received. As a matter of fact they appear not to have left the State Department. It is the tradition in the office of the chief of engineers in the War Department that the records of that office were sent to the Capitol about 1850 and never again heard of. This is quite possible as the records now in the office prior to 1850 are very incomplete and there appears to be no trace of such material in the Capitol.

<sup>38</sup> Many classes of records are regarded as confidential, such for example as those of the commissioner of internal revenue, the Secret Service, the Bureau of Corporations, etc. Other classes of records are freely opened to inspection to very recent dates. Much depends upon departmental or office tradition. The peculiar case of the War Department however calls for special attention. As already stated, most of the military records were some years ago brought together in the office of the adjutant-general in the custody of an officer who refused to allow any one not connected with the department to have access to them. The principal official use made of these records was the answering of inquiries from the Pension Bureau respecting the military service of applicants for pensions. An elaborate "card-record-index"—in reality a copy, on cards, of muster rolls and other records—was devised by the officer referred to, whereby the transaction of business was notably facilitated. The same officer had likewise brought to a successful termination the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* and had in preparation similar compilations respecting the other wars of the United States. He maintained that the delicate condition of the records, the complexity of the "index", lack of room and clerks, as well as his purpose to publish everything of historical value, all made it impossible to allow students to have access to the records. This policy of exclusion was carried so far as to refuse to a state which had loaned certain records to the department the privilege of having them copied at its own expense. Under certain conditions queries respecting the military service of individuals were answered provided the information was desired for the purpose of securing a pension or of joining an hereditary society (see War Department, Orders, February 23, 1897). Soon after the relief of this officer from duty as adjutant-general, the regulations were modified and duly accredited students are now allowed access to the records (see War Department, Orders, March 26, 1912). It may seriously be questioned whether the former adjutant-general was not disregarding the law of March 3, 1901, already cited, as well as the provision in the law of March 2, 1889 (*Statutes at Large*, XXV, 971) which directed that after the publication of the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, the original papers should be accessible to the public.



authorization the student seeks out the chief of the bureau where the archives in question are believed to be. Here he is turned over to the file clerk if there is one, if not to the clerk who has acquired the reputation of being most familiar with the records. The actual search now begins. Such indexes or finding lists as may be available have generally been compiled for office purposes only, and while they may serve admirably such uses they are more often a source of confusion than of aid to the uninitiated investigator. The chaotic state of the classification of many of the older records furnishes still another cause of perplexity. Nearly every office has, from time to time, changed the system of classifying and arranging its archives. Series are found which do not seem to connect with any group of earlier or later documents, while other series have been known by different names at different times. If, at last, after a search which has probably been conducted with the aid of a ladder and a portable light, the material sought for is found, it may be used at some improvised table space amid the clatter of typewriters, the coming and going of employees, and the transaction of the public business.<sup>39</sup> Should the student's investigation lead him into the archives of other offices the entire process must commence over again. When he has completed his work he cannot, ordinarily, be sure that he has found all the material that would be of service. Other documents, as valuable to him as those he has located, may be boxed up and stored in some inaccessible place. Even parts of the very series he has been examining may have strayed into another office and fail to come to his attention.<sup>40</sup>

These then are the conditions that confront the student who would make use of the federal archives. It is small wonder that he is more inclined to carry on his investigation in London and Paris and the Hague than to encounter the hardships he must endure in Washington. And yet he is not wholly blameless for the conditions. So long as he remains the *avis rarissima* of the archives he must not expect large provision for his accommodation.

The review that we have just made of the situation must convince student and layman alike that conditions have become intolerable. It

<sup>39</sup> Conditions of work in the Department of State, especially in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, are much better than those just described, for here at least the student will find an entire table and reasonable quiet. In the office of Naval War Records they are still more satisfactory. Nowhere however does one find the workroom and the attendant that are considered indispensable in European archives.

<sup>40</sup> *E. g.*, the territorial papers are divided between the Bureau of Rolls and Library and the Bureau of Indexes and Archives in the Department of State, as are also the papers of international claims commissions.

remains to seek the remedy. Two remedies have already been attempted by Congress, but in their very nature they are but makeshifts and strike not at the cause of the trouble but at its symptoms. They are on the one hand the destruction of "useless papers", as provided for in the act of February 16, 1889,<sup>41</sup> and on the other the transfer to the Library of Congress of records having especial value.<sup>42</sup> The first of these measures affords a certain relief but it is too slight to have any marked effect upon the general situation. Its application moreover is not without danger, as evidenced by the recommendation of some "ten tons" of Confederate archives for destruction.<sup>43</sup> The second measure affords a still slighter relief, as the transfers that have been made to the Library of Congress have not rendered available any appreciable amount of space in the departments, and its application is also not without danger. One of the soundest principles of archive economy is that of the *respect des fonds*. To disintegrate a series of archives, selecting from it certain documents for preservation in a special depot, and leaving the remainder of the series to its fate, is one of the most dangerous of operations. Not only does it destroy the unity of the series, but it favors the supposition, almost invariably incorrect, that the selected documents contain all of value, and that the rest of the series is worthless. This objection does not, of course, apply to the transfer of collections which have found their way into the various offices and which may be termed "historical manuscripts" as distinguished from archives. These indeed find their proper place in the Library of Congress.<sup>44</sup>

One other measure that has been resorted to, less as a remedy than as an avowed makeshift, is the storage of the records in rented buildings. This not only, as has already been pointed out, increases many fold the dangers to which the archives are exposed, obstructs the transaction of public business, and makes whole masses of material inaccessible to the investigator, but, from the point of view of the national purse, is extravagant and wasteful. In 1906 the government paid an annual rent of \$37,000 for space, within the District of Columbia, which was used for storage purposes solely, to say nothing of the rental of office space which was used only in part for

<sup>41</sup> See above, p. 6.

<sup>42</sup> Under authority of the act of February 25, 1903 (*Statutes at Large*, XXXII. 865).

<sup>43</sup> See *Sen. Report 1083*, 51 Cong., 1 sess. For references to lists of papers recommended for destruction, to 1907, see Van Tyne and Leland, *op. cit.*, under the various offices. The danger of destroying material of historical value is lessened by a recent executive order directing that lists of "useless papers" be submitted to the Librarian of Congress before transmitting them to Congress.

<sup>44</sup> For transfers to the Library of Congress see Van Tyne and Leland, pp. 257 ff.; also the annual reports of the Librarian of Congress.

storage.<sup>45</sup> In 1910 annual rentals aggregating half a million dollars were paid in the District by the government.<sup>46</sup> It is impossible to state exactly what part of this amount should be charged to the storage of the archives, but \$50,000 would be a low estimate and \$75,000 would probably be more nearly correct. Inasmuch as the government can borrow money at three per cent. this is assuredly a high price to pay for temporary accommodations which are not only unsatisfactory and inconvenient, but which expose the government to danger of heavy loss.

The indictment against the present system would seem now to be complete. What is to be done, then, to give us a system that shall be efficient and economical, satisfying at once the requirements of the government and the legitimate demands of the student? We return to the hypothesis with which we started, that it is as much the function of government to preserve and utilize its archives as it is to levy taxes and make laws. This hypothesis is accepted in all civilized countries and is clearly admitted by our own law and practice. It is largely a question of how the function may be performed well, as in England, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Canada, and in certain of our own states.

The two essentials are an archive administration and an archive depot. The former should be a branch of the government service, closely connected with all the other branches, and to a certain extent controlled by them. The latter, however, is the core of the situation; and we may give its consideration precedence.<sup>47</sup>

The first matter to receive attention is the site of the building. This must satisfy the requirements of size, security, and convenience. The first of these is perhaps the most important. Whatever, within probable limits, may be the size of the building as first constructed, additions to it will be inevitably necessary and the

<sup>45</sup> *House Doc.* 106, 59 Cong., 2 sess.

<sup>46</sup> *Id.*, 785, 61 Cong., 2 sess.

<sup>47</sup> For a detailed account of the efforts thus far made to secure an archive building the reader may be referred to a document already cited: *History of the Movement for a National Archives Building in Washington, D. C.*, printed as *Sen. Doc.* 297, 62 Cong., 2 sess. It is sufficient to note here that for thirty-four years officials, students, and certain members of Congress, have at frequent intervals endeavored to secure the necessary legislation. In four Congresses, Fifty-fourth to Fifty-seventh, no less than twenty-five bills to this effect were introduced. In 1903 provision was made for the purchase of a site and the preparation of preliminary plans; the plans were drawn, and the site secured—Square 143, lying between E and F and Eighteenth and Nineteenth streets. The latter however now appears to be destined to another use. In 1911 and 1912 fresh efforts were made by the American Historical Association, and bills calling for the preparation of new plans have been introduced into both House and Senate: Sen. Bill 5179, House Bill 11850, 62 Cong., 2 sess.

location must be such as to admit of these enlargements. The requirements of security will probably be met by almost any site in the city of Washington that is likely to be selected for a public building. The conditions surrounding and ever threatening the Public Record Office in the crowded Fetter Lane, or the Archives Nationales in the congested quarter of the Marais, are nowhere encountered in Washington. Our building wherever located would not fail to have sufficient space about it to protect it from even a general conflagration. The question of convenience however is a more delicate one. On the one hand we have the departments which will be constantly calling for various records; on the other hand we have the students and other users of the archives who would naturally wish to be near the library and the Supreme Court. The site originally selected<sup>48</sup> is not ideal from either point of view. It is two miles from the Library of Congress, and while not far from the State, War, and Navy building, is not near enough to the other departments to make it conspicuously eligible on that account. It must be admitted however that contiguity to the other offices of the government is not considered essential in Europe. Fetter Lane is a considerable distance from Whitehall, and the Hôtel Soubise is a full two miles from the Ministry of the Interior, while in Dresden the new archive building is to be erected quite outside of the city. By the use of the telephone and pneumatic tubes records can be called for by and communicated to any office as quickly as though they were located in the same building, and much more quickly than under present conditions.

The size of the building will be determined of course by what it is to contain. No estimate has yet been made of the aggregate space occupied by all the records of the government. In 1906 the Treasury archives, within the District of Columbia, were stated to occupy more than a million cubic feet of space, with an annual accumulation of 25,000 cubic feet.<sup>49</sup> If one were to hazard a guess one would perhaps be not far wrong in placing at 5,000,000 cubic feet the total space occupied by the federal archives within the District of Columbia, and their present annual accumulation at 60,000 cubic feet. These figures do not include federal archives outside of Washington, which would increase them somewhat. But not all the records would be transferred to the new depot. In 1902 it was estimated that the archives that would at once be placed in the new building would occupy only about 1,300,000 cubic feet of space,<sup>50</sup> and it was with

<sup>48</sup> See note 47.

<sup>49</sup> *House Doc.* 756, 60 Cong., 1 sess.

<sup>50</sup> *History of Movement for a National Archives Building*, p. 13.

this estimate in mind, allowing for the increase of ten years, that the bill now before the Senate, calling for plans for a building which shall have 1,500,000 cubic feet of space at once available (additions to be made as needed until a total capacity of 4,000,000 cubic feet is reached) was drafted.<sup>51</sup> In the opinion of the writer this amount of space is insufficient. It is hard to believe that present requirements could be met by a building of less capacity than 2,000,000 cubic feet. Officials are almost invariably inclined at the outset to overestimate the amount of records that must be retained in their offices for the transaction of current business. Later, when the convenience and accessibility of a central depot have been demonstrated, the tendency is to "unload" vast quantities of material which it was at first supposed indispensable to retain in the offices. This tendency has caused embarrassment to many an archivist who found himself hard put to provide accommodations for unexpected acquisitions, and must be fully reckoned with in planning any archive depot. It is safe to assume then that if officials now believe that they could at once transfer 1,500,000 cubic feet of archives, out of a total of 5,000,000 cubic feet, they would within five years be ready, even anxious, to transfer at least 1,000,000 cubic feet more. At the same time the annual transfer would undoubtedly increase to at least seventy-five per cent. of the total annual accumulation. If our assumption is correct it is clear that the depot must be able at the end of five years to accommodate nearly three million cubic feet and to allow thereafter for an increasing annual accumulation of from 45,000 cubic feet upwards. Thus it would seem to be a short-sighted policy to erect a building with an immediate capacity of less than 3,000,000 cubic feet, and it should be so constructed as to be capable of being added to from time to time without marring its appearance. Furthermore these enlargements should be made before they are actually needed, for congestion within the depot would defeat one of the principal objects of its erection. By way of comparison it may be said that the total capacity of the Library of Congress is 10,000,000 cubic feet, of which about twenty per cent. is devoted to the storage of books. But the Library of Congress has many features that would not be included in an archive depot, fully eighty per cent. of which would be available for the records.

With regard to architecture and construction, while the purpose to which the building is destined must constantly be kept in mind, we may nevertheless hope for something more than a storage warehouse. Externally the building will doubtless be in harmony with

<sup>51</sup> Sen. Bill 5179. Feb. 8, 1912.

the public buildings, undeniably successful, that have been erected in Washington within the last ten years. For the inner structure of the building however we should not fail to seek suggestions from European models, notably those already erected or for which plans have been drawn at the Hague, Rotterdam, Brussels, Antwerp, Magdeburg, Breslau, Berlin, Dresden, or Vienna. While American supremacy in library construction is unquestioned it is due mainly to extensive experience, whereas in the construction of archive depots, which in spite of superficial resemblances differ radically from libraries, we have as yet had no experience at all. This point cannot be too strongly urged and it is to be hoped that provision may be made for a thorough inspection of European depots before preparing the final plans of the new building.<sup>52</sup> In the meantime however certain requirements, with regard to which there would be general agreement, may be briefly indicated. First of all the building should undoubtedly be of the type in which storage is provided for by a stack, rather than of the type made up entirely of rooms of varying size.<sup>53</sup> The stack, familiar from its extensive use in the larger libraries, may be described as a building or portion of a building, in which a steel framework, carrying shelves, extends from the foundation up to the roof and is divided into stories about seven feet in height by platforms laid between the upright supports. The stack, or stacks (for there may be several), should be separated from the rest of the building by fire walls with steel doors, and the windows should be provided with steel shutters. So well protected should the stack be that its contents would be undamaged even though the rest of the building were entirely destroyed. Within the stack there should be elevators, a vacuum cleaning system, and ample electric light. Although European archivists regard this last with great fear, and in many cases do not allow any artificial light within the stack, the dangers attendant upon its use may be reduced to a negligible minimum by carefully enclosing all wires and by the installation of outside switches which would allow the current to be entirely shut off from the stack. Furthermore dependence upon natural light alone is attended with great inconvenience, and considerable waste of space. The ventila-

<sup>52</sup> A suggestive article by a leading European archivist is "La Construction des Dépôts d'Archives" by J. Cuvelier, in *Bibliographie Moderne*, 1909, nos. 2-4. A detailed description of a modern depot may be found in *Mitteilungen der K. Preussischen Archivverwaltung*, Heft 12 (1909): "Das neue Dienstgebäude des Staatsarchivs zu Breslau", by Dr. R. Martiny.

<sup>53</sup> The "stack-construction" is to be found in most of the newer archive depots in Europe. The "small-room" type is best exemplified by the Public Record Office. It should be remembered that most of the older European depots are ancient buildings adapted with varying success to their present use. Such for example is the Hôtel Soubise in Paris, which houses the Archives Nationales.

tion and heating of the stack must be such as to insure an abundance of air and an even temperature, avoiding dampness on the one hand and too dry an atmosphere on the other. These considerations are most important for the preservation of the archives and can not be neglected without disastrous results.

Outside the stack, in the rest of the building, provision must be made for the offices of the administration and the work rooms of employees where the archives will be received, cleaned, and repaired, arranged, bound or placed in folders and boxes, and inventoried. There should also be accommodation for photographic apparatus, and space for permanent and temporary exhibits. Finally, but by no means least, there should be accommodation for those who wish to use the archives. These would preferably take the form of two rooms, a smaller one for officials (although it is probable that most official consultation of the archives will be in the departments, to which the records will be sent when called for), and a large one for the public. This latter should be well lighted and ventilated and capable of affording generous desk space for about a hundred workers. Here of course will be found such catalogues as the public is allowed to use, as well as a library composed of guides and other aids, publications based upon the archives, and such works of reference and bibliography as are likely to be serviceable to those who come here to work. No attempt should be made to build up an extensive library but only to provide such books as are needed constantly at hand; these would consist in considerable part of governmental publications. In addition to the main reference room there might also be provided two or three small rooms where typewriters could be used by students without causing disturbance to other workers.

Such then would be the building; it remains to consider the administration of the archives and the various problems connected therewith. First of all is the question of control. Shall the records that may be transferred to the depot be placed there merely on deposit, physically in the custody of the archivist but legally in the custody and under the control of the same officials as at present? Or shall they be transferred absolutely to the archives building, their legal custody passing with them, the interests of the offices from which they come being of course fully safeguarded by statute or by regulation? Undoubtedly the latter course is preferable; it has come to be adopted in England after long experience had shown the former procedure to be unsatisfactory, and it is practically the course followed in France. It should be understood that no department or office is compelled to give up records which it believes it should retain; but the records once transferred it is much simpler and more

convenient that their legal custody should pass with them. In this way the archivist is enabled to authenticate all documents deposited with him, and responsibility is centred in a single administration rather than divided among the departments and offices.

In what body then shall the control be vested? Preferably in a board or commission rather than in a single person.<sup>54</sup> The board should be composed of representatives of each of the executive departments, as well as of the judicial and legislative branches, to which should be joined persons of eminence in the historical and legal professions. This board of record commissioners, as it might be called, in addition to having the legal custody of the records deposited within the depot, and making regulations concerning them, should be empowered to investigate the condition of the records of any office, in Washington or elsewhere, under the control of the federal government and to make recommendations respecting their preparation, preservation, and use.

At the head of the archive depot, and acting under the board of record commissioners, would be the archivist or keeper of the records. Under him would be the entire personnel of the depot from the principal assistants down to those employed in the menial positions. At first the personnel would probably be composed largely of clerks transferred from other offices—especially, of course, the file clerks and others most familiar with the records. New appointments however should be based upon the results of competitive examinations. The requirements and emoluments of positions in the archive service should be such as to attract persons of special education and training and the service should offer a career comparable, if not superior, to that offered by library work. We can hardly hope for a national *École des Chartes* and indeed the American archivist has but small need for that knowledge of palaeography, diplomatics, and chronology, which is indispensable in Europe. But he must have a thorough knowledge of American history, of the history of federal administration, and of administrative law, and should be able to read French and German with a certain degree of facility. Some of the

<sup>54</sup> Senate Bill 6728, 59 Cong., 2 sess., introduced by Mr. Lodge on December 5, 1906, was designed to create a "board of record commissioners" composed of certain executive, judicial, and legislative officers, which was to have the "sole legal custody" of all records of the government, wherever located, "in which the latest date of record is upward of 80 years", as well as of such records of more recent date as might be designated by their present custodians. The provision seems to the writer to be defective in failing to include representatives of all the executive departments or of the legal and historical professions in the board, and in imposing a chronological limitation. A chronological limit is at best an artificial one and it is quite likely that certain offices might very properly desire to retain the custody of records more than eighty years old.



most eminent of European scholars are found in the archive services of their respective countries, and it would be well for us if at the outset we could divest ourselves of the idea that a person who must be "provided for" is thereby qualified for a position in the archives.

The question what material shall be placed in the archive depot is one that will require careful consideration. First of all however it would be well clearly to establish the distinction between the public archives on the one hand, and private archives and historical manuscripts of non-archival character on the other. The place for the latter is so evidently in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress that it would appear unnecessary to emphasize the principle were it not for the tendency in America to confuse the two classes of material, a confusion that has resulted in several state archives in the gathering together of public and private archives and historical manuscripts without much distinction between the various groups. The collection of private archives and of historical manuscripts by a public archivist is justifiable and even commendable when that is the only means of assuring their preservation, but this is not the case in Washington and the national archive depot should be reserved for the public archives alone.

Which of these then shall be transferred to the national archives and which retained in the offices? It should be made clear that no department or office is to be compelled to transfer any part of its records, but, if the experience of other countries and of some of our own states may be relied upon, all will sooner or later find it to their advantage to do so. In every case the determining factor will be, first, the extent to which the records are used in the transaction of current business, and second, the character of the records themselves. Many offices seldom if ever have occasion to refer to records that date back more than five or ten years and such offices would probably transfer all but the most recent of their files. Other offices, while relying most upon their recent records, still have occasion frequently to refer to the more ancient ones and here it would be necessary to decide whether the use of the latter is sufficient to justify their retention—always bearing in mind, of course, that the new system will enable documents to be produced more quickly than at present and that the retention of records makes necessary more space and a larger clerical force than would be required if the records were transferred. Finally there are offices, notably in the State Department, which make such constant use of certain classes of records that their transfer might actually hinder rather than facilitate the transaction of business. Such records should of course remain where they are.

The character of the records themselves is also a factor in deter-

mining the disposition to be made of them. This is especially true of such as are considered confidential. While it may be assumed that records of this class will be as jealously guarded in the national archives as by their present custodians it may yet be more expedient, in certain cases, for them to remain where they are.

It is perhaps worth while to illustrate what has just been said. In the Department of State three classes of archives are in almost constant use and are furthermore of such a character that it might readily be conceded that they should not pass out of the custody of the department. These are the treaties, and the diplomatic and consular correspondence. But there are other groups of material of great historical value seldom referred to by the department, and containing little, except of recent date, that even the most zealous official could regard as confidential. These are the series of miscellaneous and domestic letters and papers, the laws, the Indian treaties, the territorial papers, and a great mass of miscellaneous material (some of which indeed is not archival at all and should be transferred to the Library of Congress). The papers of international claims commissions, while loosely regarded as confidential, might also be included among the transferable records.

Among the Treasury archives the "Secretary's files" and the records of the auditor's offices, to within a decade or so, could properly be transferred, while on the other hand the records of the secret service division and of the commissioner of internal revenue would doubtless be considered so confidential as to require their retention. In the Navy Department the records of the navy commissioners, a board long since defunct, would naturally be transferred, as well as all other records relating to the construction of ships no longer in existence. The log-books, except possibly those of most recent date, and the correspondence of naval officers anterior to the last quarter of a century would also find their proper place in the national archives. On the other hand records relating to vessels still in commission and, in general, to the national defense would undoubtedly be retained in the department. It is probable that in many classes of the naval archives the line between transferable and non-transferable records would be drawn at the year 1898. In the War Department it would appear as though most of the records prior to the close of the Civil War, or even to a later date, could be transferred with great profit to the department. This would cause the function of furnishing information to the Pension Bureau to devolve upon the archive establishment, but such a function seems more properly to

belong to record clerks than to officers of the army, and it would undoubtedly be performed at considerably less expense to the nation than at present.

Many offices have inherited or otherwise become the custodians of the records of offices which no longer exist. Thus the commissioner of internal revenue has the archives of the old office of the commissioner of the revenue, the Supreme Court has the records of the continental Court of Appeals in Cases of Capture, the Register of the Treasury has the loan office records, and another office in the Treasury Department has the papers of the Southern Claims Commission. Such material, as at present located, is only an incumbrance and its transfer to the archives would be a matter of course.

The cases that have been cited serve to illustrate the way in which the principles laid down would work out.<sup>55</sup> In general it would be found that the records retained in the offices would be mostly those of the last quarter-century, while the records of any office that has undergone a change of organization or of function would, for the period prior to the change, be transferred, as would also the records of offices, boards, or commissions that are no longer in existence, together with the records of the performance of any function that has now ceased to be exercised. Further transfers would of course be made as the records accumulate. These should be effected at intervals of from one to five years, and should be made with as much regularity as possible in order that the archivist may be prepared to receive them.

Problems of cleaning, repairing, and filing the archives as they are received from the various offices are too technical to consider in detail in the present connection. One rule may, however, be laid down that should be regarded as invariable, namely that all papers must be filed flat. This involves the labor of flattening most of the unbound papers, for the offices have generally made use of file boxes that have necessitated the folding of documents.<sup>56</sup> Whether papers shall be bound, placed in boxes, or filed in folders, is a question about which there is still much difference of opinion. Certain classes of

<sup>55</sup> A few illustrations drawn from English experience may also be given. The Foreign Office has transferred to the Public Record Office its diplomatic correspondence to 1869 as well as the archives of many of the embassies. The Colonial Office has transferred its papers to 1882; the Home Office to 1870; the Treasury retains the records of the last twenty-eight years, and makes regular annual transfers. The War Office records have been transferred to about 1868, those of the Admiralty to varying dates, but the most important to about 1860.

<sup>56</sup> Flat filing has been employed in certain of the newer offices, such as those of the Forest Service, and in certain other offices the old files have been flattened, but the greater part of the unbound records are still folded.

papers may properly be bound, but the preference of most archivists at the present time seems to be for a system of loose filing in folders or portfolios. This has the advantage of flexibility and is much less expensive than any other system.

At this point may perhaps be considered the destruction of so-called "useless papers", for it would be a sad waste of time and money to classify and file documents that were destined to be destroyed. The proper method of procedure would be for each office to indicate, whenever it transfers any body of records, which of those records have no further value for administrative purposes or will cease to have such value after a certain length of time. These indicated records should then be examined under the direction of the archivist or board of record commissioners for the purpose of determining whether they have any conceivable value for historical or other uses not administrative. When at last their complete lack of utility has been demonstrated, they should be disposed of, either immediately or upon the expiration of the term set by the office from which they came. In disposing of them, however, one precaution should be observed which is overlooked in the law of February 16, 1889: their immediate destruction, assuming that they are sold for manufacturing purposes, should be insisted upon and assured, in order to prevent any improper use of them after they pass from the control of the government.

With the useless papers weeded out and the remainder ready for their final filing, the problem of classification demands attention. It is possible only to lay down the principle that should be adhered to in the classification of all archives—the *respect des fonds*. In accordance with this principle records should be so grouped that they at once make clear the processes by which they have come into existence. Archives are the product and record of the performance of its functions by an organic body, and they should faithfully reflect the workings of that organism. No decimal system of classification, no refined methods of library science, no purely chronological or purely alphabetical arrangement can be successfully applied to the classification of archives. The sad work that Camus and Daunou made of the Archives Nationales in attempting to apply a logical system of classification should be a sufficient warning. The administrative entity must be the starting point and the unit, and the classifier must have a thorough knowledge of the history and functions of the office whose records he is arranging; he must know what relation the office has borne to other offices, and the relation of each function to every other function. It may be said that the original filing of the records should be in accordance with the sort of classi-

fication that we have indicated. This should indeed be so, and an important function of the archive administration should be to ensure for the future such a classification of current records in all the offices. But in the past many mistakes have been made and these should, if possible, be corrected when the archives receive their final classification.

The archives once classified and filed it becomes the duty of the archivist to make them accessible for administrative and literary purposes. Four classes of publications naturally suggest themselves: general guides, inventories or check lists, calendars, and collections of texts. The general guide should be an enumeration of the various groups or series of records, indicating for each series its title, the number of volumes composing it, and its limiting dates.<sup>57</sup> It does not go into details but supplies a sort of first aid to those who would use the archives. Its compilation should go hand in hand with the arrangement of the records and their final grouping.

The next step is the preparation of inventories of the contents of the different series. Such an inventory indicates the title, dates, number of documents and, very briefly, the character of the contents of each volume, box, or portfolio, in any given series. An inventory of the records of a department would include all the series formed from the archives of that department, grouped under the respective offices from which they emanate.<sup>58</sup> A series of such inventories covering all the groups of archives in the depot is probably the most satisfactory form in which to provide the student with an account of the available material. Their compactness, the ease with which they may be used, and the rapidity and economy with which they can be compiled, are all in their favor.

Then we may expect that calendars of certain of the more important documents will eventually be published. In this form of catalogue the individual document is the unit and the entry for it, besides stating its title, date, author, approximate length, etc., includes a more or less succinct résumé of its contents. A calendar may include all the documents in a given series or group or it may include

<sup>57</sup> Such for example as Scargill-Bird, *Guide to the Various Classes of Documents preserved in the Public Record Office* (third ed., London, 1908), or the *État Sommaire par Séries des Documents conservés aux Archives Nationales* (Paris, 1891). The present *Guide to the Archives of the Federal Government* published by the Carnegie Institution is both more and less than such a guide: more in that it includes descriptive notes of various series, less in that it does not include all the series.

<sup>58</sup> An excellent model of such an inventory is to be found in the *État Sommaire des Archives de la Marine antérieures à la Révolution* (Paris, 1898). More detailed inventories are those published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives du Département des Affaires Étrangères*.

all documents on the same subject or of the same kind regardless of the series in which they are to be found.<sup>59</sup> The résumé may be very detailed, so that for historical purposes it practically takes the place of the original, as in the well-known British *Calendars of State Papers*, or it may be much briefer as in the various volumes published by the Library of Congress. The latter form is much more rapidly compiled and is, in general, more practicable.

With regard to the publication of groups of documents it may with some reason be contended that this is not properly a function of the archivist. Rather should it be left to the various historical agencies of the country. A plan is now before Congress for the establishment of a permanent Commission on National Historical Publications which if adopted will provide in the most satisfactory and systematic fashion for the exploitation of the archives.<sup>60</sup>

Finally, the question of the use of the archives both by officials and by students calls for attention. With regard to official use it may be assumed that in the great majority of cases this will take the form of a demand by a certain office for documents needed in the transaction of affairs, the transmission of the documents in question, their consultation in the office calling for them, and finally their return to the archives. The only problem is to provide for the immediate communication of such material, and, equally important, to ensure its prompt return to the archives. It may be however that certain offices, the principal function of which is to search the records, should be transferred bodily to the archives, or else abolished in their present form, and the function performed by a special corps of archive employees. Some such action would be necessary for example in the event of the transfer of the military records from which information is now furnished daily to the Pension Bureau. A third form of official use of the archives for which provision should be made, would occur when some special but extended investigation must be made on behalf of a certain office. This could be carried on, either by the employees of the archives, or by an employee of the office delegated for that purpose.

With regard to the use of the archives by students, lawyers, and others not attached to the service of the government, or by officials engaged in personal investigations, it becomes necessary to formulate regulations. We cannot here enter into a detailed discussion of such

<sup>59</sup> A calendar of the first sort would, for example, be one of the Captains' Letters from the naval archives; of the second type, a calendar of papers relating to the administration of Indian affairs; of the third, a calendar of petitions to Congress.

<sup>60</sup> See *Report to the President by the Committee on Department Methods: Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government* (1909).

regulations but it would be well to indicate in a general way what classes of records may be made available for non-official use. In most countries a chronological dead-line is drawn beyond which the student may not extend his researches. Thus in France the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are open to February, 1848, while in the Archives Nationales documents over fifty years old may be called for. A limitation of this sort is undoubtedly convenient from the administrative point of view, but it is artificial and needlessly hampers or makes quite impossible many lines of investigation. A more satisfactory procedure would be to establish a chronological line on the earlier side of which any investigation (except possibly in certain specified cases) could be made without the obtaining of special consent, but on the later side of which each case should be treated on its merits, the decision as to whether the documents asked for should or should not be communicated to be made by the board of record commissioners after consultation with the department or office concerned. The principles upon which such decision should be based have been admirably stated by an official of the government as follows:<sup>61</sup>

(a) Archives which represent completed incidents which carry no sequence may cease to be confidential as soon as the incidents are closed.

(b) Archives which relate to political events may be open to general inspection when danger of inflaming public opinion by their revelations has passed.

(c) Archives which contain personal information affecting individuals may cease to be confidential after two generations have passed.

(d) Archives which pertain to international relations must remain confidential as long as they relate to pending negotiations, or if they contain information which would disturb or lessen international good feeling.

(e) Archives furnishing information which might be used against the government's interests should remain confidential.

Such, then, in outline is the plan offered for the administration of the national archives. It has been shown that the present conditions have become intolerable, and that the remedial measures thus far tried are but makeshifts, aggravating the many evils rather than affording relief. To continue as at present is to perpetuate inefficiency and extravagance and to incur risks for which no government should wish to be responsible to the nation. It is the plain duty of Congress to provide a better method, a system adequate to the

<sup>61</sup> Paper by Gaillard Hunt, chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, read at the congress of archivists held in Brussels in 1910 and included in the *Documents Préliminaires* printed by the committee of organization prior to the opening of the congress. Mr. Hunt's paper was offered in discussion of the subject "Comment doivent s'opérer les versements des archives des administrations contemporaines dans les archives anciennes?"

administrative needs of a great government, a building worthy of a great nation, in which both the requirements of public business and those of historical scholarship shall be completely satisfied. The very absence of a system and of a building leaves us *carte blanche* for arrangements marked by ideal excellence. Why should the nation not have the best of all national archive buildings? Is it not incumbent upon all who cherish our history, and who desire that the rightful heritage of future generations shall pass to them unimpaired, to urge vigorously upon Congress the performance of this long-neglected duty, the meeting of this pressing problem by an ideal solution?

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND.



## LEGALIZED ABSOLUTISM EN ROUTE FROM GREECE TO ROME

THE deification of Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors is commonly regarded as a manifestation of religious life.<sup>1</sup> In this paper, on the contrary, the view is maintained that it was essentially a political device. I have, accordingly, attempted in the following pages to arrange on a somewhat novel principle the chief materials bearing upon this institution during a critical period of its development. I believe that a better understanding of the significance and importance of the institution itself is the result.

In three specific points, moreover, I have failed to find my conclusions anticipated in the extensive and widely scattered literature of the subject. These three points are: (1) that the Roman Republic escaped the need of forming permanent treaties with the Greek states by exploiting the position and rights conveyed to it by deification (see below, pp. 30 and 37 ff.); (2) that the apotheosis of rulers at their death, being necessary to validate their *acta*, was introduced expressly for this purpose (see below, pp. 33, 35, and 42 ff.); (3) that in the Roman application of the principle of deification of rulers an important distinction was drawn between *ingenui* and *liberti*—between citizens by birth and citizens by adoption (see below, pp. 40 and 43 ff.).

These conclusions, I believe, help materially to establish the truth of my original contention, that, as Tacitus says, the worship of rulers, *specie religionis*, was really an *arx aeternae dominationis*.

From the standpoint of the constitutional historian the most important product of the century which followed the birth of Alexander the Great was the union then achieved of groups of city-states into large territorial aggregates. The city-state seemed to the contemporaries of Aristotle, as to the contemporaries of Pericles, indispensable for the maintenance of civil liberty. It alone

<sup>1</sup> Primitive man, who thought spirit powers to be incarnate in dangerous or useful animals, could hardly escape making his king a god (Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, third ed., vol. III., *The Dying God*). But when he ceased to be primitive his point of view changed. Thus in the time of Ptolemy II., Ergamenes, king of the Ethiopians, "having received a Greek education which emancipated him from the superstitions of his countrymen", refused to have his body treated as merely the receptacle of an ancestral deity. Yet we are commonly told that Alexandria and Athens accepted the ideas of animism at the very time that they were discarded in Meroe. *Credat Judaeus Apella, non ego.*

guaranteed the reign of law in public and private affairs. Besides being the only instrument devised by free and civilized peoples for preserving order, administering justice, and collecting taxes, it alone enabled all citizens to participate in politics; and without the intimacy which it produced among its inhabitants the constant interchange of ideas between creative geniuses and the receptive masses, which made the advance of culture steady, vital, and rapid, was unthinkable. Autonomy, however, was thought, in the age of Aristotle as never before, to be essential in a city-state, and the right of local self-government was now protected not only by strong sentiment, but also by the most authoritative political science. It could not be infringed with impunity, and the experience of the tyrants in Sicily and the tyrannical cities in old Greece had by this time proved clearly that lawless constraint would not be tolerated long. Yet the demonstration had been made with equal decisiveness that the city-states individually had failed to meet the need of defense against outsiders, of peace between communities, and of order within them. Accordingly, the great administrative problem which pressed for solution during the rise of Macedon and Rome was how to conciliate city autonomy with a powerful protective government.

Three notable solutions were forthcoming in the century following 356 B.C. One of them was that reached and applied by Rome in Italy. Its essential features were, on the one hand, the incorporation of men as individuals or in groups, as municipalities, into her citizen body in order the better to plant the faithful Roman and Latin colonies up and down the peninsula; and, on the other hand, the formation of the well-known perpetual treaties with the new and old cities in Italy—treaties by which the "allies" of Rome obligated themselves for all time to render her military aid and to carry on negotiations with one another and with the outside world only through her. Such treaties stopped at the edge of Italy. As Matthæi<sup>2</sup> has shown recently, the normal relation of Rome with the Greek world was defined as *pax et amicitia* (εἰρήνη καὶ φιλία): when a *foedus* was arranged it was a *symmachia* of the regular Greek sort, terminable at will, or at the end of a stated time, or on the completion of a given act; and, as the Romans used it, terminated in fact when its own conditions were satisfied. Nothing was arranged in the normal status of *pax et amicitia* as to contributions of men and money to be made to Rome; nor was any limitation placed on the diplomatic liberty of the contracting parties. Yet in the course of the first generation

<sup>2</sup> *Classical Quarterly*, I. 182 ff. (1907).

after 200 B.C. Rome put the same demands upon her Greek *amici* as she put upon her *socii* in Italy. In the case of the latter she did not exceed her treaty rights: in the case of the *amici*, according to Matthaei,<sup>3</sup> she acted without the least regard for formalities or the pretense of justice. This view I believe to be incorrect. Lawlessness of this kind was not only intolerable in a constitutional world such as existed in the Mediterranean areas in the second century B.C., but also quite unnecessary.

Another of the three remedies for the evils of city particularism I shall not enlarge upon here. The federal leagues of the Aetolians, Achaeans, Boeotians, Phocians, Lycians, Ionians, Islanders, and other peoples, need only be alluded to; and it is the idea for which they stood—union for protection against the outside world and one another, separation for all other matters—that we commend most highly to-day.

Of much larger contemporary import and interest, however, was the third, that which Alexander the Great devised.<sup>4</sup> It was a stroke

<sup>3</sup> *Classical Quarterly*, I. 203 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Eduard Meyer (*Kleine Schriften*, pp. 302 ff.) has controverted, successfully, I am convinced, the view of Hogarth (*English Historical Review*, II. 317 ff., 1887; cf. Niese, *Hist. Zeitschrift*, LXXIX. 1 ff., 1897) that Alexander did not demand for himself divine honors, but that they were pressed upon him by his subjects. It is not a case of either—or, but of both—and. It is of course true that before Alexander's time Lysander (Duris in Plutarch, *Lysander*, 18), Philip, and others, were given *ἰσθῆτοι τιμαί* by Greek cities subject to their will. The originality of Alexander consisted in turning the need of the Greek cities, as well as the teaching of Aristotle (see below, pp. 37–38), to service in state-building.

Wilamowitz (*Aristoteles und Athen*, II. 414 ff. and *Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen*, pp. 151 ff., where he says: "Die Göttlichkeit des Herrschers war eine unausbleibliche Folge davon, dass die absolute Herrschaft, die nur dem Ausnahmemenschen zukommt, zur Institution geworden war"), Kaerst (*Geschichte des Hellenistischen Zeitalters*, II. 209 ff.), and Bauer (*Vom Griechentum zum Christentum*, chs. iv. and v.), trace the disposition of the Greek cities to deify Lysander, Alexander, and others, not to the political necessity of legalizing despotism, but to a genuinely religious sentiment felt, it is alleged, by the Greeks for great personalities. That, it seems to me, is to speak, if at all, with Aristotle, and perhaps with Alexander and his *diadochi*, but not with the generality of people whose ideas eventually prevailed. With them the possession of absolute power was the sole prerequisite. This is, indeed, the inference which Kaerst, despite his theory, has to make from his examination of the available data: "Wir finden fast durchhaus die sakrale Verehrung in engem Zusammenhang mit dem politischen Abhängigkeitsverhältnis der Städte zu den Herrschern, so dass der Kult, auch wenn er nicht unmittelbar von diesen veranlasst ist, doch eben ein sakraler Ausdruck des Abhängigkeitsverhältnisses wird" (II. 408). This conclusion, moreover, is not invalidated by the brilliant article of Kahrstedt, "Frauen auf Antiken Münzen" (*Klio*, X. 261 ff., 1910). We may grant with Kahrstedt that, as wives of kings, queens had no right to appear as goddesses on imperial coins, and that they acquired it only on their death by apotheosis; nevertheless, even though they were not colleagues of their husbands in the government, their power in the state was great and well known to the subject cities. The most powerful queens are the

of genius. To himself he secured the supreme and absolute direction of ecumenical affairs and the right to interfere at pleasure in every city in his empire by requesting each one of them to enroll him among its gods. The greeting of Ammon, whose influence had waxed in Greece as that of Delphi had waned, gave them an adequate pretext to accede to his suggestion; for, once Zeus through his most authoritative oracle had recognized Alexander as his son, no valid objection could be offered to his deification even by men who, in this age of general indifference, retained their faith in supernatural powers or their aversion to religious change.

When the Greek cities had placed Alexander in their circles of deities he was at once free from all the treaty obligations accepted by him at the Congress of Corinth, and his first effort in his new capacity was to rid his realm of all its homeless and lawless men by requiring every city to receive back its exiles. What a gain to the world that this great problem could be finally attacked vigorously yet legally! Of course, Alexander had become with deification, not a Homeric, but a fourth-century B.C. god—one who had law in his own nature, and operated, not capriciously, but by means of general enactments.<sup>5</sup>

The deification of a living ruler was, accordingly, in its genesis and essentially a political contrivance: it was only formally and secondarily a matter of religion.<sup>6</sup> At the death of the god-king, ones who appear most frequently as deities on the city coins. More than flattery of their husbands or sons is involved. The royal title was unnecessary for the receipt of divine honors even in the case of men. Antigonus I., for example, was deified by the cities of his satrapy while still in theory a subordinate.

<sup>5</sup> *Προστάγματα*, a term which was subsequently used to designate the "commands" issued to their devotees by the Egyptian and Syrian deities.

<sup>6</sup> It is not my purpose to trace the history of the religious forms which were used in the worship of the deified kings. In the beginning at least they were not different from those due any other god (see below, p. 38). Naturally, the vote of the sovereign assembly which made the king a god was an addition to the customary ritual, but it was the same electoral act which had from of old legalized the importation of foreign deities, and the consultation of an oracle was its common preface (see the cases of Asklepios and the "heroes" of the Cleisthenian *phylae* in Athens). The transfer of the god-king from earth to Olympus did not require the manufacture of altogether new machinery. The Attic vase painters knew how Hercules, Dionysus, and Ganymede reached the divine abode. Still, less symbolical modes of transit were required by a less polytheistic and more prosaic world, as Cumont has shown in his recent articles on the subject, "L'Aigle Funéraire des Syriens et l'Apothéose des Empereurs", *Rev. de l'Histoire des Religions*, LXII. 119 ff. (1910); LXIII. 208 ff. (1911). Naturally, the birthday or the accession-day—*Epiphania*—of god-rulers was a more striking and significant occasion than anything similar in the careers of other deities. Hence the celebration of the γενέθλιος ἡμέρα (*natalis*) or the ἡμέρα διαδίκματης on its monthly recurrence did not, indeed, bring with it a new religious form, but it emphasized greatly an old one. See W. Schmidt, *Geburstag im Altertum*, and Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, VII. 1, s. v. *Γενέθλιος ἡμέρα*.

"when he departed the life among men", as the stock phrase ran, the usages applied from of old to the honored dead were rendered to him—not before. Those err completely who derive the apotheosis of living rulers from the cultus of the dead.<sup>7</sup> Only the departed became "heroes" in Greece; and it was primarily for the purpose of guarding and sanctioning the social and political order which they had established while in the flesh that departed rulers became or remained gods in Alexander's time and thereafter. The legislation of city-states had continuous validity because of its popular source: it acquired its authority through being an expression of the will of the eternal god Demos, as the Athenians phrased it when in 229 B.C. they restated the theory of their state in Hellenistic terms. The *acta* of a deceased monarch, on the other hand, like those of a Roman magistrate at the expiry of his term, would have ceased to be any longer valid had their author not remained a god. The same necessity led the Greeks to deify their rulers which forces the German emperor to seek in the divine right of kings a sanction for acts which rest upon his own will alone. Deification stood to the *acta* of departed rulers as the *lex* did to the *edictum* of the annual praetor.<sup>8</sup>

To sophisticated Greeks of the third century B.C. all the gods were simply departed men. The Athenians sang on a noted occasion: "The other gods are a long way off, or have no ears, or no existence, or pay no heed to us; but [turning to the deified Demetrius] thee we greet face to face, a true god, not one of wood or stone." The other gods might be a reality in the minds of their worshippers alone, as in the new creed of Euhemerus; or they might live apart in the interstices of the worlds, as Epicurus taught; or they might be implicit in the order of the family, state, or nature, as in Stoic pantheism; or they might carouse on Olympus. The essential thing for their recognition as gods was now the gratitude of men for the services which they had rendered. This sentiment, however, might create new gods among the living as well as main-

<sup>7</sup> This is the cardinal error of Kornemann, "Zur Geschichte der Antiken Herrscherkulte", *Klio*, I. 51 ff. (1901). It is shared, however, by Wendland, *Συγγρ. Ζει* *schrift f. neustest. Wissenschaft*, V. 335 ff. (1904), and by Bauer, *op. cit.* Wilamowitz (*Staat und Gesellschaft*, p. 151) in his latest work has emancipated himself from it. Bevan, "The Deification of Kings in the Greek Cities", *English Historical Review*, XVI. 632 (1901), all but escapes it.

<sup>8</sup> Failure to grasp this idea is the one striking defect in the otherwise excellent appendix ("Der Hellenistische Herrscherkult") in Kaerst's *Gesch. d. Hell. Zeitalters*, II. 374 ff., and especially p. 414. See also this same author's *Studien zur Entwicklung der Monarchie im Altertum*, pp. 51 ff.

tain the cultus of those already created.<sup>9</sup> In antiquity the third century B.C. was pre-eminently the age of science, enlightenment, and scepticism. Hence it was no accident that precisely this epoch nurtured Caesar-worship.

Deification of living rulers is, accordingly, a product, not of superstition, but of irreligion.<sup>10</sup> There is, moreover, nothing Oriental about it; for its origin presupposes a condition which the Orient lacked<sup>11</sup>—autonomous city-states, in whose midst there was place only for citizens, over whom could preside only gods or tyrants. And as a matter of fact prior to Alexander's time the Orient knew nothing identical with the Hellenistic worship of kings, for even in Egypt, as Wilcken has insisted recently, there was and always remained a difference in idea and cultus between Alexander and the Ptolemies who succeeded him, as the rulers of Greek cities, and Alexander and the Ptolemies as the lords of the native population.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> On the internationalizing of Athens in 229 B.C. the god Demos—whose *hegemon* was now Aphrodite—was associated by Eurycleides and Micion with the Charites, and the cult of their common *temenos* was made hereditary in the family of the two leaders (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 212). This act needs no commentary to those who have learned to think Greek. Demos was there to govern Athens; the Charites to denote the gratitude of the citizens to the foreign potentates on whose good-will the liberty of their city was dependent (Haussoullier, *s. v. Demos* in Daremberg et Saglio). The feeling thus symbolically expressed by the Athenians was the ultimate source of much contemporary so-called religion. It led men to *deify* potentates who ordered as well as benefitted and saved. The position of authority was, however, necessary since, otherwise, *citizens* who were *euergetae* and *soteres* must have become gods of their native towns (see below, note 26). It is the Roman Cicero who has formulated for us the theory of deification of rulers, as of so many other Hellenistic institutions. In *De Rep.*, I, 7, 12, he says: "Neque enim est ulla res in qua propius ad deorum numen virtus accedat humana quam civitates aut condere novas aut conservare iam conditas." And in the *Somnium Scipionis*, 5, we read: "Omnibus qui patriam conservaverint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruuntur; nihil est enim illi principi deo qui omnem mundum regit, quod quidem in terris fiat, acceptius quam concilia coetusque hominum iure sociati, quae civitates appellantur; harum rectores et conservatores hinc profecti huc revertuntur."

<sup>10</sup> Bevan, p. 631.

<sup>11</sup> The reason why the chief European monarchy, Macedon (like Sicily under Hieron, where the case is identical), lacked the deification of kings (Wilcken, *loc. cit.* below, note 12) was not because it was out of contact with the East but because it had a constitutional and not an absolute monarch (Tarn, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXIX. 268, 1909; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 190). When it was under Demetrius Poliorcetes it too had a divine king (*ibid.*, p. 148). The view that the custom is of Oriental origin was wrongfully maintained by Beurlier in a dissertation which long remained the only comprehensive treatment of the matter, *De divinis Honoribus quos acceperunt Alexander et Successores eius* (Paris, 1890).

<sup>12</sup> Mitteis and Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, vol. I, 1, pp. 98 ff. The same distinction was preserved in Roman Egypt, as Blumenthal has recently shown. ("Der Aegyptische Kaiserkult", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, V. 317 ff., 1911.) The date at which Ptolemy Soter first appointed an imperial

To the latter they were the reincarnations of Ammon-Ra, and in their case the idea expressed by the adage, "The king is dead; long live the king", was fundamental. There could be no Pharaoh without an indwelling god; a god who was, of course, without beginning and without end—from everlasting unto everlasting; who simply revealed himself in the person of Alexander or Ptolemy. A similar conception of the king, as a great god incarnate in a ruler, made its appearance in the Asiatic world also in Hellenistic times; and, indeed, this idea, or one quite similar to it, proved helpful everywhere to overcome the reluctance of pious people to render divine honors to human beings. Alexander, no less than Mithradates and Mark Antony, was deified in Athens as a New Dionysus. Its acceptance in governmental circles, however, came only with the accession of Antiochos IV. to the throne of the Seleucids in 175 B.C., when he presented himself to his subjects as the *θεὸς Ἐπιφανής*. Between 323 B.C. and 270 B.C., on the other hand, the divinity of the living ruler depended in Greek political thinking wholly upon the initiative of the city-community. Thus it was the Rhodians who in 304 B.C. classified the first Ptolemy as the Saviour God; later half a generation had passed that the Islanders followed the lead thus given, and it was not till his death (283 B.C.) when his physical power ceased, that a substitute for it was obtained when Ptolemy II. ordained his father's deification throughout the empire.<sup>13</sup> Only in 270 B.C., when the second Ptolemy was joined to his deceased, and hence deified, sister-queen Arsinoë in the cult of the *θεοὶ Ἀδελφοί*, did a successor of Alexander venture to request everywhere in his realm the position demanded by the great con-

priest for the cult of Alexander the Great in Alexandria lies apparently between 311 B.C. (Rubensohn, *Elephantine-Papyri*, 1) and 289/8 B.C. (*ibid.*, 2 and 3). I conjecture that prior to this date Alexandria, like other colonies of Alexander, had the rights and governmental organs of an autonomous πόλις (Schubart, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, V. 35 ff., 1909); hence also the right to select its own priest to minister to its god Alexander. After this date Alexandria was apparently governed by Ptolemy and his officials (see Mitteis and Wilcken, *op. cit.*, vol. I. 1, pp. 14 ff.).

<sup>13</sup> In the Seleucid empire also it was the need which Antiochus I. experienced of finding a legal basis for the enactments of his deceased father that led to the creation there in 281 B.C. of a *Staatskult* of Seleucus as Zeus Nikator. The worship of the living ruler was prescribed later by Antiochus II. (262-246 B.C.) Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. III., 1, pp. 371 ff. Bevan (pp. 632 ff.) makes the honors of the living an anticipation of the honors due at death. This is to put the cart before the horse. There was no *Staatskult* of either Ptolemy I. or Seleucus I. during their lifetime. On the other hand, we may concede the probability that a halo tended to gather round the head of the son of one who was already a god-king, be he living or departed. Still, the crown-prince seems not to have received divine honors—at least in the imperial cult (see, for example, the case of Germanicus, below, note 45).

queror. Henceforth we have to distinguish in Egypt between the imperial cult (*Staatskult*) of the living ruler, which was prescribed by the monarch, and the city cult (*Städtekult*), which owed its existence to popular initiative. By the one loyalty was demanded, by the other it was tendered freely. Thereby the relation of ruler and subject ceased to be merely that of stronger and weaker and became instead legitimate and permanent. A Greek cult of double aspect thus appeared to supplement the worship accorded by the native Egyptians to their Pharaoh. Henceforth the Ptolemaic empire culminated from one point of view in the god-king Pharaoh = Ptolemy—and from another in the new hybrid imperial god Osiris = Serapis.

The step thus taken by Ptolemy Philadelphus was quickly taken by his rivals and contemporaries also. It was not, however, a long one; for already scores of Greek cities had acknowledged their allegiance to their rulers for the time being by elevating them to the hierarchy of their deities. Thus prior to 311 B.C. Skepsis had established a sacrifice, *agon*, procession, and fête (*θυσία, ἀγών, στεφανηφορία, πανήγυρις*), in honor of Antigonos Monophthalmus, and on coming definitely into his realm by the treaty of that year it provided him with the equipment of a god which could not be cancelled at a moment's notice—a *temenos*, altar, and idol.<sup>14</sup> In 307 B.C. Athens had classified both Antigonos and his son Demetrius as its Saviour Gods.<sup>15</sup> Four years later, when Demetrius revived the Corinthian League, Athens, now wishing to withdraw from its dependence upon him, chose to view him as bound by the conventions of the League to give the city complete internal freedom; but, as Plutarch tells us, the suzerain forced the Athenian assembly to decree that his will was supreme in all matters secular and religious.<sup>16</sup> As yet there was no god Demos to contend with him for priority among the Olympians. In general it seems that the cities—viewing dependence as inevitable—voluntarily elected their rulers to godhood, thus saving their self-respect by escaping the necessity of yielding to illegal commands.<sup>17</sup> Oftentimes the conferring of divine honors upon a ruler was little more than a compliment: it was a mere expression of respect or loyalty, and might signify as little as when a Spaniard offers his guest all his possessions.<sup>18</sup> Not infrequently, however, the presence in the autonomous city of an *epi-*

<sup>14</sup> Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 6, n. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 64, 108 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 24; *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 121 ff.

<sup>17</sup> The best account of the development just sketched is to be found in Kaerst's appendix already cited.

<sup>18</sup> Holm, *The History of Greece* (Eng. trans.), IV. 63.



*states* showed that the divine ruler condescended to use other than spiritual weapons.<sup>19</sup> Nowhere can a safe inference be made as to the practice and extent of monarchical interference in a city's government from the fact that it enrolled a king among its deities. The situation must be investigated in each particular case. It was, indeed, inevitable that a city which, like Athens, Rhodes, or Delos, strove to maintain a neutral position should have several god-kings at one and the same time. For this purpose a community was divisible into parts, over each of which a human deity might preside. Thus Athens had at times rival kings as the eponymous "heroes" of various of its *phylae*.<sup>20</sup>

The world of the Greeks into which the Romans came, first in Magna Graecia and Sicily and then beyond the Adriatic, had become thoroughly habituated to the view that a monarch who created laws and did not have to obey them was a god; and though men were reconciled to this issue on different grounds—some by disbelief in all supernatural powers, others by the doctrine of an incarnation, which might be direct or by descent from one or both parents or more frequently from a remote ancestor, and still others by confusing the cultus of the living king with the heroic honors accorded to his departed predecessor, no one was unfamiliar with Alexander's device of legalizing absolutism by deification.

The question must, accordingly, be asked: Was this expedient used to give a legal basis for the demands put by Rome upon its Greek *amici* in excess of or without warrant in treaty stipulations? Theory presented no difficulty. Thus in the teaching which Aristotle<sup>21</sup> had given to Alexander no distinction was drawn in this respect between the one and the few—monarchy and aristocracy.

If however there is an individual or more persons than one, although not enough to constitute the full complement of a State, so pre-eminent in their excess of virtue that neither the virtue of all the other citizens nor their political capacity is comparable to theirs, if they are several, or, if it is an individual, to his alone; such persons are not to be regarded any more as part of a State. It will be a wrong to them to treat them as worthy of mere equality when they are so vastly superior in virtue and political capacity, for any person so exceptional may well be com-

<sup>19</sup> *IG.*, XII. 3, 320; 5, 2, 1061; Dittenberger, *OGIS.*, 254; cf. *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 47; Holleaux, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, XVII. 52 ff. (1893), and Cardinali, *Il Regno di Pergamo*, pp. 275 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Into the theological question which arose when a Ptolemy or an Attalus obtained Athenian citizenship it is inexpedient to enter. He, of course, did not really mean to obey the laws and decrees of Athens. A courtesy was all that was involved. It is noteworthy that Attalus II. belonged to the *deme* Sypalettos, of the *phyle* Cecropis—not to the *phyle* Attalis. Ptolemy VI., on the other hand, was registered in the *phyle* Ptolemais (*IG.*, II. 966).

<sup>21</sup> *Politics*, III. 13, 13 (p. 1284a).

pared to a deity upon the earth (*ὥσπερ γὰρ θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶκός εἶναι τὸν τοιοῦτον*). . . . It remains then, as indeed seems natural, that all should render willing obedience to such an one, and that he and his like should thus be perpetual kings within their States.

Was, however, the step actually taken of adapting the Greek institution to the needs of the Roman government? The answer must be given in the affirmative.

To take the place of a Seleucus, Attalus, or Ptolemy, the Greeks invented a goddess Roma. "An sich", says Richter in Roscher's *Lexicon*,<sup>22</sup> "hat also eine dea Roma keine Existenzberechtigung; sie ist denn auch der römischen Religion zunächst durchaus fremd und, wie Preller, *Röm. Mythol.* 2<sup>3</sup>, S. 353 sagt, den Römern von den Griechen aufgeredet worden."

Just as Seleucus, Attalus, and Ptolemy were honored with *agones*—Seleuceia, Attaleia, Ptolemaeia—so Romaia were instituted in honor of Roma.

The epithets Euergetes and Soter were the ones most commonly applied to the Hellenistic kings by their grateful subjects: the Roman senators and officials became Euergetae or Soteres.<sup>23</sup>

The nature of the goddess, whose orders were recognized as legal by the Greek cities, was further defined by her association with the deity Pistis or Fides—the relation being symbolic of the fidelity to friendship and loyalty to obligation professed so insistently by the Romans.

Where on earlier occasions access to the Greek councils and ecclesias was given to privileged persons *μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ βασιλικά* it is given henceforth *μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους*.

The honors due a god-king on his arrival in a dependency involved a *pompē* or procession: whenever one of the Euergetae came to Athens in the latter half of the second century B.C. a procession of ephebes and magistrates met him to escort him as he entered. It was, doubtless, similar elsewhere. In Athens, moreover, a special pulpit was erected for him to occupy if he chose to address a message to the assembled people.

The god had his temple: the Roman senators and magistrates in Athens and elsewhere, in Sparta for example, had their *Romaion*—in Athens a temple-like structure with a stoa in front—in which they were lodged, presumably. We recall how Demetrius Poliorcetes took his residence in the Parthenon in the winter of 304–303

<sup>22</sup> *S. v. Roma*, p. 130.

<sup>23</sup> *IG.*, II. 551. 94; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (second ed.), 521, 15; 930, 46; 329. Collitz-Baunack, *Sammlung d. Griech. Dialekt-Inscr.*, II. 2724; Kern, *Inscr. von Magnesia*, p. 94; Wendland, *loc. cit.*, p. 341, n. 4.

B.C. and in the *hieron* of Apollo at Delos in the preceding summer. The account is still extant of the expenditure made by the Delian *hieropoeci* to clean up the mess (κόπρος) he left.

That Roma was primarily a political personage among the recognized deities of Athens is clear from her associations. When a republican government was restored in 229 B.C., after a generation of Macedonian rule, the god Demos was added to the cult of the Graces and a new *temenos* was laid out for them. When with Roman ascendancy the Romans became partners with the people in governing the Athenians, Roma also entered the coalition, and the priest who ministered to the triple alliance was styled "of Demos, Roma, and the Graces". The case was similar elsewhere. Thus, on the island of Delos, of which Athens got the government from Rome in 166 B.C., Demos became one partner of Hestia—the goddess of the civic hearth—and Roma another.<sup>24</sup>

The conclusion seems reasonably safe, therefore, that the Roman people got the right<sup>25</sup> to make such demands as it pleased, or as Fides permitted, of the Greek cities with which its normal status was *pax et amicitia*, by the enrollment of Roma among the deities of each city, and the recognition accorded to the Roman governing aristocracy as in fact *θεοί*.

This being the significance of the worship of Roma, it is clear that Roman citizens could not with propriety take part in it any more than a Ptolemy could worship himself.<sup>26</sup> As a matter of

<sup>24</sup> References for the preceding paragraphs are given in *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 366 ff. and 383.

<sup>25</sup> In 170 B.C. a decree of the Senate was passed reserving to this body alone the right to make arbitrary demands. See Livy, XLIII. 6; 17, 2; Polybius, XXVIII. 3, 3, 13; 11, 16, 2. Cf. Niese, *Geschichte der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten*, III. 136 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Instructive in this connection is the Mytilenaeon dedication with the following three inscriptions (Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 338–340): Γναίῳ Παντηνῷ Γναίῳ υἱῷ Μεγάλῳ, αὐτοκράτορι, τῷ ἐνεργέτῃ καὶ σωτῆρι καὶ κτίστῃ. — σὺν δὲ . . . ρίῳ φιλοπάτριδι Θεοφάνῃ, τῷ σωτῆρι καὶ ἐνεργέτῃ καὶ κτίστῃ δευτέρῳ τὰς πατρίδος. | Ποτάμῳ Λεσβώνιακῳ τῷ ἐνεργέτῃ καὶ σωτῆρος καὶ κτίστῃ τὰ[ε]πὶ δῶ[ε]. In the case of Pompey no comment is necessary. Theophanes, however, was a Mytilenaeon by birth; hence, seemingly, ineligible for divine honors in his own city. The fact was that he had received Roman citizenship (Cicero, *Pro Archia*, 24; Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 341), and, as such, might receive without impropriety the same homage as his patron Pompey. After his death he continued to be a god, and on a coin appears the inscription Θεὸς Θεοφάνης Μυτ(ιληναίων); Mionnet, *Description de Médailles Antiques*, III. 47, no. 108; Tacitus, *Annals*, VI. 18; Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 340. Potamon, on the other hand, was simply *princeps civium Mytilenaeorum*; he appears, accordingly, in the inscription quoted above, as the son of the deceased "benefactor, savior and founder of the state", Lesbos (Λεσβώνιαξ ἥρως νεός, Mionnet, III. 48, no. 116). The use in his case of the word πόλις, in that of Theophanes of the word πατρίδος, emphasizes the difference in the status of the two men. A document published by Bechtel in Collitz's *Sammlung d. Griech. Dialekt-Inscr.*, I. 373, no. 1271, runs as

fact they did not do so. Roma did not become a Roman goddess till the time of Hadrian.<sup>27</sup> When the Romaia were celebrated in Athens in 152 B.C.<sup>28</sup> the commissioners in charge were Athenians—which is the more striking since in the same year two men with Roman names helped to administer the Ptolemaeia. When, moreover, in about 126 B.C. the Romaia were celebrated on Delos, where the largest part of the population was already Roman, of the twenty-one commissioners in charge seventeen were Athenians and the other four Greeks.<sup>29</sup> As early as 140 B.C. the Italians on Delos formed an association, with three free-born and three freedmen *magistri*, or masters, at its head, for the worship of Mercury, Maea, and Minerva, together with the Lares *compitales*. Some thirty years later they reorganized their association and admitted to their circle of deities Apollo and Neptune, adding at the same time three additional freemen and three additional freedmen to their magisterial board. A little later they took possession of a fine new headquarters in which were housed Mercury, Neptune, and Apollo, as well as the *Italici*.<sup>30</sup> At this time, moreover, occurred a differentiation on which we wish to lay special stress. In the place of earlier worship—an enclosure, or *compitum*, at a central crossroads in the business part of the town—the Lares were henceforth the chief objects of devotion. For their cult, in which the slaves and freedmen had the largest part on Delos as elsewhere, a board of attendants (*ministri*)—the so-called *Kompetalistae*, was instituted. None of these officials was ever a free-born Roman: some were freedmen and the rest Greeks. Their task was particularly the celebration of the well-known plebeian and servile fête, the Compitalia. With the disappearance of full Roman citizens from its charge and that of the *compitum* generally a further change

follows: Ποτάμωνι Λεσβώνιακτος, τῷ σωτήρι καὶ ἐνεργίτῃ καὶ κτίστῃ τῆς πόλεως. The question must therefore be asked: Did Potamon also receive the Roman citizenship? It is not necessary to make this assumption. In an inscription of the second century A.D. (*Eph. Epigr.*, II. 11, no. 7) we find a certain Artemisia designated τῶν ἀπίγουσιν Ποτάμωνος τῷ νομοθέτῃ καὶ Λεσβώνιακτος τῷ φιλοσοφῷ. It thus appears that Potamon was at some time appointed *dictator rei publicae constituendae*. While creator of the law (*νομοθέτης*) he was of course above it. On Dittenberger's interpretation of the third inscription from the Mytilenacan dedication (*Syll.*, I. 546) he may have been in this authoritative position at the time the divine honors were accorded to Pompey and Theophanes.

<sup>27</sup> Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, pp. 280 ff.

<sup>28</sup> *IG.*, II. 953.

<sup>29</sup> *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 383, n. 1.

<sup>30</sup> With dedications made for example Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ἰταλικοῖς or Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἰταλικοῖς (*BCH.*, XXXIV. 406, 1910) cf. those made, according to Plutarch, *Flamin.*, 16, Τίτῳ καὶ Πρακλείῃ, Τίτῳ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι. The *Italici* were, in fact, at this time masters of Delos. *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 434.

could be made without impropriety in that an image of Roma and another of Pistis or Fides could be dedicated by the *Kompetalistas*.<sup>31</sup> These added deities received the homage of the rabble, of those whom Scipio Africanus the Younger had haughtily addressed a generation earlier as the "stepsons of Italy". The worship of Roma was, in fact, an acknowledgment of political inferiority. No free-born Roman citizen would think of having part in it at this time.

The living representatives of Roma, *i. e.*, the Roman *optimates*, were generally lumped together in the Greek cities as the Euergetae or the Soteres. One of them—the holder, naturally, of an important military or provincial command—might be singled out for particular reasons for special divine honors. Thus a Chalcidian hymn to the deified Flamininus is still extant as follows:<sup>32</sup>

Πίστιν δὲ Ῥωμαίων σέβομεν  
τὰν μεγαλευκτοτάταν ὄρκοις φυλάσσειν.  
μέλπετε κοῦραι,  
Ζῆνα μέγαν Ῥώμαν τε Τίτον θ' ἅμα Ῥωμαίων τε Πίστιν  
ἱήιε Παιὰν, ὦ Τίτε σῶτερ.

The deification of Q. Mucius Scaevola, proconsul of Asia in 94 B.C., is attested by Mukicia celebrated long afterwards throughout this province<sup>33</sup>—so active was gratitude, or to speak with the Athenians of 229 B.C., the Charites, to create new gods in this age. Sulla got Sulleia in Athens, Mark Antony Antonieia,<sup>34</sup> and other governors, like Metellus in Pergamum,<sup>35</sup> Pompey in many places,<sup>36</sup> and the infamous Verres in Sicily,<sup>37</sup> were similarly honored. Even Cicero, somewhat to his embarrassment, found himself the recipient of divine rites in Cilicia.<sup>38</sup> Hence there is nothing odd in the appearance of Sebastas for Augustus. What is a trifle unusual, especially in view of the splendid isolation of Julius Caesar, who was a god for the Romans as well as their foretime subjects,<sup>39</sup> is that

<sup>31</sup> For the development just sketched see *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 355 ff., 396 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Plutarch, *Flamin.*, 16.

<sup>33</sup> Dittenberger, *OGIS.*, 438, 439.

<sup>34</sup> *IG.*, II, 481, 482.

<sup>35</sup> Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 344.

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, above, note 26.

<sup>37</sup> *Contra Verrem*, *Actio* II. 2, 154.

<sup>38</sup> Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, I. 1, 26; *Ad Atticum*, 5, 21.

<sup>39</sup> The first universal divine king (after Alexander) was of course Julius Caesar. Thus he is defined in *CIG.*, II, 2957 as τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρεως καὶ Ἀφροδείτης, θεὸν ἐπιφανή καὶ κοινὸν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου σωτήρα; and in *IG.*, XII, 5, 1, 557 as τὸν θεὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ σωτήρα τῆς οἰκουμένης. Octavian, as Σεβαστὸς (not as *deus*), was σωτὴρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης πάσης (*Inscr. von Olympia*, 366), or σωτὴρ τοῦ κοινῶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους (*Inscriptions in the British Museum*, IV. 1, no. 894). See

Augustus demanded for Roma first place in all divine honors accorded to himself.<sup>40</sup> In reality this was simply the formal expression of his theory of dyarchical government; that in the provinces, whatever might be the case in Italy, the Roman Republic and Augustus Caesar were dual and absolute authorities. To this end the movement towards deification of rulers was guided by the new government so effectively that during the lifetime of Octavian temples or altars of *Roma et Augustus* appeared not only in the Greek but also in all the western or barbarian provinces.<sup>41</sup> And so far down was the idea of dual subjection brought in this way that the joint cult was inaugurated not only in the centres of provincial government but also in individual towns and villages.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, as we have seen, it belonged historically rather to the several city-states than to the territorial complex.

On his death Augustus became *divus* among Roman citizens. As a Roman magistrate his work was subject to the approval of the Roman Senate.<sup>43</sup> It could withhold this at any time and particularly at his decease. The *damnatio memoriae* was, in fact, the rescinding of all the emperor's *acta* which rested upon his will alone. Naturally, what was particularly affected thereby was his work in the provincial sphere, where he stood beside and not under the goddess Roma. The approval of such *acta* was given by deification (see above, p. 33). Significantly enough, and of itself affording clear proof of the constitutional import of Caesar-worship, it was among the Romans alone that Augustus and his successors, on their death and apotheosis, became *divi*. In Rome and the Roman municipalities the series of those entitled to divine honors begins with *Julius divus* and ends with the *genius* of the living *princeps*.<sup>44</sup> In the provincial cultus, on the other hand, only the *Augustus* (and *Aug-*

also Kaibel, *Epigr.*, 978, which Wendland (*Σωτήρ*, p. 343) quotes in his further development of this subject. As Augustus (*Σεβαστός*) Tiberius also was a universal deity (see below, note 45, and particularly note 59).

<sup>40</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.*, 52: "Templa quamvis seiret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere, in nulla tamen provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit." Egypt was in this respect, as generally, exceptional. See Blumenthal, "Der Aegyptische Kaiserkult", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, V. 317 ff. (1911).

<sup>41</sup> Hirschfeld, "Zur Geschichte des Römischen Kaisercultes", *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, vol. XXXV., 2, p. 849 (1888), makes an exception of Spain, but see Kornemann, *Klio*, I. 101, and Heinen, *ibid.*, XI. 158, n. 1 (1911).

<sup>42</sup> Heinen, p. 167, n. 4.

<sup>43</sup> Eduard Meyer, "Kaiser Augustus", *Kleine Schriften*, p. 479.

<sup>44</sup> See for example the *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* and the *Leges* of Salpensa and Malaca, §§ 25 ff.

*usta*) of the time being was considered.<sup>45</sup> The reason for this is obvious. It was in the case of the Romans alone that a need existed for legalizing arbitrary actions. The provincials had to respond solely to the orders of living emperors: for the actions of the departed Roma, on their deification, acquired complete responsibility.

As is well known, the system of provincial proconsuls and *legati* was paralleled for fiscal purposes by the system of equestrian *procuratores*. It should be equally a matter of general knowledge that it was paralleled also by the hierarchy of provincial *sacerdotes* of *Roma et Augustus*; for through this agency the Roman Empire was shown by one and the same institution both to be a despotism and to rest, not upon superior force alone, but upon the consent of the governed.<sup>46</sup>

To worship *Roma et Augustus* was to confess subjection to Italy. That was not becoming in the case of free-born citizens of Rome. Augustus accordingly opposed the Romans when they sought to put him above the laws by giving him the homage of a god.<sup>47</sup> The citizens, of course, were no longer resident in Rome alone but in all the towns of Italy as well. Inside Italy the Roman remedy for the evils inherent in the particularism of city-states had borne fruit in the municipal system of the Lex Julia. By acquiring citizenship in Rome the citizens of the Italian towns escaped from the dictation of an outside, and hence tyrannical, power: they did not need to recognize the goddess Roma. As citizens of Rome they elected their *princeps*, or chief citizen, to high office at home and imperial position abroad: they could not worship him as the

<sup>45</sup> Hirschfeld, pp. 848 ff. The exclusion of the subordinate and female members of the Julian house was effected gradually and with difficulty. Heinen, pp. 175 ff.; Wilamowitz and Zucker, *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss.*, XXXVIII. 813 (1911). The provincials tended to proclaim their loyalty to all the members of what was to them the "royal family". The administrative attitude is well disclosed in an edict of Germanicus issued while on his visit to Egypt (Wilamowitz and Zucker, *ibid.*, p. 797): Γερμανικὸς Καῖσαρ Σεβασ[τ]οῦ υἱός, Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸς, ἀνθὺπατος λέγει. τὴν μὲν εὐνοίαν ὑμῶν ἦν αἰεὶ ἐπιθεῖκνυσθε, ὅταν με <ε>ἴδῃτε, ἀποδέχομαι. τὰς δὲ ἐπιφθόνου[s] ἐμοὶ καὶ ἰσοθέους ἐκφωνήσεις ὑμῶν ἐξ [ἀ]παντος παραιτοῦμαι· πρόπονσι γὰρ υἱὸν τῷ σωτῆρι ὄντως καὶ εὐεργέτῃ τοῦ σύνπαυτος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐμῇ τέ μάλιστα. τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα ἐν ὑποπαρετία(?) ἐστὶν τῆς ἐκείνων θεότητος, ὥς ἐὰν μοι μὴ πεισθῇτε, ἀναγκάτῃ με μὴ πολλάκις ὑμῖν ἐμφανίσθαι. See further in this connection Kahrstedt, "Frauen auf Antiken Münzen", *Klio*, X. 289 ff. (1910).

<sup>46</sup> Thus Tacitus (*Ann.*, XIV. 31) says in regard to the establishing of the institution in Britain: "Ad hoc templum divo Claudio constitutum quasi arx aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur, delectique sacerdotes specie religionis omnis fortunas effundebant."

<sup>47</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.*, 52; Eduard Meyer, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 458 ff.

god Augustus without stultifying their own action.<sup>48</sup> Let us see what they actually did in the matter.

It is unnecessary to discuss the entire collection of the materials bearing upon the deification of Augustus which Heinen has made in a recent issue of *Klio*. We have merely to deal with the instances he adduces to prove that the first emperor was worshipped in Italy during his lifetime. The fact must be conceded. In at least eighteen municipalities priests, shrines, or altars are attested.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, it is clear that the Roman citizens resident in the provinces joined, on occasion, the provincials in the worship of *Roma et Augustus*;<sup>50</sup> and it must also be observed that the chief priests chosen in the western provinces for the observance of the imperial cult were regularly in possession of the Roman citizenship.<sup>51</sup>

These are the facts: they must not be misinterpreted. This is done, I believe, when evidence is found in them for the gradual revelation by Augustus<sup>52</sup> of his alleged real intent that Romans should regard him as a magistrate in mere form, as in substance an absolute monarch.

The truth is that the inhabitants of the Roman world could not be divided simply into citizens and non-citizens. There were from of old those whom Mommsen has designated the *Halbfreien*—the freedmen; with whom may be included those foreigners, *i. e.*, provincials, upon whom the citizenship of Rome had been conferred. The position of the freedmen under the republic had been an ambiguous one; after Augustus it was more closely defined.

It is clear that Augustus did not regard them as his equals. Thus he classified them as ineligible for invitations to his house, prohibited the intermarriage of senators and freedwomen, and required them to take by law the praenomen as well as the nomen of their manumittor—a tell-tale badge of clientage. In the army, when they served at all, it was as policemen and on the fleet, not with the Romans. Moreover, whereas Julius Caesar in his magnificent disregard for old distinctions had admitted freedmen to the offices in

<sup>48</sup> *Klio*, XI. 129 ff. (1911).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Heinen, p. 175. The towns are: Cumae, Puteoli, Pompeii, Naples, Tarracina, Ostia, Praeneste, Casinum, Beneventum, Fanum Fortunae, Asisium, Perusia, Pisae, Forum Clodii, Luna(?), Cremona, Verona, and Pola.

<sup>50</sup> *Revue des Études Grecques*, XIV. 37 ff. (1901); Heinen, p. 167, n. 4. The attitude of Augustus towards the Romans who had taken up their residence in the provinces is disclosed by the fact that they served in the army not with the Italians, but in volunteer cohorts. Eduard Meyer, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 485.

<sup>51</sup> Hirschfeld, p. 851. The list of Spanish priests is given in *CIL.*, II. 750 ff.; the Gallic by Auguste Bernard, *Le Temple d'Auguste*, pp. 51 ff.

<sup>52</sup> Like all the institutions of Augustus the cult of the emperor was organized, not at one stroke, but tentatively and gradually.



his new colonies, Augustus not only excluded them rigidly from all Roman and municipal magistracies, but even went so far as to take from them the franchise altogether.<sup>53</sup>

To one semi-magistracy, however, they had been eligible from of old under the republic—to the board of *magistri*<sup>54</sup> which had administered for the freedmen, slaves, and ignoble rabble of Rome the cultus of the Lares of the *compita*. To the freedmen Augustus left this *honor*. It was the *Kompctaliastae* on Delos, it will be observed, who inaugurated there the cult of Roma and Fides. In Rome the *magistri* rendered a similar homage to the emperor who was their lord; for quite as much to make clear the real political status of the mob as to satisfy the plebeian clamor for a new god Augustus had an effigy of his own *genius* put between the figures of the twain Lares which were erected anew in the chapels at the street corners of the capital.

Freedmen might worship the *princeps*, not freemen; hence in the cities of Italic and Latin right everywhere the cult of Augustus was put in the hands of Augustales—freedmen chosen for the purpose by the municipal senates. Senators, knights, provincials, and freedmen—each class had its duties assigned and agents designated for their performance, in the case of the two former, collaborators with Augustus in the work of governing, in the case of the two latter, witnesses to the beneficence of the empire and spokesmen for the loyalty of the governed.<sup>55</sup>

The worship of Augustus was, accordingly, permissible from the start among the freedmen of Italy as well as among those abroad. To become a *sevir Augustalis* was, in fact, an honor highly esteemed by them, and only the most wealthy and distinguished freedmen attained to it. The same was the case with the provincial priesthood of *Roma et Augustus*. Those who held it were the

<sup>53</sup> Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III. 420 ff.

<sup>54</sup> They were chosen ἐκ τοῦ δήμου (Dio, LV. 8, 6); *e plebe* (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 30, 1). In one case *ingenui* appear among the *magistri* (CIL., VI. 975), otherwise they are *liberti*. Their *ministri* were slaves. See Heinen, p. 166, n. 3.

<sup>55</sup> How sensitively Caesar-worship responded to governmental changes in Rome is apparent from what happened in the provinces under Tiberius. As is well known, he had the right to elect the magistrates taken from the comitia and given to the senate. Thereupon Roma was displaced by θεὸς Σάγκλητος or ἱερά Σάγκλητος (Hirschfeld, p. 842). As Tacitus (*Ann.*, IV. 15; cf. 55-56) says: "Decrevere Asiae urbes templum Tiberio matrique eius ac senatui", and as he makes Tiberius say (*ibid.*, IV. 37): "exemplum [Augusti] promptius secutus sum, quia cultui meo veneratio senatus adiungebatur". The impropriety of the situation presented in the western provinces was felt keenly by a stickler for formal correctness like Tiberius. Hence he declared (*ibid.*, IV. 37): "omnes per provincias effigie numinum sacrari ambitiosum, superbum; et vanescet Augusti honor, si promiscis adulationibus vulgatur"; and he refused to permit his worship in the Occident (Hirschfeld, p. 842).

most eminent of the provincials: in the western provinces they were, in fact, men who through securing Roman citizenship had all but disqualified themselves for the office. The most distinguished persons in provincial society were none too good to testify to the gratitude and devotion of those whom they represented at the various *arae Romae et Augusti*.

The worship of Augustus in Italy could not be confined to freedmen any more than the recipients of the Roman citizenship could be excluded from the provincial cultus. It tended irresistibly to spread to other Italians. The Greeks for example in Cumae, Puteoli, Naples, and Pompeii, lapsed easily into the practice of their kinsmen beyond the sea, especially since that had been their own practice up to the extension of the citizenship to all Italy at the time of the Social War. Communities which owed their origin and laws to Augustus, as did the colonies he had founded in Italy, tended to assume toward him the dependent attitude proper to the foreign cities to whom his will and Roma's was continuously law.<sup>56</sup> Besides, the worship of the ruler had become, as we have seen, a complex phenomenon in the days between Alexander and Augustus. Heroic honors tended by anticipation to be rendered to one who on death was, and had, to become *divus*. The divinity voted to Julius Caesar could not but put a halo upon the head of his son. With the idea of an incarnate god courtiers and court poets had at one time aimed to familiarize the Romans;<sup>57</sup> but the *princeps* would have none of it. For when he exalted his house by emphasizing its descent from Venus he did nothing that any Greek or Roman nobleman might not do with perfect propriety. All nobles were, as Homer says, *διογενεῖς*. On the other hand, that he like all men had an immortal, and hence divine, *genius*, he like all Romans believed implicitly, and for soldiers and other citizens to take oath by this, offer sacrifice to it, and erect temples, shrines, or altars for its worship, involved no political or religious impropriety.<sup>58</sup> The *genius* of the *princeps* and *imperator*, like the *juno* of Livia, was, of course, different in power, if not in kind, from that of other Romans. An *ara* or *templum Augusti* was, however, everywhere objectionable and was probably sanctioned nowhere,

<sup>56</sup> Hirschfeld, p. 838.

<sup>57</sup> Horace, *Odes*, I. 2, 24 ff. (28/7 B.C.) See further, Heinen, p. 150, n. 3.

<sup>58</sup> See Otto in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie d. class. Altertumswissenschaft*, VII. 1, s. v. *Genius*: "Er ist ausserhalb des Menschen gedacht, darüber kann für die ältere Zeit gar kein Zweifel sein. Er ist *deus*, und zwar *comes* des Menschen, dem er zugehört und der unter seiner *tutela* lebt. Man betet zu ihm, man schwört bei ihm, man opfert ihm."

unless it be in the case of the freedmen.<sup>59</sup> Nor is any stronger argument as to its inadmissibility to be found than in what is sometimes advanced as proof of its toleration—the erection at Rome of altars of Pax Augusta, Victoria Augusta, Fortuna Augusta, or Fortuna Redux Augusta. What is avoided by these terms is obvious. The emperor was a complex of divine qualities, but he was himself a man.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> The one comprehensive title for Octavian was, of course, *Augustus* = Σεβαστός. This was vague enough to cover the relation of the *princeps*, as the possessor of a divine *genius* and the son of the *divus Julius*, to the free-born Romans, yet full enough of latent connotation to reveal the god to freedmen and provincials. Under Tiberius the title Σεβαστή is applied by the Greeks to the senate also (Hirschfeld, p. 842, n. 41).

<sup>60</sup> How Augustus thought of his honors is revealed by the anecdote found in Quintilian (*Inst. Or.*, VI. 3, 77): "Augustus nuntiantibus Tarraconensibus palmam in ara eius enatam, 'apparet', inquit, 'quam saepe accendatis'".

## THE FIRST LEVY OF PAPAL ANNATES

THE prominence accorded to annates in the discussions of the reform councils of the fifteenth century has caused them to occupy the interest of investigators from that time to the present, but the results of this activity have not been profitable in proportion to their great bulk. Earlier accounts, although some of them contain much trustworthy information, display more or less confusion,<sup>1</sup> and not until the recent appearance of works by such scholars as Kirsch,<sup>2</sup> Haller,<sup>3</sup> Samaran and Mollat,<sup>4</sup> and Göller,<sup>5</sup> based mainly on materials in the Vatican Archives inaccessible to their predecessors, has there been a fairly full and authoritative literature on the subject. Even these recent researches have added little to our knowledge of the first levy of papal annates. Although earlier writers held conflicting views,<sup>6</sup> several pointed out that the imposition of annates in the British Isles by Clement V. marks their first use by the papacy,<sup>7</sup> and, beyond confirming this conclusion, modern investigators have made small progress. To the narratives of English chroniclers<sup>8</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> Among the best of the earlier accounts are Thomassin, *Ancienne et Nouvelle Discipline de l'Eglise* (Paris, 1725), III. 1019-1033; Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*, V. 567-580; Lingard, *History of England* (Philadelphia, 1827), IV. 122; Christophe, *Histoire de la Papauté* (Paris, 1853), II. 15-16. Many modern writers also display confusion, for example, König, *Die Päpstliche Kammer* (Vienna, 1894), pp. 31, 39-40; Rocquain, *La Cour de Rome et l'Esprit de Réforme avant Luther* (Paris, 1895), II. 370-371.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Päpstlichen Kollektorien in Deutschland während des XIV. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn, 1894); *Die Päpstlichen Annaten in Deutschland während des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn, 1903); "Die Verwaltung der Annaten", *Römische Quartalschrift*, XVI. 125-151 (1902).

<sup>3</sup> *Papsttum und Kirchenreform* (Berlin, 1903).

<sup>4</sup> *La Fiscalité Pontificale en France au XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1905).

<sup>5</sup> "Der Liber Taxarum der Päpstlichen Kammer", *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, VIII. 113-173, 305-343 (1905); *Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII.* (Paderborn, 1910).

<sup>6</sup> The fathers of the council of Constance believed John XXII. to be the inventor of annates, and many writers have held the same opinion. Samaran and Mollat, p. 23. Others assign this honor to Boniface IX., for example, *Galliesii de Annatis Sermo* (Rome, 1564), cited by Göller, "Liber Taxarum", p. 114, n. 1; Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*, V. 574; Richter, *Lehrbuch des Katholischen und Evangelischen Kirchenrechts* (eighth ed. by Dove and Kahl, Leipzig, 1886), pp. 887-888.

<sup>7</sup> For example, Fleury, *Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1726), XIX. 109; Lingard, *History of England*, IV. 122; Christophe, *Histoire de la Papauté*, II. 15-16.

<sup>8</sup> Rishanger, p. 228; *Flores Historiarum*, III. 130; Hemingburgh (Eng. Hist.

exaggerated statements of the petition of Carlisle,<sup>9</sup> Haller<sup>10</sup> and Göller<sup>11</sup> have added casual mention of the levy in papal documents, which establishes its authenticity beyond doubt, but still leaves its history and real significance in obscurity. The present article takes its departure from the discovery, in the episcopal registers at Salisbury, of the letters of Clement V. ordaining this payment of annates<sup>12</sup> and from the reports<sup>13</sup> and other documents issued by the Soc. ed.), II. 242; Murimuth, p. 173; *Annales Londonienses*, pp. 146-147. These and an inference drawn from the statement of the canonist, Johannes Andrea (cited by Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*, V. 570, n. 12), are the sources used by earlier writers.

The editions of the chronicles cited are those of the Rolls series unless otherwise stated.

<sup>9</sup> *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, I. 219-223. This account of the proceedings at Carlisle has been utilized by Stubbs, *Constitutional History* (Oxford, 1896), II. 163, 612, III. 338-339; and Haller, pp. 382-388.

<sup>10</sup> Haller (pp. 52, 388) found indirect reference to this levy in a bull of Clement V. (*Regestum Clementis Papae V.*, 2266) and discovered in the Vatican Archives an account of one of the principal collectors of the tax. He places little emphasis on this account, however, and gives merely a statement of the sums collected at the date of the report.

<sup>11</sup> Göller (*Einnahmen*, pp. xiii, 86\*-87\*) considers it an important contribution to have confirmed the statements of English chroniclers by direct mention of this levy in a letter of John XXII. (Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*, I. 196) and in the report of Rigaud Asser, papal collector in England from 1317 to 1321 (Vatican Archives, *Introitus et Exitus*, 15. f. 46v.), although Haller had published, some years before, his discovery of the above-mentioned report.

<sup>12</sup> There are two letters, one to the collectors and one to the English clergy. The two are practically identical *mutatis mutandis*. The first is printed below, pp. 62-64. The copies were found in the register of Simon of Ghent, bishop of Salisbury, and do not appear in the printed registers of Clement V. or in any other extant English episcopal registers with the possible exception of those of Lincoln and York. For the privilege of access to this register I am indebted to the late Bishop of Salisbury. I wish to express my thanks also to Reverend J. S. Johnston, secretary to the bishop, and especially to Mr. A. R. Malden, diocesan registrar, who accorded me every facility in my search and recently collated my copy with the original.

<sup>13</sup> Three reports made by William Testa, one of the collectors of annates. The first and third are deposited in the Vatican Archives (*Instrumenta Miscellanea*, Cap. VIII., no. 10a; Cap. IX., no. 54) and the second is a transcript in the Public Record Office (*Roman Transcripts*, General Series, 59) of an original in the Vatican Archives. The first report was rendered June 13, 1308. The second may be placed between June 24 and September 29, 1310. It is not dated, but it mentions payment of the first installment for the second year of the triennial tenth then being levied on the English clergy. This was due June 24, 1310 (P. R. O., L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Subsidies and Aids, 3. m. 1 v.), and fixes the report after that date. It is also stated that the payment of papal tribute from the king had now ceased for twenty years. At Michaelmas, 1313, the king was twenty-four years in arrears (Kirsch, *Die Finanzverwaltung des Kardinalkollegiums*, Munster i. W., 1895, p. 35, n. 1), and this report, therefore, must have been written before Michaelmas, 1310, when the king would have been in arrears for twenty-one years. The third report covers the period from October 1, 1311, to October 1, 1312. The report used by Haller was the first of these three. These will be cited respectively as the first, second, and third reports of Testa.

collectors,<sup>14</sup> and seeks to consider the subject in the light of the fuller material now available.<sup>15</sup>

The immediate cause assigned by Clement V. for the imposition of annates was a deficit in the papal treasury which could not be met by the ordinary income.<sup>16</sup> At the close of the thirteenth century the income of the papacy was already insufficient for its needs, and the attenuated revenues from the Papal States threatened to be still further curtailed with the removal of the papal residence from Italy.<sup>17</sup> During the last years of the pontificate of Boniface VIII. the payment of taxes was badly in arrears, and the spoliation of the papal treasure at the time of the attack at Anagni in 1303 added to an existing financial stringency.<sup>18</sup> Benedict XI., though active in the attempt, was unable to restore the system to working order,<sup>19</sup> and the delay over the election of Clement V. increased the confusion.<sup>20</sup> At the beginning of his pontificate the new pope was forced to assume heavy debts to meet the expenses connected with the elaborate ceremonial of his consecration.<sup>21</sup> With a depleted treasury and a disorganized and inadequate fiscal system, Clement V. decided to expand the base of supplies.

The selection of annates for this purpose was not a radical departure. They formed a new source of revenue for the papacy,<sup>22</sup> but

<sup>14</sup> Letters from the collectors to English prelates concerned with the collection of annates. Salisbury Diocesan MSS., Register of Simon of Ghent, ff. 62v., 68v.-69v.

<sup>15</sup> The present paper is undertaken as part of a general study of the financial relations between England and the papacy during the thirteenth century and the early part of the fourteenth. I plan to edit Testa's reports as well as several others as a part of this study.

<sup>16</sup> Below, p. 63.

<sup>17</sup> Kirsch, "Comptes d'un Collecteur pontifical", *Archives de la Société d'Histoire du Canton de Fribourg*, VIII. 65-66 (1907); Eitel, *Der Kirchenstaat unter Klemens V.* (Berlin, 1907), p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Grandjean, "Recherches sur l'Administration Financière du Pape Benoît XI.", *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, III. 47-48 (1883).

<sup>19</sup> In England the papal collector, Gerard of Pecorara, met with much opposition, and after the death of Benedict XI. was expelled from the realm, having recovered only about £200. Roman Transcripts, General Series, 59. In the diocese of Basel there were a great number of benefices from which the collector of Benedict XI. secured nothing. Kirsch, *Die Päpstlichen Kollektorien*, pp. 4-32.

<sup>20</sup> In England, for example, no collector was present from December, 1304, to June, 1306.

<sup>21</sup> Below, p. 63.

<sup>22</sup> Haller, pp. 49, 51; Samaran and Mollat, p. 23. Kirsch (*Die Päpstlichen Annaten*, pp. xi, xv-xvi) advances the hypothesis that before 1306 the papacy had taken annates from single incumbents whom it had collated to benefices, if the customary collators, in whose place the papacy was acting, had the right to annates. He argues that papal letters bestowing benefices are found in the cameral registers of Urban IV. which would not be entered there unless payments to the camera were involved; and the payments are annates. As

similar charges had long been imposed locally on new incumbents of benefices by prelates and ecclesiastical corporations in various parts of Europe. Examples of the practice occur as early as the eleventh century,<sup>23</sup> and in the two following centuries it became common.<sup>24</sup> In England several cathedral chapters claimed by ancient custom the right to the income of the first year of any prebend falling vacant. At York, Exeter, and Lichfield the proceeds were used for the good of the deceased incumbent's soul.<sup>25</sup> At Salisbury and Wells only part was devoted to this object and the remainder went to the canons,<sup>26</sup> while at Chichester and Hereford the canons or the fabric received the whole sum.<sup>27</sup> The bishop of Norwich claimed a prescriptive right to annates from all benefices becoming vacant in his diocese, but his claim seems to have rested on a continuation without authority of a grant made by the pope to Pandulph,<sup>28</sup> which later popes confirmed.<sup>29</sup> The concession of annates to Pandulph for a limited term of years is one of the earliest known instances of such a privilege,<sup>30</sup> but during the thirteenth century such grants became increasingly common.<sup>31</sup> English prelates were frequent recipients of such favors,<sup>32</sup> and English kings likewise had a share. Henry III. and Edward I. both received grants of annates from the papacy, although that of the latter was revoked before it had been put into execution.<sup>33</sup> It was a natural progres-

Göller (*Einnahmen*, pp. 84\*-85\*) points out, however, many documents appear in the cameral registers of the thirteenth century which have no direct relation to the financial business of the camera, and the letters of provision, therefore, do not necessarily imply any payments.

<sup>23</sup> Göller, *Einnahmen*, p. 81\*.

<sup>24</sup> Kirsch, *Die Päpstlichen Annaten*, pp. xii-xiii; Haller, p. 50; Samaran and Mollat, p. 23.

<sup>25</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, I. 412, 597; *Registers of Walter Brouncombe* (ed. Hingeston-Randolph), p. 59.

<sup>26</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm., *Cal. of MSS. of Dean and Chapter of Wells*, p. 31; *Report III.*, App., p. 352.

<sup>27</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, I. 696; *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral* (ed. Capes), p. 47.

<sup>28</sup> Lambeth Palace MSS., Register of Archbishop Winchelsea, ff. 39-46. The archbishop disputed the bishop's claim, and this is an interesting account of the hearings before the papal commissioners.

<sup>29</sup> Dean and Chapter of Norwich MSS., *Registrum Secundum*, f. 43v.; Bliss, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, II. 18.

<sup>30</sup> Pandulph was bishop of Norwich from 1222 to 1226. Haller (p. 50) mentions a grant made to the bishop of Toul in 1223 as the earliest known to him.

<sup>31</sup> Haller, pp. 50-51; Kirsch, *Die Päpstlichen Annaten*, p. xiii.

<sup>32</sup> Theiner, *Monumenta Hibernorum*, p. 42; Bliss, *Calendar*, I. 267, 367, 484; Matthew Paris, IV. 506-509; P. R. O., Close Roll, 41 Henry III., m. 6, schedule; *Registres d'Alexandre IV.*, 875; *Registres de Nicolas IV.*, 1258, 1337, 1856, 1862, 2025, 2155, 4525.

<sup>33</sup> Rymer, *Foedera*, I. 345; Bartholomew Cotton, pp. 261-271.

sion for the papacy finally to claim for itself that which it had granted so freely to others.<sup>34</sup>

The choice of the British Isles as a place in which to try this experiment was probably due to the favorable opportunity offered by the requests for favors which Edward I. made soon after the election of Clement V. in June, 1305.<sup>35</sup> As early as August 14, Otho de Grandison, one of Edward's most trusted diplomatic agents, appeared at the papal court, and remained there until March 13, 1306.<sup>36</sup> At the consecration in November the king was represented by a large delegation of notables,<sup>37</sup> who came bearing costly presents.<sup>38</sup> Otho was a member of this official delegation, as was also Bartholomew of Ferentino, who had worked successfully with Otho in negotiating a bargain with Boniface VIII.<sup>39</sup> similar to that now concluded with Clement V. The embassy was authorized to treat concerning a crusade, peace with France, and "other things touching the salvation of the king's soul". The results of these negotiations flowed in rapid succession. By a bull dated December 29 Edward was released from his irksome oath to observe the forest charters. On February 12 Archbishop Winchelsea, who had incurred Edward's enmity, was suspended from office,<sup>40</sup> and about the same time the pope ordered the English clergy to pay to Edward a tenth of its income for two years ostensibly for the purpose of a crusade.<sup>41</sup> Not long after, the question of peace with France was handled by the cardinal legate Peter of Spain.<sup>42</sup> Annates were

<sup>34</sup> The papal tenths went through a similar course of development, having first been granted by papal authority for crusading purposes.

<sup>35</sup> English chroniclers suggest that the frequency of the demands of English prelates for grants of annates led Clement V. to appropriate the tax for himself in the British Isles (Rishanger, p. 228; *Flores Historiarum*, III. 130), but under the three immediate predecessors of Clement V. English prelates had been no more frequent recipients of such favors than the prelates of other countries. *Registres de Nicolas II.*, *Boniface VIII.*, and *Benoît XI.*, *passim*.

<sup>36</sup> P. R. O., Exch. K. R. Accounts, 369-11, f. 34v. Cf. Kingsford, "Sir Otho de Grandison", *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, third series, III. 156-158 (1909).

<sup>37</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1301-1307, p. 387. In addition to these ambassadors, several messengers went back and forth from England to the papal court between June, 1305, and February, 1306. British Museum, Harleian MSS. 152, ff. 5, 15, 18v.

<sup>38</sup> P. R. O., Exch. K. R. Accounts, 367-6, m. 1; Rishanger, p. 227.

<sup>39</sup> Prynne, *Exact Chronological Vindication*, III. 898, 912, 989; Rymer, *Foedera*, I. 928-931.

<sup>40</sup> Tout, *Political History of England*, 1216-1377, pp. 229-230.

<sup>41</sup> I have not been able to find a copy of this bull, although it had been issued before April 21, 1306. *Memorials of Beverley Minster*, Surtees Soc., I. 133-134. The scarcity, or perhaps lack, of any copies of this bull is probably explained by a bull of August 1, 1306 (Rymer, *Foedera*, I. 991-992), which apparently superseded the earlier bull at the king's request (Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report IV.*, App., p. 394, no. 1051).

<sup>42</sup> Hemingburgh, II. 252-253; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1301-1307, p. 520.



imposed by a bull dated February 1.<sup>43</sup> It is a plausible supposition, therefore, that Edward I. allowed Clement V. to try his experiment in the British Isles in return for favors received;<sup>44</sup> an hypothesis which is strengthened by Edward's attitude subsequent to the parliament of Carlisle.

The new tax was naturally unpopular and immediately aroused opposition. The announcement of its imposition was officially published in England on June 6, 1306.<sup>45</sup> In less than three months the pope complained to the king that his agents had been prevented from collecting the annates due from the priory of Merton,<sup>46</sup> and, while this may have been an isolated example of open defiance, it was without doubt indicative of a general feeling of hostility which found expression in the early part of 1307 at the parliament of Carlisle. Here the laymen, fearful of encroachment on their rights of advowson,<sup>47</sup> joined with the clergy both in a petition to the king asking for protection for the national church against annates and other papal exactions, and in a protest to the pope himself. The spirit of the discussion may be gathered from a letter addressed to the English clergy purporting to be written by "Peter, son of Casiodorus, catholic knight and devout champion of Christ", which, fallen from heaven, according to the monk Hemingburgh, was read in full parliament.<sup>48</sup> Composed presumably by an English clerk, it laments the evil days upon which the English church has fallen, and urges king and magnates to furnish protection by resisting the demands of Clement V., who is unjustly imposing too great a burden of taxation, not for the needs of the church, but for his own personal ends. The petition, more dignified in tone but none the less

<sup>43</sup> Below, pp. 62-64.

<sup>44</sup> Edward made other concessions also. He promised payment of £10,000 due the pope for the arrears of the annual tribute (Rymer, *Foedera*, II. 98), and he permitted papal nuncios to assume the care of the temporal, as well as the spiritual, property of the archbishopric of Canterbury during the period of Winchelsea's suspension (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1301-1307, pp. 512-514; Madox, *Exchequer*, II. 224).

<sup>45</sup> According to the *Annales Londonienses* (p. 147) the bulls imposing annates were formally published by the collectors in London at the church of St. Mary of the Arches on June 6. The letters of the collectors to the Bishop of Salisbury, however, are dated June 9. Register of Simon of Ghent, f. 62v. Similar letters were received at Winchester, June 12 (Winchester Diocesan MSS., Register of Woodlock, f. 42v.) and at Beverley, June 25 (*Memorials of Beverley*, I. 142).

<sup>46</sup> Pope to king, August 27. Rymer, *Foedera*, I. 997. The collectors had been notified of this vacancy by a letter dated June 28. Register of Woodlock, f. 42v.

<sup>47</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, I. 219-220.

<sup>48</sup> Hemingburgh, II. 254-259. Summaries of the letter are given by Haller, pp. 383-384, and Capes, *The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1900), p. 41.

firm, recites in detail the grievances of the community.<sup>49</sup> Several of them were old;<sup>50</sup> the innovations of Clement V, which were the immediate occasion of the present outburst were the increase in the number of papal collectors paid by procurations assessed on the English clergy, the attempt to collect Peter's pence directly from the payers,<sup>51</sup> and annates.<sup>52</sup> For these oppressions the petition sought remedy against William Testa, the principal papal collector in England, and his agents.

The action on the petition was prompt and vigorous. Testa was summoned to appear before full parliament and state his case. His plea that he did these things on the authority of the pope was not considered sufficient justification for acts deemed prejudicial to the crown and realm of England and subversive of English law and custom. Parliament ordained, therefore, that the exactions enumerated should cease, and that the money assembled by Testa and his agents should be kept safely within the realm until the king and his council should arrange otherwise. Royal writs, dated March 22, ordered sheriffs and bailiffs to ascertain by means of juries the names of Testa's agents who had committed any of these injuries, and to cite them to appear before the king to answer for their offenses.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, I. 219-221.

<sup>50</sup> These were the papal claim to legacies ambiguously stated and to the goods of intestates, taxation of the temporalities of the clergy, the use for other objects of gifts and legacies in aid of the Holy Land, and provisions. All of them had been previous subjects of complaint. Matthew Paris, V. 553; Wilkins, *Concilia*, II. 19; *Episcopal Registers, Diocese of Worcester* (ed. Bund), p. 490.

<sup>51</sup> Previously collected by English prelates who paid to the papal collectors fixed sums and kept for themselves the excess. See Lunt, "Financial System of the Mediaeval Papacy", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXIII. 279 (1909). The change would have affected laymen as well as clergy, since many landlords collected Peter's pence from their tenants and retained a portion of the proceeds for themselves. Lambeth Palace MSS., Register of Archbishop Reynolds, f. 239; Fosbroke, *Berkeley Manuscripts* (London, 1821), p. 53; Neilson, "Customary Rents", *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, II. 199 (1910).

<sup>52</sup> Lay patrons feared that annates would encroach upon their rights of advowson and perhaps abolish them entirely. *Rot. Parl.*, I. 220. When the Archbishop of Canterbury had been granted annates by the pope, Henry III. had forbidden their collection from benefices in lay patronage. Prynne, *Exact Chronological Indication*, II. 718. In the present levy, however, benefices in lay patronage paid annates, several of the vacant benefices reported by the Bishop of Salisbury (Register of Simon of Ghent, f. 69v.) being in lay presentation (Hutchins, *History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, London, 1774, *passim*). The same practice also obtained under John XXII. *Register of Richard Newport*, Canterbury and York Soc., p. 185; Vatican Archives, *Introitus et Exitus*, 15, f. 18v. There was apparently some justification for these fears, since under later popes benefices in lay patronage were exempt from annates. Samaran and Mollat, p. 33.

<sup>53</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, I. 221-222. Accounts of the proceedings are given also by Trivettus (Eng. Hist. Soc.), pp. 411-412; Hemingburgh, II. 262-264. For second-

These sweeping reforms were not long allowed to stand intact. Edward was probably under too great obligation to the pope to allow the prohibition of annates. At the request of the papal legate the writs of March 22 were held back, and on April 4 new writs were issued which modified the decrees of the parliament of Carlisle.<sup>54</sup> The collectors were allowed to proceed with their business, provided they acted in the same manner as their predecessors and attempted nothing prejudicial to the crown. If Edward's concessions had stopped here, the further collection of annates would have been prevented, since this had not been among the functions of any previous collector, but another writ especially authorized the continuance of this exaction, provided void abbacies and priories were not troubled. This settlement, however, failed to end the difficulty. The provisions of the writs offered fertile soil for a crop of conflicting interpretations concerning their intent, and the collectors, who were naturally broad constructionists, soon experienced hindrances from the narrow construction placed upon the grants by the royal officials. Finally Testa and his colleague brought their case before the king's council. There it was decided, in accordance with the views of the narrow constructionists, that the writ of April 4 gave no power to proceed with the collection of any of the exactions complained of at the parliament of Carlisle, with the exception of annates, since all those exactions were prejudicial to crown and realm; and, furthermore, that it was prejudicial to the crown to demand annates from benefices in the royal patronage. A royal writ, issued June 27, ordered the collectors to observe this decision pending further deliberation.<sup>55</sup>

The definitive settlement, presaged in the writ of June 27, was  
 any accounts see Stubbs, *Historical Introductions*, pp. 495-496; Haller, pp. 386-387; Ramsay, *Daten of the Constitution*, pp. 516-517.

<sup>54</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, I. 222; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1301-1307, p. 514.

<sup>55</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, I. 222-223. Stubbs on the basis of this same evidence makes the sweeping statement: "These saving words [*i. e.*, the provisos] explained away all that the writs [those of April 4] seemed to have granted, and a peremptory prohibition against their [the collectors'] further proceedings was issued on the 27th of June" (*Historical Introductions*, p. 496). The words, however, did not explain away annates, nor did the prohibition stop their collection. Furthermore, Edward obviously had not intended by the writs of April 4 to release the collectors from the major portion of the restrictions placed upon them at the parliament of Carlisle, since he allowed them to proceed only so far as they acted in the same manner as their predecessors. No collector had succeeded in securing indistinct legacies and goods of intestates, though it had been previously tried, and the collection of Peter's pence directly from the payers had not before been attempted. Thus two of the most important prohibitions of the parliament of Carlisle were maintained. Because the parliament of Carlisle did not permanently stop annates and provisions, the importance of its work seems to have been generally underestimated.

prevented by the death of Edward I., and his son allowed the matter to drift. In answer to inquiries from the pope<sup>56</sup> Edward II. professed himself ready to abide by the decision of his father as expressed in the writs of April 4.<sup>57</sup> The ambiguity of the provisos, however, was not entirely removed. In 1308 Clement V. complained of hindrances placed in the way of the papal collectors by royal servants,<sup>58</sup> but Edward denied any infringement of the grant of privileges.<sup>59</sup> A year later the pope protested vigorously against the action of the sheriff of York, who imprisoned William de Prat, collector of annates in the province of York, and released him only on the payment of a fine of ten pounds imposed for failure to observe a prohibition placed upon him by the royal officials.<sup>60</sup> Despite these misunderstandings, however, the collection of annates appears to have progressed during the reign of Edward II. without serious impediment. Annates were still a subject of complaint at the parliament of Stamford held in the summer of 1309,<sup>61</sup> and the reports of Testa display the work going on with no great irregularity. So far as annates were concerned popular opposition accomplished little.

The administration of this first levy of annates was carried on by a staff of nuncios larger than that usually employed to collect papal taxes in the British Isles.<sup>62</sup> The two principal collectors were the papal chaplains, William Testa, archdeacon of Aran in the diocese of Comminges,<sup>63</sup> and William Géraud de Sore, canon of Rouen.<sup>64</sup> The latter, however, seems to have left the direction of

<sup>56</sup> Rymer, *Foedera*, II. 10.

<sup>57</sup> King to pope, December 26, 1307. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>58</sup> Pope to king, April 9, 1308. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>59</sup> King to pope, July 23, 1308. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>60</sup> Pope to bishop of Worcester, October 28, 1309. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98. This case Edward promised to investigate as soon as the unsettled state of the realm would allow. King to pope, April 1, 1310. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>61</sup> *Annales Londonienses*, pp. 162-165.

<sup>62</sup> The barons complained at Carlisle that the pope was keeping four nuncios in England at the expense of the clergy, when customarily he kept but one. *Rot. Parl.*, I. 220.

<sup>63</sup> Testa remained in England eight years, leaving in 1313 (Rymer, *Foedera*, II. 216) to assume the cardinalate to which he had been promoted in 1312. In 1323 he became *camerarius* of the cardinal-college. He died in 1326. Kirsch, *Finanzverwaltung*, p. 45. He appears to have made many acquaintances during his stay in England. After he became cardinal he had a pension from the king and held several English benefices, and many others were provided at his request. Both king and clergy went to him frequently, when they had business at the Roman court. Bliss, *Calendar*, II. 59, 123, 155, 169; Stapleton, "Summary of Wardrobe Accounts", *Archaeologia*, XXVI. 324; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1317-1321, p. 68; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Cal. MSS. Dean and Chapter of Wells*, p. 211.

<sup>64</sup> Géraud was known to Edward I., having acted as proctor for the king at the royal court of France in 1289. *Rôles Gascons*, vol. II., nos. 998, 1066.

the work almost entirely to Testa,<sup>65</sup> who was also in charge of the collection of the other papal revenues in the British Isles.<sup>66</sup> Other nuncios who assisted were Garsie Arnaud de Garlens, canon of Auch, and Peter Amauvin, canon of Bordeaux.<sup>67</sup> Testa himself took direct charge of the province of Canterbury, while William de Prat, canon of Comminges, John de Delsolèr,<sup>68</sup> and John de Lescaçon, canon of Nantes,<sup>69</sup> all ranking as nuncios, acted as his commissioners for the province of York, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively.<sup>70</sup> In England there was a small corps of deputy-collectors which the bull of instructions empowered the principal collectors to appoint.<sup>71</sup> The collectors were armed with full powers to enforce payment and to compel delinquents and opponents with ecclesiastical censures.<sup>72</sup>

Although the bull imposing annates was issued February 1, 1306, the work of collection was not begun until the early summer. Testa was in England as nuncio in the autumn of 1305,<sup>73</sup> but his letters of credence as collector are dated March 23, 1306,<sup>74</sup> and the formal announcement of the levy of annates was not made public till June 6.<sup>75</sup> The papal bulls then published<sup>76</sup> informed the English clergy that during a period of three years, dating from February 1, 1306, benefices and ecclesiastical offices in monasteries, priories, and

<sup>65</sup> Reports of Testa.

<sup>66</sup> Appointed by letters dated March 23, 1306. Register of Simon of Ghent, f. 59.

<sup>67</sup> Peter Amauvin seems to have superseded William Géraud. Rymer, *Foedera*, II. 1014; *Regestum Clementis Papae V.*, 2372. Garsie Arnaud was apparently concerned chiefly with the transportation of money from England to the papal camera. Bliss, *Calendar*, II. 48, 58, 77; Third Report of Testa.

<sup>68</sup> "De Solerio", under John XXII. a collector of annates in Portugal. Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben der Apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII.* (Paderborn, 1911), pp. 410, 420.

<sup>69</sup> A cameral clerk under John XXII. Schäfer, *Ausgaben*, p. 884; Göller, *Einnahmen*, pp. 322, 327, 330, 337; Vatican Archives, *Introitus et Exitus*, 58, f. 136.

<sup>70</sup> Reports of Testa.

<sup>71</sup> The only deputy-collector of whom I have found mention was Robert de Patrica, rector of Farndon in the diocese of Winchester. His collectorate included the dioceses of Winchester and Salisbury. Register of Simon of Ghent, f. 68v.; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report IV.*, App., pp. 382-383. Since four or more deputy-collectors were customarily appointed in the same district for the purpose of collecting a papal tenth, the staff of sub-collectors for annates was evidently small.

<sup>72</sup> Below, p. 64.

<sup>73</sup> He was one of the nuncios sent by Clement V. to invite Edward or his son to be present at the consecration. The invitation was dated August 25 and Edward's answer October 4, 1305. Prynne, *Exact Chronological Vindication*, III. 1069-1072.

<sup>74</sup> P. R. O., Papal Bulls, 44-18.

<sup>75</sup> Above, p. 53.

<sup>76</sup> Below, pp. 62-64.

churches falling vacant, were to pay the first-fruits to the papal collectors or their representatives. The rights of others to annates acquired by prescription or by papal privilege were suspended during this period, although the subsequent restoration of such rights to the possessors was guaranteed. It was not intended, furthermore, to demand so much for annates as to interfere with the proper celebration of divine offices or the cure of souls attached to any benefice.<sup>77</sup> The only exemption from payment of the tax stated in the bull was the mensal income of an archbishop, bishop, or regular abbot. In actual practice, however, further exceptions were made. The action of the king after the parliament of Carlisle caused priories and abbacies to be held immune.<sup>78</sup> The canons of Beverley expected that the income of an office regularly used for daily distributions to the canons would be free from payment,<sup>79</sup> and, although it does not appear what view the collectors took, it is significant that in future levies such was the case.<sup>80</sup>

The first step taken by the collectors was to establish the location and value of the vacant benefices. This work was done largely by the bishops, who were ordered to certify to the collectors the value of all benefices in their dioceses vacant between the date of the bulls and the receipt of copies of the same, and thereafter to make regular monthly reports.<sup>81</sup> The value assigned to benefices by the

<sup>77</sup> This provision is often found in the earlier use of annates by prelates and foundations. Constitution *Suscepti regiminis*, Friedberg, *Corpus* (ed. Richter), col. 1205; *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, p. 47; Wilkins, *Concilia*, I. 597.

<sup>78</sup> Above, p. 55; Hemingburgh, II. 242. According to the chronicler of St. Albans the abbot confirmed in 1309 paid first-fruits (*Gesta Abbatum*, II. 114), but the payment actually was *servitia* (Vatican Archives, Oblig., 1, f. 42v.). Abbacies and priories, and bishoprics and archbishoprics as well, had been exempt in the levy granted to Henry III. Gottlob, *Die Servitientaxe im 13. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1903), p. 90. What was done with regard to bishoprics and archbishoprics in the present levy is not entirely clear. Some chroniclers assert that they paid annates. Rishanger, p. 228; *Flores Historiarum*, III. 130. Haller (p. 382, n. 1) considers these statements incorrect. At least one bishop appointed during this period paid *servitia* (Vatican Archives, Oblig., 1, f. 41), and it is not probable that both payments were demanded. In later levies episcopal incomes were excluded. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, I. 447. Neither is it clear whether the decision of the council, that benefices in royal patronage should be exempt, was observed. It is perhaps significant that Edward II. in his correspondence with the pope on the subject insisted on the exemption of abbacies and priories, but said nothing about benefices in the royal patronage.

<sup>79</sup> *Memorials of Beverley*, I. 142-143.

<sup>80</sup> Samaran and Mollat, p. 29.

<sup>81</sup> Register of Simon of Ghent, f. 62v.; Register of Woodlock, f. 42v.; *Memorials of Beverley*, I. 142. The same practice was followed in the levy imposed by John XXII. in 1316. Salisbury Diocesan MSS., Register of Mortival, II. f. 78.

bishops was the same as that given in the valuation made for the assessment of the crusading tenth imposed by Nicholas IV. in 1291. The directions of the collectors concerning these items are not always as definite as might be desired. Once they demanded the *communem valorem*. At another time they wanted certification *de valore seu exstimatione* and again *de vero valore*.<sup>82</sup> But in the returns to all three demands the value attached to a benefice was always that fixed in the valuation of 1291.<sup>83</sup> If a benefice was not there assessed, it was reported "value unknown" or "not taxed". Since the collectors allowed this practice to continue unchanged, it is without doubt the valuation they desired and the basis on which annates were paid.<sup>84</sup> Clement V., therefore, did not take the whole first year's income of a vacant benefice, as is commonly asserted,<sup>85</sup> since the valuation for the tenth was below the real value,<sup>86</sup> and the difference between the assessed and actual value was commonly reputed

<sup>82</sup> Register of Simon of Ghent, ff. 62v., 68v., 69.

<sup>83</sup> In his first report the Bishop of Winchester states that he is returning the valuation found in the taxation rolls. Register of Woodlock, f. 48v. A comparison of the returns made by the bishops of Salisbury and Winchester (Register of Simon of Ghent, ff. 64v., 68v.-70v.; Register of Woodlock, ff. 42v., 48v., 56v., 60, 66, 69, 74v., 82v., 94, 97v., 101v.-102v.) with the valuation of 1291 (published by the Record Commission) shows that this was true of all the returns.

<sup>84</sup> This is still further substantiated by the statement of Testa in his second report: "De beneficiis vero non arrendatis certificare non possum ad quantum ascenderit, quia pro maiori parte sunt ita exilia quod etiam ad decimam non taxantur, sed de illis et de aliis, quicquid bono modo poterimus, faciemus." A comparison of the value of the benefices reported by the Bishop of Winchester with the sum actually demanded from those benefices by the collector leads to the same conclusion. In June, 1308, Testa reported the sum of annates due from the diocese of Winchester at 642 marks (First Report). In September, 1308, the value of the benefices returned by the Bishop of Winchester up to that time was 681 marks (compiled from the Register of Woodlock, ff. 101v.-102v.). The two sums are not identical because the reports cover slightly different periods, and because the value of four benefices returned by the bishop is not stated. But, if the whole of the first year's income had been taken, the sum reported by Testa would have been far in excess of the valuation given by the Bishop of Winchester.

This conclusion directly controverts the assertion made in the petition of Carlisle that the pope takes the whole income of a benefice during the first year after vacancy, and leaves nothing for the sustenance of the incumbent. *Rot. Parl.*, I. 220. As a statement of grievances prepared before the first hot anger of the opposition had cooled, the petition might be expected to contain some exaggeration, and, balanced against the declaration of intention in the bull of instructions to the papal collectors not to levy annates in such a way as to deprive benefices of their accustomed services, and against the above evidence of the actual practice of assessment, it has little weight.

<sup>85</sup> "L'usage de lever l'annate d'après le montant de la taxe de la décime remonte au concile de Vienne." Samaran and Mollat, p. 29. Göller (*Einnahmen*, pp. 81\*-82\*) asserts that Clement V. took the full income of the first year.

<sup>86</sup> Concerning the valuation of 1291 see Graham, "The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV.", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXIII. 443-446 (1908).

sufficient to maintain the services of the benefice.<sup>87</sup> If a benefice was not included in the valuation of 1291, it was assessed by the collectors,<sup>88</sup> and in some cases benefices which had deteriorated in value during the intervening period appear to have been re-assessed.<sup>89</sup>

Once the situation and value of the vacant benefices had been established, the remaining task of the collectors was to assemble the money from the debtors and forward it to the papal camera. In Scotland and Ireland payment was backward as was usual in the case of papal taxes, but in England the money came in steadily, notwithstanding the difficulties experienced by the collectors.<sup>90</sup> The figures for the province of York are somewhat fragmentary, but in the province of Canterbury eight months before the levy ceased £6,322 2 s. 2 d. had been collected and £4,688 17 s. remained unpaid,<sup>91</sup> while four years later the sum in arrears stood at £1,262 5 s. 6 d.<sup>92</sup> Testa was an efficient and successful administrator of the papal financial business in England, and before his departure in 1313 this sum had probably been further reduced, although some debts were left for his successors to recover.<sup>93</sup> The proceeds were transmitted at frequent intervals to the papal camera, usually by special messen-

<sup>87</sup> Constitution *Suscepti regiminis*, Friedberg, *Corpus*, col. 1205. This is brought out also in the deliberations of the council of Vienne. Göller, *Einnahmen*, p. 81\*, n. 7.

<sup>88</sup> Second Report of Testa. What the practice was in such cases I have not discovered. In later levies the collector took one-half the actual income of an untaxed benefice and left the other half to the incumbent. Bliss, *Calendar*, II. 422.

<sup>89</sup> Register of Woodlock, ff. 101v.-102v. This custom was followed in later levies. Kirsch, *Die Päpstlichen Kollektorien*, pp. 37, 49, 131.

<sup>90</sup> Reports of Testa.

<sup>91</sup> First Report of Testa. This is the only one of the three reports which gives a detailed view of the progress of collection. The following table gives a summary of the statement for the province of Canterbury, only the totals being given for the other collectorates. The mark equals two-thirds of a pound. The totals do not correspond exactly to those of Testa given above, but accuracy rarely occurs in medieval accounts.

Diocese	Paid		Unpaid		Diocese	Paid		Unpaid	
	Marks	s. d.	Marks	s. d.		Marks	s. d.	Marks	s. d.
Canterbury	482	5 4	281	7 10	St. Davids			300	5 4
Rochester	391	10 0	172	4 4	St. Asaph	287	6 8	210	6 8
London	521	8 4	412	5 0	Bangor			211	0 4
Chichester	294	1 4	208	6 8	Llandaff	71	0 0	97	0 0
Winchester	250	3 4	392	5 10	Worcester	553	14 8	271	10 0
Salisbury	585	6 8	535	6 8	Lichfield	277	0 0	349	0 0
Exeter	492	4 10	303	6 0	Ely	76	6 8	160	0 0
Bath and Wells	110	9 4	336	12 4	Norwich	1580	6 8	921	3 4
Hereford	385	15 4	163	6 8	Lincoln	3121	10 0	1705	10 0
					Total	9480	9 2	7030	17 0

<sup>92</sup> Third Report of Testa.

<sup>93</sup> His immediate successor, William de Baletto, was active in this direction (Register of Reynolds, f. 84), but I have found nothing to indicate how much he recovered. Rigaud Asser, collector from 1317 to 1321, records the receipt of £80 6 s. 8 d. from this source. Vatican Archives, Introitus et Exitus, 15, f. 46v.



gers,<sup>94</sup> occasionally by means of exchange through the Italian bankers, who handled the papal financial business.<sup>95</sup> The total yield of the levy can be determined only approximately. The receipts issued to the collectors by the papal camera are not itemized in such a way as to distinguish between payments of annates and other taxes,<sup>96</sup> and the two reports of Testa rendered after the expiration of the triennial period do not contain complete statements. The figures given in the report covering the period to June 13, 1308, however, offer a good basis for estimating the amount. The proceeds in the province of Canterbury up to that time were £11,010 19s. 2d. The monthly average, therefore, was £386 7s. If it be assumed that the average remained the same for the last seven and one-half months as for the preceding period, the yield for the whole three years would be £13,908 12s. In the province of York the amount paid at the same date was £2,227, but the extent of the unpaid debts is not indicated. Assuming that the sum paid bore the same ratio to the whole amount produced in both provinces up to June, 1308, the latter in the province of York would be £3,903. The monthly average would be £136 18s. 11d. and the income for the three years £4,930 1s. Thus, estimated on this basis, the total sum produced was £18,838 13s.<sup>97</sup> This result is probably not far from correct, since the yield for another period of three years beginning September 8, 1316, was £16,351 2s. 8½d.<sup>98</sup>

After a detailed study of the first levy of annates, the aspect which stands out most clearly is its importance as a precedent. Although recent scholars recognize Clement V. as the originator of annates, John XXII. is usually regarded as the organizer of the permanent system of administration.<sup>99</sup> In the light of the present evidence this

<sup>94</sup> Third Report of Testa; Bliss, *Calendar*, II. 31, 48; *Regestum Clementis Papae I.*, 3583.

<sup>95</sup> Bliss, *Calendar*, II. 77.

<sup>96</sup> Haller (p. 388, n. 1) places the sum produced by annates up to December 25, 1309, at over 70,000 florins (i. e., 14,000 marks). He bases his statement on one of these receipts (*Regestum Clementis Papae I.*, 6285), but the receipt covers the produce of several taxes besides annates.

<sup>97</sup> This is the gross sum. The net sum cannot be estimated, because the expenses of collection are not stated in some reports, and when given are not separated from the expenses incurred in the collection of other taxes. The expenses were, however, probably small. During the year from October 1, 1311, to October 1, 1312, the total receipts from all sources were £3,761 8s. 4¾d. and the expenses £309 15s. 7d. Third Report of Testa. Since annates could be collected more cheaply than some taxes, the expenses were probably less than ten per cent.

<sup>98</sup> Compiled from Rigaud Asser's report, Vatican Archives, *Introitus et Exitus*, 15, ff. 1-41.

<sup>99</sup> "Jean XXII. régla définitivement par la bulle *Si gratanter advertitis* le mode de perception de l'annate, et ses successeurs se gardèrent bien d'y apporter

view must be discarded. The bulls of John XXII. dealing with annates take much of their form and content from the bull of Clement V. here printed, often repeating portions in the same language.<sup>100</sup> In subsequent levies there are the same provisions for guaranteeing the restoration of the suspended rights of the customary holders of annates and for preserving the services of benefices subject to the tax. The number of exemptions increases, and some exemptions are more carefully defined, but those granted by Clement V., with the exception of priories, become customary.<sup>101</sup> The plan of assessment is somewhat amplified: the collector may take for annates the assessed value of the benefice or the remainder of the actual income accruing during the first year after vacancy, and when a benefice is not assessed for the tenth, the collector and the incumbent share the actual proceeds. The basis of the assessment, however, remains unchanged.<sup>102</sup> The methods of administration remain the same even in such details as the mode of gathering the preliminary information from the local bishops<sup>103</sup> and the close supervision of the work of the collectors by the papal camera.<sup>104</sup> Several of the regulations and exemptions naturally receive a more exact and extended application during the pontificate of John XXII., but it is now plain that in all essential respects John XXII. followed the precedents established in the first levy of annates by Clement V.

W. E. LUNT.

*Register of Simon of Ghent, bishop of Salisbury, f. 62v.*

Clemens, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis, magistris Guillelmo, archidiacono de Aranno in ecclesia Convenarum, et Guillelmo Geraldini de Sora, canonico Rotomagensi, capellanis nostris, collectoribus aucun changement." Samaran and Mollat, p. 29. "Die grosse Reservation vom 8. Dezember 1316, die die Grundlage für die ganze spätere Annatenentwicklung bildet." Göller, *Einnahmen*, p. 87\*.

<sup>100</sup> Compare the bulls *Si gratanter advertitis* (Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungarum sacram illustrantia*, I. 446-448) and *Quantis haereticorum* (Kirsch, *Die Päpstlichen Kollektorien*, pp. 119-122) with the bull below.

<sup>101</sup> For a detailed account of exemptions allowed in later levies see Samaran and Mollat, pp. 29-33. Priories were not generally exempt in subsequent levies, but in England Edward II. demanded (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1318-1323, p. 26) and seems to have secured their exemption. No priories are included in the list of benefices paying annates reported by Rigaud Asser (1316-1319). Vatican Archives, *Introitus et Exitus*, 15, ff. 1-41.

<sup>102</sup> Concerning the method of assessment used in later levies see Samaran and Mollat, pp. 28-29.

<sup>103</sup> Register of Mortival, vol. II., f. 68.

<sup>104</sup> The collectors of the first levy made frequent detailed reports to the camera and kept in constant communication with it through messengers (Reports of Testa) as did the collectors of later levies (Kirsch, *Die Päpstlichen Kollektorien*, *passim*). The camera often gave directions to the collectors also. Register of Simon of Ghent, ff. 68v.-69.

fructuum reddituum et proventuum ecclesiasticorum primi anni omnium beneficiorum ad presens in Anglie et Scotie regnis Hibernie et Wallie provinciis earumque civitatibus et diocesibus vacantium, et que usque ad triennium vacare contigerit, per sedem apostolicam deputatis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Si sacrosancta Romana mater ecclesia, quam divina clemencia [f. 63] cunctarum orbis ecclesiarum capud statuit, et habere voluit principatum, gerens ad filios materne compassionis affectum, illorum efficiatur angustiiis eis communicet indefessa pressuris in necessitatibus que per oportune subventionis remedium laxet manum, modis exquirendo sollicitè quibus eis grate fecunditatis commoda subministret, decet eos, nisi per ingritudinis vitium in oblivionem materni uberis prolabantur, sibi multa reverentia filialiter obsequi de ipsius oportunitate studiose curare obviare dispendiis, et, ne defectus rerum temporalium eius decorem quod absit obnubilet, prompta etiam magnanimitate consurgere abolere incommoda, et sibi necessitate urgente articulo necessaria ministrare. Sic quippe benedictionis materne promerentur gratiam et laudis titulos apud homines ac celestis vite premium assequuntur. Sane sic ipsa Romana mater ecclesia, que tunc temporis malitia faciente dudum a non longe retroactis temporibus multis fuit amaritudinibus lacerata et quassata turbinibus tum propter hoc tum propter alia, que longum esset enarrare per singula, tam gravia atque grandia subivit onera expensarum, tum etiam quia tempore recolende memorie Bonifacii pape octavi, predecessoris nostri, non ulli [sic] perditionis filii thesaurum ecclesie eiusdem, sicut vos latere non credimus, rapuerunt, est exausta ere, tum pro eo etiam quod nobis, postquam fuimus ad apicem summi apostolatus divina dispositione vocati, precipue in hoc nostre creationis primordio immuni erunt et imminet expensaria maiora solito facienda, quod ipsa implorare compellitur subsidiorum [sic] filiorum, et, quod referre pudet et admiratione non caret, mercatores, qui se eiusdem ecclesie servicio offerebant, sibi instantis necessitatis tempore defecerunt.

Quare nos, predictis omnibus in considerationem adductis et ad subveniendum nobis et prefate ecclesie viis et modis salubribus diligentius exquisitis, fructus redditus et proventus primi anni omnium et singulorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum cum cura et sine cura, etiam personatum et dignitatum quarumlibet ecclesiarum monasteriorum prioratum et aliorum locorum ecclesiasticorum tam secularium quam regularium exemptorum et non exemptorum, que in Anglie et Scotie regnis et Hybernæ et Wallie provinciis sive partibus eorum civitatibus et diocesibus vacant ad presens, et que usque ad triennium vacare contigerit, fructibus ad archiepiscopales et episcopales et abbatum regularium mensas spectantibus dumtaxat exceptis, non obstante quod fructus redditus et proventus huius primi anni ex privilegio sedis apostolice vel alias de iure seu quacumque consuetudine seu statuto alicui vel aliquibus deberentur, vel in usus forent aliquos convertendi pro ipsius ecclesie oneribus facilius celebrandis, in eius agendorum subsidium auctoritate apostolica per alias nostras certi tenoris litteras duximus deputandos, volentes quod per deputationem huiusmodi hiis qui fructus redditus et proventus primi anni predicti debebantur quo ad assecutionem fructuum anni sequentis nullum preiudicium generetur, quodque beneficia ipsa debitis non fraudenter obsequiis et animarum cura in eis quibus iminet nullatenus negligatur. Ac nihilominus venerabiles fratres nostros, archiepiscopos et episcopos, ac dilectos filios electos, abbates, priores,

decanos, prepositos, archidiaconos, plebanos, archipresbiteros et alios ecclesiarum et monasteriorum aliorumque locorum ecclesiasticorum<sup>105</sup> prelatos et rectores, eorumque capitula collegia et conventus exemptos et non exemptos Cisterciensis, Cluniacensis, Sancti Benedicti, Sancti Augustini, Grandimontensis, Premonstratensis, Cartisiensis, aliorumque ordinum, nec non hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jhersolimi, Militie Templi et Sancte Marie Theotonicorum preceptores et magistros eorumque locum tenentes per regna provincias et loca prefata ubilibet constitutos rogandos duximus et hortandos, eis in remissione peccatorum iniungentes, quatinus prelibate ecclesie necessitatibus ut filii multe teneritudinis compatiētes ab intimis vos, quos collectores fructuum reddituum et proventuum huiusmodi et vestrum alterum auctoritate presentium deputamus, et subcollectores vestros ipsos per idem triennium colligere et exigere absque alicuius difficultatis obstaculo permittant libere et illos prout in eis fuerit vel vestrum alteri ac subcollectoribus memoratis assignare procurent per vos sepedicte ecclesie camere resignandos.

Quo circa, de vestre circumspectionis industria plenam in domino fiduciam obtinentes, discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus prefatos fructus redditus et proventus per vos et subcollectores, quos vos vel alter vestrum ad hoc decre-[f. 63v.]veretis deputandos, diligenter colligere et exigere ipsosque fideliter eidem camere assignare curetis. Nos enim vobis et vestrum alteri colligendi per vos et vestrum alterum et subcollectores eosdem, et exigendi fructus redditus et proventus premissos, et subcollectores mutandi huiusmodi et alios subrogandi, quotiens expedire videbitur, nostro et ecclesie prefate nomine, necnon contradictores quoslibet et rebelles, quicumque et cuiuscumque conditionis preeminencie ordinis aut status existant, etiam si pontificali prefulgeant dignitate, auctoritate nostra, apellatione postposita, compescendi; non obstantibus quibuscumque privilegiis statutis et consuetudinibus contrariis ecclesiarum in quibus huiusmodi beneficia fuerint iuramento confirmatione apostolica vel alia quacumque firmitate vallatis, seu, si predictis archiepiscopis episcopis aut aliis superius nominatis vel personis quibuscumque aut eorum ordinibus a sede prefata indultum existat, quod excommunicari suspendi vel interdici non possint per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum et ipsorum ordinum mentionem [*sic*], et quibuslibet litteris privilegiis et indulgentiis apostolicis generalibus vel specialibus quibuscumque personis et locis et sub quacumque forma vel concessione verborum concessis per que presentibus non expressa vel totaliter non incerta [*sic*] effectus presentium impediri valeat quomodolibet vel differi et de quibus verbo ad verbum mentionem in litteris nostris fieri oporteat; specialem plenam et liberam concedimus auctoritate presentium facultatem.

Datum Lugduni Kalendis Februarii pontificatus nostri anno primo.

<sup>105</sup> Ecclesiasticorumque in the text.

## NONCONFORMITY UNDER THE "CLARENDON CODE"

THE disintegration of Puritanism was accompanied by a rise of religious free-thinkers, the growth of the Royal Society, and a period of social unrest which made the restoration of Charles II. inevitable.<sup>1</sup> Negotiations with the exiled court were begun with amazingly quick results. In his Declaration from Breda Charles promised liberty to tender consciences, subject to the approval of Parliament, and agreed to use his power in securing a religious settlement. This declaration accomplished its purpose by creating false hopes and the king returned in 1660 amid unrestrained expressions of joy.<sup>2</sup> The objection of Presbyterians to Episcopacy was in matters of church polity. They thought the system would be modified to suit their tender consciences and that comprehension within the Church would follow. Therefore the Declaration from Breda meant a Presbyterian-Episcopate to this element of Dissent.<sup>3</sup> It meant a different thing however to the other nonconforming bodies. They looked upon "liberty to tender consciences" as giving them the right to a free exercise of worship. They did not care whether the Church was strict or limited; whether the prayer-book was modified or destroyed. Therefore the plea of the "Fanatics" and that of the Presbyterians was different, though it does not seem

<sup>1</sup> Address of Anabaptists to the king: "We have sown the wind, and we have reaped a whirlwind; we have sown faction, and we have reaped confusion." Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion* (Oxford, 1816), III. 806. In the Declaration from Breda, Charles alluded to the confusion as, "men engaged in parties and animosities against each other". As late as 1668 they were still in bitter contentions: "In every Town almost which was capable of two Preachers, one Presbyterian and one Independent were planted . . . condemned . . . to Dispute and Preach and Strive." Kennett's *Register*, June 8, 1662.

<sup>2</sup> The king "smoothed them with some good Words, which they, afterwards, most brazenly called Promises". North, *Examen*, p. 431; Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, III. 991.

<sup>3</sup> *Documents relating to the Settlement of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity*, pp. 105-111. Sylvester, *Reliquiae Baxterianae or Mr. Richard Baxter's Narrative of the Most Memorable Passage of his Life and Times* (London, 1696), with special reference to the Declaration on Ecclesiastical Affairs, pt. II., pp. 259-264, also 230. It is essential to keep in mind this hope of the Presbyterians all through the struggle. Their ideas and expectations were always different from those of the other nonconforming bodies and it is a mistake to associate them except in a general way. This has been a persistent error which has resulted in giving to the Presbyterians a greater share of suffering than the evidence warrants.

to have come to an issue until October, 1660.<sup>4</sup> The Presbyterians wanted to get into the Church upon a modified basis; the Fanatics were fighting to keep out of the Church upon any terms whatever.

The Presbyterians showed their uncompromising and bitter determination in the struggle that now began. Baxter knew that the king desired a union of the Presbyterians and the Church of England but the king told him that "this Agreement could not be expected to be compass'd by bringing one party over to the other, but by abating something on both Sides".<sup>5</sup> This was refused, "and tho' desired by the King, to read so much of the Liturgy as themselves had no objection against . . . yet the Honour of their Party, and their Credit, was not to be reconciled".<sup>6</sup> Knowing that the Church had passed into the hands of Parliament, and that the king desired unity, the Presbyterians felt secure, little suspecting that "the Bishops who had been formerly allowed to persecute by favor of the King in spite of the House of Commons" would have power "to persecute by favor of the House of Commons in spite of the King". The Fanatics began to realize that the Presbyterian plan was to limit Episcopacy, comprehend Presbyterians, and crush all other Dissent.

A large amount of material has been opened in Devonshire House, London, which throws much light upon this period. This consists of the Quaker records for England. Devonshire House was the centre into which written reports were sent describing the treatment of Quakers in all parts of England. These reports were transcribed into large volumes called "The Books of Sufferings" and in them we have a picture of the Friends as they lived and suffered under the Restoration.<sup>7</sup> Court trials, fines, imprisonments,

<sup>4</sup>The reasons for nonconformity were reducible to five. Kennett, June 9, 1662. This was clearly shown in the Savoy Conference and the subsequent action of the Fanatics upon the attitude of the Presbyterians who quibbled over allowing "others" to share the benefits of indulgence. Sylvester, *Baxter*, pt. II, pp. 259-270; H. S. Skeats, *History of the Free Churches in England* (London, 1869), p. 73. For the attitude of Fanatics see *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1660, September to December.

<sup>5</sup>Calamy, *An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times* (London, 1713), I. 140.

<sup>6</sup>Kennett, 1662, June 29 and August 3.

<sup>7</sup>The care with which the Quakers kept the records of their sufferings was due to orders handed down from Devonshire House. They had specific instructions to note everything pertaining to their sect in every part of England and were to send it to Devonshire House to be recorded. Their Yearly Meeting was also held there and at that meeting the affairs of the Friends were carefully discussed and recorded. This meeting directed that one or two Friends be at all assizes and ascertain every possible fact relative to accused Quakers with specific instructions that a report be sent to Devonshire House for record. Thus we find a most minute statement of all that happened to the Friends during this trying

deportations, conventicles, those present, raids made by officers, and all such indispensable information is given in a most minute way. In addition to these Books of Sufferings there is a large collection of Quaker tracts in bound volumes, which are carefully arranged and marked in order of importance. They describe the distraint of goods for fines, enumerate the approximate losses, injury to trade, and such things as they hoped would appeal to the authorities and bring relief. Many duplicates of these tracts are found in the British Museum and elsewhere, but in their isolated situation they have proved quite misleading as they cannot always be identified as Quaker tracts. With the Book of Sufferings as a parallel guide the field is made clear. There is also a great mass of letters and unbound manuscripts at Devonshire House the importance of which has not yet been determined. In these records we discover who those Fanatics were that crowded the jails, suffered such losses, and throughout this period defied the government under the Clarendon Code—they were the Quakers, Anabaptists, and Fifth Monarchists.<sup>8</sup> The Presbyterians and Independents were secret in their movements and allowed the law to silence them in a manner unknown

period. Through Devonshire House passed all matters of printing, petitions to the king, etc. It engineered questions of finance, borrowed money, and received all collections. The Yearly Meeting was composed of six from London, three from Bristol, two from Colchester, and one or two from each county of England and Wales. On one occasion as much as £500 was sent to Poland from Devonshire House. Yearly Meetings, I. 60-95, Devonshire House, London. Cf. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663, August 24. To show the care with which they kept their records, there are the names and addresses of 3898 persecutors of the Friends at the end of the Book of Sufferings, III., Devonshire House. It is no wonder that the Quakers could spread news all over England in a week. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664, March 7. See also *A Collection of the Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends in London, 1675-1805* (1806), pp. 5-20. It is evident that Joseph Besse's *Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers* was largely drawn from these records. For this reason, his work is of more value than is generally thought.

The financial extremity to which the Dissenters were driven has attracted considerable attention. In the absence of documentary evidence students have concluded that it was quite severe. It is only when we get the Stock Book of the Quakers at Devonshire House, giving their receipts and disbursements, that we see how well furnished this sect was. There was no time when they were in need of money. They even conducted foreign missions in the heat of persecution, and contributed large sums to local causes which apparently did not need them. If this was true of the Quakers, what shall we think of the other sects who were never attacked with such violence as they? See Yearly Meetings, I. 87. Also the National Stock Account at Devonshire House.

<sup>8</sup>Seen abundantly elsewhere. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664, March 7 and June 24. Joseph Allen said in 1662, "Amongst Christians Bellarmine . . . hath this Gradation in his Observation of Sufferers, wherein he placeth the worst first. To suffer (saith he) the Anabaptists were forwardest, the Calvinists next, and the Lutherans very slack. And if it may be no Offence to my Brethren, we may easily note, that with us the Quaker is forwardest, the Anabaptist next, the Independent and the Presbyterian last." Kennett, August 26, 1662.

among the Quakers.<sup>9</sup> These Devonshire House records form the basis for the opinions expressed in this paper.

Episcopacy was fast settling itself upon its old foundations by October 25, 1660. The Presbyterians had made some advance and were hopeful—all other sects were ignored. Whatever the religious settlement would be, it was now clear that it would be arranged between the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians, and that the Fanatics would have to comply, regardless of their wishes. Charles made no attempt to disguise this in his Declaration on Ecclesiastical Affairs. Trouble from the Fanatics was inevitable for they would not yield to any kind of conformity. Between October and January they were active and, smarting under their unhappy condition, were abusive in their private and public utterances. The sects were so different in their temperaments that it is unsafe to speak of them collectively, attributing to them a united activity in one great movement. This has been the persistent error of nonconforming writers. To tell what the Fanatics were doing during this period would necessitate taking up each sect separately. The more violent type, like the Fifth Monarchy Men, later showed that they were planning insurrection. Those of a milder type, as the Anabaptists, were using the pulpit and press in scurrilous denunciation of the higher powers—it must be said to the ruin of themselves and the Presbyterians. Baxter says: "The Sectaries (especially the Anabaptists, Seekers, and Quakers) chose out the most able zealous Ministers, to make the Marks of their Reproach . . . reviling them, and raising up false Reports . . . thro' their Sins have ruin'd themselves and us . . . a few Dissenting members did all this."<sup>10</sup> This pitiful lament of Baxter deserves no sympathy, for the folly of the Fanatics here depicted was but a reaction against the treachery of the Presbyterians in which the whole body of Dissent fell. It is noteworthy that Baxter here incidentally confesses that the way was paved for the Clarendon Code by the action of the Dissenters—that instead of the code being forced through the hatred of Clarendon, the Dissenters brought it upon themselves by their rash actions.

About the time of the Savoy Conference the controversy assumed a changed aspect. The ignored Fanatics were arrayed against

<sup>9</sup> Contrast paragraphs 429 and 431, p. 436, of Sylvester's *Baxter*, pt. II., in which Baxter confesses this identical thing: "The Quakers so employed Sir R. B. and the other Searchers and Prosecutors, that they had the less leisure to look after the Meetings of Soberer men; which was much to their present ease." Again, "The Quakers kept their Meetings openly, and went to Prison for it cheerfully", p. 437. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664, no. 56, p. 143. According to Potter, the Presbyterians "admit none to their meetings but by ticket, and sometimes exclude their daughters and wives".

<sup>10</sup> Calamy, *Baxter*, I. 95-97.



the Presbyterians and Episcopalians.<sup>11</sup> Ralph says, "They even conspired to further the Bill for Uniformity by which the Presbyterians would suffer more than themselves." How true this is we may never know for the literature of the period is more concerned with "broken promises of the King" than with Presbyterian intrigue. Toleration was the thought uppermost in the minds of the Fanatics. But the dispute over toleration and comprehension was settled by the return of the Cavaliers in 1661, guaranteeing the misfortune of Presbyterians and Fanatics.<sup>12</sup> The Presbyterians were soon brought to suffer with the same people whom they could have befriended, and suffered at the hands of those whose favor they had courted.

It is the accepted view that Lord Clarendon used these young Cavaliers to secure the four enactments that carry his name: the Corporation Act, 1661; the Act of Uniformity, 1662; the Conventicle Act, 1664; the Five Mile Act, 1665. These acts were supposed to crush Dissent and establish the Church of England, which was the ultimate result. But to regard them as part of an arbitrary plan is more than the evidence seems to warrant. Economic and political conditions evidently influenced this drastic legislation.<sup>13</sup>

When the Fanatics realized that their hopes for toleration were being lost through the efforts of the Presbyterians for comprehension, certain of the more violent ones rushed out of a meeting-house on Coleman Street in London and terrified the city for three days. A proclamation was immediately issued against all such private meetings and the Corporation Act followed, which prevented Fanatics from holding public office.<sup>14</sup> The proclamation and the

<sup>11</sup> Sylvester, *Baxter*, pt. II., pp. 370-380.

<sup>12</sup> A most interesting and minute picture of these young Cavaliers is given in C. B. R. Kent, *The Early History of the Tories* (London, 1908). This study of the Tories is necessarily bound up with a study of nonconformity and is a most interesting piece of work.

<sup>13</sup> Kent, pp. 148 ff. Also Tracts, vol. "C", no. 187, and Select Tracts, vol. 57, Devonshire House. Also Book of Sufferings under date, all of which show that the laws passed against the Fanatics were measures of protection to the state. The state demanded certain visible expressions of loyalty which the Quakers, Fifth Monarchists, and other extremists would not give upon religious grounds, therefore in attempting to force loyalty, persecution followed. The Book of Sufferings makes this clear on almost any page by showing that the disloyalty of which they were accused was the very thing of which they were innocent and at no time does it appear that they thought the state was otherwise concerned. It was not a question of heresy, it was a question of treason: "Sovereignty is the design, and godliness is the pretense". *Ignoramus Justices*, British Museum.

<sup>14</sup> This riot of the Fifth Monarchists, January 6, 1661, was only a visible expression of their treasonable doctrines. It was necessary to stop such conventicles and on January 10, 1661, a proclamation to this end was issued. St. P. Dom., Various, no. 11, p. 38. While the Quakers and Anabaptists had nothing to do with this riot they were affected by the order and very justly so if we

Corporation Act, being applicable to every sect, produced widespread disorder. The Nonconformists, for the most part of the lower middle class, became implacable, charging the king with broken promises, and threatening all manner of violence. Their meeting-houses being the chief centres for these threatening speeches, were regarded as breeding places of sedition and were shut up by the Conventicle Act. The Act of Uniformity which preceded this demanded that religious worship be conducted in licensed churches and chapels under men better disposed to the government. The form of worship these people had been using also seemed a cause for their treasonable action—hence the demand for the use of that form of worship prescribed by the Church of England.

The last chapters of the Puritan rebellion had just closed when all this began. It is not probable that the Restoration government would take many chances with the very people who had caused its earlier troubles. But instead of these acts quieting the Dissenters, they became more abusive and obstinate. The fourth act shows how gravely the government looked upon the situation. It was a blow at the preachers and school-teachers who were supposed to be the ringleaders of the sedition. They were forbidden to come within five miles of an incorporated town. It is significant that the Clarendon Code extends over a period of five years and that each act grows in severity. This indicates that it was a product of the times—demanded by conditions. If it were arbitrary legislation, why did it take this course when the parties in power could have accomplished at one stroke that which, according to history, required five years?

From the Restoration to the Revolution England was a storm centre of religious protest out of which came a vast literature. The greater part of it was from the Dissenters and indicates a united think in terms of that day—they refused the oath of allegiance and supremacy and many such things, which marked them as treasonably disposed. This is only another proof that these three were the trouble-makers of that day as the authorities saw it and as we shall later try to show. This proclamation against them was the most natural thing possible, and to pretend that the government was using this as an excuse to further some design, is but a step toward the common error of attempting to palliate by twentieth-century thinking that which to the people of the seventeenth century was inexpressibly horrible. The government was getting ready to handle these three sects and other extremists as early as January 2, 1661, as an order of the king in Council shows. See Kennett under that date, p. 352. They had been gathering from various cities, "meeting at unusual hours and in great numbers", and many things indicated an alarming situation. See *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1660, November 4, 13, 21, 24, December 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24, 29, and 1661, January 2. Also Kennett, December 15, 1660. The Quakers, Fifth Monarchists, and Anabaptists were the great sufferers by this proclamation. See Besse, I. 43, 307-310; also Bate, *The Declaration of Indulgence*, 1672, p. 17.

protest against cruelty and injustice. For the most part it consists of tracts and diaries, though Baxter, Fox, Calamy, and others have left extended works. It is from the tracts, in part, that students have received the impression that there was universal suffering. The important question therefore is, who wrote these tracts? Careful investigation shows that, by far the greater number were written by the Quakers and other extremists.<sup>15</sup> If this argues anything, it shows who suffered most, and their contents significantly sustain the opinion. If the question be asked why the Quakers, Anabaptists, and Fifth Monarchists suffered most, the answer is found in the fact that the last two were practically anarchists and that the Quakers, because they refused to take an oath, were looked upon as highly dangerous. They were even regarded as a secret society of the Catholics, and upon the Great Rolls of the Pipe they were counted among the Recusants.<sup>16</sup>

But this does not fully meet the condition. The State Papers, and in fact the entire literature, leave the impression that the Clarendon Code fell with equal weight upon all. Despite the many things that make this view unsatisfactory, little investigation has been made into it. It is not that students openly affirm a universal suffering but they practically reach this position in their conclusions. No one will deny that the Presbyterians and Independents suffered, and that they represented the largest and strongest element of Dissent, but there is no proof that they were the victims about whom we read so much. Undoubtedly there was great suffering among the Presbyterians by the loss of livings in 1662, and the Five Mile Act probably added hardship in 1665.<sup>17</sup> The Independents suffered also but their distress was chiefly through the loss of money in church and crown lands. We would not minimize the suffering of these two but the evidence does not seem to show that they were the ones who were rushed into court in great droves, who crowded the jails, who were raided in their meeting-houses and were sold out of house and home to pay fines for violating acts of the Clarendon Code.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> This is especially true of those tracts depicting actual suffering. See Smith's two volumes in which he has collected the tracts for and against the Quakers. Most of the tracts not written by Fanatics are doctrinal, sermonic, etc.

<sup>16</sup> St. P. Dom., Various, 1660-1665, no. 11, p. 62. Also Add. MSS. 20739, Brit. Museum, and Bate, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> Sylvester, *Baxter*, pt. II., pp. 432; Pepys, *Diary* (ed. Bohn, 1875), August 21, 1665; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1662, p. 452.

<sup>18</sup> Men like Samuel Parker, brought up among the Sectaries, are very deceiving in their later writings against Dissenters in this matter. For example in his *Ecclesiastical Policy* all nonconformists are judged according to the erratic follies of those "among whom he was bred". Parker is widely quoted and often misunderstood, and it is from just such contemporary writers that students get a

There seems to have been a definite use for the word "Fanatic" in the literature. Not that it was used of any one sect, but in a broad sense it covered all Dissenters except Presbyterians. The expressions "Anabaptist fanatic", and "Fanatic Fifth Monarchy Men" are common, but rarely, if ever, do we read of Presbyterians as "Fanatics".<sup>19</sup> This is significant, for those who gave the authorities so much trouble, and against whom the government was so active, were persistently spoken of as "Fanatics". There is a logical basis for this, for in 1660 the Dissenters were divided into two parts, the Presbyterians forming one part, while all other Dissenters formed the other part. This was clearly seen by October 25, 1660, when the Presbyterians and the Church of England were arrayed against all others in the struggle over comprehension. The Presbyterians were usually called by their own name, though sometimes they were spoken of as "Schismatics", as in the "Presbyterians and other schismatics".<sup>20</sup> It is not safe to press the terms "Fanatic" or "Schismatic" too far but in a general way the former was used of the violent and persistent offenders, while the latter was used of the more moderate sects. The numerous cases where the terms "Schismatic" and "Fanatic" shade into one another make it difficult to draw clear lines of distinction.<sup>21</sup>

false view of the character of Dissenters and the extent of their suffering. See Sylvester, *Baxter*, pt. III., pp. 41. The same thing is true of Bugg in his *Progress from Quakerism to Christianity*. In early life Bugg was an ardent Quaker, later he was one of their worst enemies.

<sup>19</sup> Baxter explains "the true state of the Conformists and Nonconformists in England at this time". Sylvester, *Baxter*, pt. II., pp. 386, 387. His analysis is lengthy, clear, and convincing. It is in speaking of the Independents that he draws the distinction contended for in this article: "Others of them . . . addicted to Separations and Divisions . . . have opened the Door to Anabaptists first, and then to all the other Sects. These sects are numerous, some tolerable, and some intolerable and being never incorporated with the rest, are not to be reckoned with them. Many of them (the Behimists, Fifth Monarchists, Quakers and some Anabaptists) are proper Fanatics." Also *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1660, November, p. 382; 1661, December 4; 1663, October 12; 1664, November 18; 1666, July 17. Also Kent, p. 152, n. 1. The word "Fanatic" is said to have come into general use after February 6, 1660, see Bate, p. 7, n. 27.

<sup>20</sup> Sometimes "Presbyterian seditious Schismatics". Sylvester, *Baxter*, pt. II., p. 432. There seems to have been a sharp distinction between the "Schismatics" and the "Sectarians": "The Sectarians (as they then called all that were for Liberty of Sects, and for separated Churches) were for the way of Indulgence." Sylvester, *Baxter*, pt. II., p. 433. Sometimes, however, the Presbyterians are called Sectaries, which is explained by note 31 below. See *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, p. 209, no. 71; 1661, November 13; cf. 1661, July, p. 50.

<sup>21</sup> No one word needs to be more carefully guarded as to its meaning than the word "Presbyterian". Baxter explains its specific use: "Here you may note by the way, the fashion of these Times, and the state of the Presbyterians; Any Man that was for a Spiritual serious way of Worship (though he were for moderate Episcopacy and Liturgy), and that lived according to his Profession,

This brings the study to narrower limits in that it marks the Fanatics as those about whom we read as suffering violently. Some of them, like the Quakers, were open and persistent offenders; others, like the Fifth Monarchists, were underhanded and malicious. The Anabaptists were held in grave suspicion, more, however, on account of their supposed progenitors on the Continent than from any actual uprising during the period. A few of their members confirmed this opinion by rash actions.<sup>22</sup> The Independents and Baptists were milder than the three above mentioned. The Presbyterians, like the Independents, seem to have been unusually quiet. John Whitehouse went to the expense and trouble of publishing a pamphlet in which he chided them for letting the law silence them.<sup>23</sup> These distinctions may seem trivial, but they are essential to an understanding of the literature. They allow us to study the subject analytically and preserve us from false conclusions as to the extent and amount of suffering.

The social standing and general character of the Dissenters is worthy of careful consideration. A brief comparison will show that they were much inferior to the Recusants who stubbornly fought the established Church under Charles I.<sup>24</sup> There is a disposition to look upon Calamy, Baxter, Owens, and others, as fair types of Restoration nonconformity, whereas they were much superior to the average sectarian of the time. We find very few

was called commonly a Presbyterian, as formerly he was called a Puritan, unless he joyned himself to Independents, Anabaptists, or some other Sect which might afford him a more odious Name. And of the Lords, he that was for Episcopacy and the Liturgy . . . if he conformed not so far as to Subscribe or Swear to the English Dioecesan Frame, and all their Impositions. I knew not of any one Lord at Court that was a Presbyterian; yet were the Earl of Manchester (a good Man) and the Earl of Anglesey, and the Lord Hollis called Presbyterians, and as such appointed to direct and help them; when I have heard them plead for moderate Episcopacy and Liturgy my self; and they would have drawn us to yield further than we did.

"And if ever any hereafter shall say, That at King Charles the Second's Restoration, the Presbyterian Cause was pleaded, and that they yielded to all that was in the King's Declaration, I leave it here on Record to the Notice of Posterity, that to the best of my knowledge the Presbyterian Cause was never spoken for, nor were they ever heard to petition for it at all." Sylvester, *Baxter*, pt. II., p. 278. Again: "When the King's Declaration was passed, we had a Meeting with the Ministers of London called Presbyterian (that is, all that were not Prelatical, nor of any other Sect)." *Ibid.*, p. 284. Also see Kent, p. 152.

<sup>22</sup> Egerton MSS. 2542, f. 370, Brit. Museum.

<sup>23</sup> John Whitehouse, *A Few Words by Way of Query to Presbyterians and Independents*, Select Tracts, vol. 69, no. 199, Devonshire House. For confirmation of this see Sylvester, *Baxter*, pt. II., p. 436. After the great fire in London, Presbyterians and Independents came boldly into open conventicles, "connived at", says Baxter. *Ibid.*, pt. III., pp. 19, 22.

<sup>24</sup> *Middlesex County Records*, III. 267, 342. Also many places in the Book of Sufferings, as under Bristol, 28 of 6 month, 1683.

"persons of quality", and the number of those who were comfortably furnished may be easily overestimated. But there were prominent merchants and employers numbered among the Dissenters. It seems there were wealthy serge-makers in Plymouth and prominent woolen-workers in Suffolk who employed great numbers who were themselves Dissenters.<sup>25</sup> In speaking generally George Fox said, "many tradesmen, and seamen, merchants, and husbandmen, their callings and families have been neglected and wasted".<sup>26</sup> In like manner Chr. Bernard, deputy remembrancer of the Exchequer, drew up "at the King's special command" in 1672 a list of the convictions turned into the Exchequer "with their respective qualities and places of abode" and observes: "None of the nobility are here mentioned" except one who later conformed. "Very few of the considerable gentry of England, it being rare through all this book to meet with the addition of Knight or Sir. In those Counties where I have been able to make inquiry as in Yorkshire, the persons are unknown, or so poor they are scarce worth the penalty of one twentieth. In Suffolk there are persons of quality but such as either in person or their fathers did eminently serve the King."<sup>27</sup> In a tract supposed to have been written by Lord Clarendon it is said, "Now upon a just conclusion 'twill appear that the sea-faring man, and the trading part of the nation does in great measure consist of nonconformists and that much of the wealth and stock of the nation is lodged in their hands."<sup>28</sup> This statement is confirmed in an order handed down by the justices of the peace at Hicks Hall wherein mention is made of the Tower Hamlets and the nonconformists in those nineteen parishes, "The people for the most part consist of weavers and other manufacturers and of sea-men, watermen, and such as relate to shipping and sea service."<sup>29</sup>

While the movement itself seems to have drawn its support from the humbler classes, the leaders were frequently people of prominence. We do not here allude to men like Fox, Baxter, or Owens, who had long before distinguished themselves, but a group of leaders less well known though they were people of standing and

<sup>25</sup> Tracts, vol. "C", no. 206, Devonshire House. Also Book of Sufferings under Bristol, 8 of 11 month, 1681.

<sup>26</sup> Somers Tracts, VIII, 254. "For the King and both Houses of Parl."

<sup>27</sup> Add. MSS. 20730, Brit. Museum.

<sup>28</sup> *Second Thoughts*, supposed to have been written by "Edward Hyde First Earl of Clarendon". Brit. Museum.

<sup>29</sup> Law Tracts, Trials, etc., September 6, 1684. This was especially true of the Walloons who settled around Canterbury. They hold a more important place in the study of this subject than might at first be thought. See *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661, August 2, October 12, 18, and 21; 1662, September 3, November 3 and 14, and March 20. The society dealing with Huguenot history discusses the Walloons fully.

particularly active at the time. Among others was Mary Pennington who was the daughter of an ex-mayor of London and very wealthy at the time she espoused the Quaker cause. There were also men like Sir Anthony Ermyne who kept a nonconformist chaplain and held services Sunday and Friday afternoons "where there do resort divers great persons".<sup>30</sup> The story of Margaret Fell belongs to this period, and many like her might be mentioned among the patient, suffering Friends. From the letter of a spy we find that "Sir John Knight and another member of the House of Commons, were at a meeting of Strange and Vernon" and expressed dissatisfaction with the present proceeding in Parliament and "that they would adhere to the good old cause".

Among the leaders therefore we find people of excellent parts, men of quality, intellect, and money. But there is nothing to show that any considerable part of the gentry of England espoused the cause or were in sympathy with it. It found its recruits in the lower ranks.

It is thought that these Dissenters were riotous and persistently plotting against the government. The literature does speak of "riotous meetings" and persistent "plottings", but we must think in qualified terms of these riotings and plottings. The Conventicle Proclamation, January 10, 1661, says, "No meetings shall hereafter be permitted unless it be in parochial churches or chapel, or in private houses of private people there inhabiting. All other meetings are unlawful and the persons there assembled shall be proceeded against as riotously assembled." Therefore all quiet meetings for prayer, other than as above described, "were notorious contempts of us and our laws" and were "riotous assemblies".<sup>31</sup> Hence we cannot tell how prevalent "rioting" was, as we use the term, but many of the supposed "riots" can be shown to be nothing but what we should call cottage prayer-meetings.<sup>32</sup>

In like manner, to the casual reader, the literature seems to show that "plotting" was the daily occupation of the Dissenter. But as in the matter of "riotous assemblies", so in this, we must take

<sup>30</sup> *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1666, May 2, no. 7.

<sup>31</sup> Proclamations, *St. P. Dom.*, Various, no. 12. They were sent to prison as "rioters" for many strange reasons. A girl was imprisoned as a "rioter" for defending her honor against the actions "of certain rude boys". *Book of Sufferings*, under Bristol, 1681. See Besse, vol. I., ch. 4, p. 63.

<sup>32</sup> An incident in the life of Baxter is interesting: "It was famed at London that I was in the North, in the Head of a Rebellion. And at Kidderminster I was accused, because there was a Meeting of many Ministers at my House . . . to dine with me." Sylvester, *Baxter*, pt. II., p. 377. Again, "and every Meeting for Prayer was called a dangerous Meeting for Sedition". *Ibid.*, p. 431.

cognizance of their mode of thought.<sup>33</sup> Conventicles were looked upon as breeding places of sedition. Clarendon wrote to the justices of the peace in Suffolk, "Meetings and conventicles have as their chief end, the confirmation of each in his malace against the Government and in taking of collections to support those who are listed to appear in any desperate undertaking." Therefore the act of meeting seems to have been a kind of plotting.<sup>34</sup> The very fact that these meetings were often held "in secret places and at unlawful times" created a bad impression.<sup>35</sup> "Soverignty is the design, and godliness is the pretence", said Sir William Smith before the grand jury at Hicks Hall. The conventicle on Coleman Street in London had justly confirmed this opinion.

While much of the plotting reached the authorities through spies a great deal came through intercepted letters that indicated some "desperate design" for a future date. It was not infrequent for postmasters to receive an order which allowed a marshal to search all mail for plots "by certain disaffected persons". In his search he might open a letter announcing some large meeting by the Quakers. The form such a letter would assume has been left us by Bugg:

*Dear Friend:*

By this thou may'st know, that God willing, Jonathan Johnson and I do intend to be at Milden-Hall Meeting the next First-Day, and shall be glad Friends generally may know thereof, that we may have a good large meeting; I mean, Friends that are afar off in the Country.

R. S.<sup>36</sup>

Such a letter in the hands of a marshal would easily create suspicion, and it is not improbable that he would put his own inter-

<sup>33</sup> Stoughton says, "A few fanatics entertained rebellious designs; but that Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, or Quakers, either generally or in large numbers, were covering political plots under a veil of religious worship—the point sought to be established—is unfounded surmise, indeed a pure invention." *Ecclesiastical History of England*, I. 210–211, also, pp. 292–295. See note 37 below.

<sup>34</sup> People dared not even help the ejected ministers lest it should be said they "were taking collections for some plot or insurrection". Sylvester, *Baxter*, pt. II., pp. 385, 386.

<sup>35</sup> See also *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1662, November 6.

<sup>36</sup> F. Bugg, *Pilgrim's Progress, from Quakerism to Christianity*, p. 91. "In that age of sham plots the fabrication of letters was common, of which Captain Yarrington published an exposure in 1681." Stoughton, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 212, n. 1. Stoughton cites several cases in which stories of "terrible plots" were put into letters when indeed no plot was contemplated. See vol. II., appendix 1. The so-called "Grand Presbyterian Plot" for which so many were imprisoned, and about which much even to-day is written, can be shown to have had its origin in sham letters. Sylvester, *Baxter*, pt. II., p. 383. See the two articles by W. C. Abbott, "Conspiracy and Dissent", in vol. XIV. of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.



pretation upon it since the informer was liberally rewarded.<sup>37</sup> In any event he would have the information of an unlawful meeting to which even the people from the country were coming. When these people were taken into custody in this "riotous assembly" they would be held as "plotters" under "pretense of religion". This is exactly what happened to Thomas Ellwood when he wrote to his friend Thomas Loe that he had secured a meeting place near by and asked if he could come. The letter was intercepted and carried to Lord Falkland. Ellwood and a number of Quakers were seized as "plotters" and hurried off to prison.<sup>38</sup>

We do not doubt that individuals and even congregations were at times led to extreme action—especially the Fifth Monarchists—but we do not think this was true of the Dissenters as a whole. It is recorded by their enemies that they were unusually peaceable.<sup>39</sup> Brownley wrote Viscount Conway, "I confess I wonder at the spirit of the Nonconformists. Their ministers preach patience and against forcible resistance." While we do not feel that the Dissenters were a riotous, plotting people, it is very important to see what opinion the authorities held about them in that day. To them, the Dissenters were a dangerous people against whom strict laws should be passed and this explains why the Clarendon Code was so rigorously executed. But it is well to use care in estimating the severity of the persecution as there is reason to believe it has been greatly overdrawn in many cases.<sup>40</sup> The laws governing the release of prisoners and the peculiar religious beliefs of some sects are two things that have proven deceptive in analyzing this question.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Egerton MSS. 2543.

<sup>38</sup> *Life of Thomas Ellwood* (Autobiography series, London, 1827), p. 59. Much the same thing in another form is cited in Stoughton, I. 313. See *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663, December. Spies were quick in drawing conclusions from things overheard secretly. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1665, August 15.

<sup>39</sup> *Ignoramus Justices*, Brit. Museum. *St. P. Dom.*, vol. 99, n. 9.

<sup>40</sup> Ellwood shows the Quaker prisoners were well provided for by committees appointed to visit the prisons and take them food. They were allowed many privileges while in prison which were not commonly given. *Life*, pp. 77, 100, 113. He even says that a tramp pretended that he was a Quaker that he might be imprisoned with them. Further, the *Report of the Commission on Non-Parochial Registers* (1836) shows that up to 1688 the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents founded 152 churches. Of this number 109 were founded between 1660 and 1668. This is strange if the persecution was as severe as is often asserted. Of these 109 churches, 72 were Independents, 17 were Presbyterians, and 20 were Baptists. To this may be added the frequent kindness of jailors and the lax enforcement of law by the justices. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664, January 28, October 24; 1665, March 19.

<sup>41</sup> "A table of such fees as are allowed by His Majesties Justices of the Peace" shows how expensive prison life was. See Book of Sufferings, IV. 274, foot-note. Also, *ibid.*, p. 301, wherein it cost one man £44 s. Also Drake, *History of the City of York*, "Table of fees passed by the Mayor July 1672". "The

We cannot therefore accept the view that Clarendon instituted a religious persecution against Dissent. The Clarendon Code was designed to suppress sedition, but as a rule it was a hardship only to those who openly defied it. Such sects as the Quakers, Anabaptists, and Fifth Monarchists were notorious in this respect and consequently were called "Fanatics". The suffering of the Presbyterians and Independents was not comparable to that of the Fanatics who were fined, imprisoned, deported, and otherwise severely punished. We feel therefore that much has been written about the extreme suffering of the Presbyterians and Independents which did not exist. To attribute to them an equal share in the suffering of the Fanatics would demand that the word Fanatic be applied to them. This is more than the evidence warrants. It is only fair to say that, with the exception of the Fifth Monarchists, the Fanatics were not a riotous, plotting people, but were quite the opposite. However it is important for us to see that they were thought to be a most dangerous people and for this reason the acts of the Clarendon Code were actively enforced against them. Since the number of Fanatics was comparatively small, it follows that the extent of violent suffering under the Clarendon Code was not as great as is generally thought. It is also clear from the Devonshire House records that the amount of suffering even among the Quakers has been greatly overestimated.

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during and tedious imprisonments are chiefly upon the writs De Excom. Cap., upon judgments of Praemunire and upon fines said to be for the King . . . the spoils and excessive distresses are chiefly upon the Conventicle Act; 20 lbs a month;  $\frac{2}{3}$  of estates and Qui Tam writs." Tracts, vol "C", no. 206. In their commitment, they were to "remain . . . unless each of them (*i. e.*, of every batch of convicts) should pay a stated fine,—the words of the judgment touching the fine or fines being in each certificat to this effect, 'nisi quilibet eorum separatim pro seipsis predictis justiciariis solveret etc., pro fine etc.'" "A consequence of this practice was that the richer individuals in a batch of offenders used sometimes to pay the fine of those of their companions in trouble, who were not themselves able or willing to escape detention by a sacrifice of money." *Middlesex County Records*, III. 348. It must also be remembered that Quakers would not pay a fine and this explains why many of them lay in prison many years. Students are frequently hasty in drawing conclusions from the "enlargement of prisoners" so often mentioned. Frequently the condition of freedom was that "they had not refused the oath of Allegiance and Supremacy"—very few of the extreme Fanatics would take this oath, hence the number of those set free might be easily overestimated. Also see Sylvester, *Barter*, pt. III., p. 60.

## SOME LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE CONFISCATION ACTS OF THE CIVIL WAR

It is the purpose of this article to examine some of the legal problems involved in the enforcement of the federal confiscation acts during the Civil War. So questionable a war measure as the general confiscation of the enemy's private property naturally encountered opposition, and it should not be a matter for surprise that the enactment of these laws occasioned a long and trying parliamentary struggle, while the friction caused by their enforcement proved extremely annoying to the judicial officers of the government. The interpretation of the acts, moreover, presented to the judges of the period tasks which called for more than ordinary intellectual bravery.

To trace the policy of confiscation to its origin would perhaps be impossible since it arose from widely scattered sources, but the earliest official suggestion looking to the forfeiture of "rebel" property seems to have been that of Secretary of the Treasury Chase, who, in 1861,<sup>1</sup> before the matter came up in Congress, urged the financial advantages of confiscation. A formidable array of petitions received in Congress from loyal citizens in various parts of the North and even of the South during the year 1861-1862 indicates that the subject had attracted a lively attention throughout the country.<sup>2</sup> But a factor of far more influence was the action of the Confederate government in sequestering northern debts. A Confederate statute of May 21, 1861, forbade the payment of debts due to northern individuals or corporations, authorizing their payment into the Confederate treasury, and an act of August 30 provided for the sequestration of the property of "aliens", by which term was meant all those adhering to the Union cause.<sup>3</sup> In view of these acts it was urged in Congress that, aside from the general question of the justice of confiscation, a sweeping measure of forfeiture had

<sup>1</sup> *Finance Report*, 1861, pp. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> During the month from April 1 to May 1, 1862, the following petitions regarding confiscation were received in the House: from Citizens of Wisconsin (*House Journal*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., p. 494); Citizens of Marion County, Indiana, p. 499; Citizens of Ohio, p. 567; Citizens of Springfield, Ohio, p. 620; of Warren County, Ohio, p. 624; of Hamilton County, Ohio, p. 634; of Cincinnati, Ohio, p. 634. See also *Senate Journal*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 90-692, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Statutes at Large, Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America*, p. 201.

practically been forced upon the Union government by the action of the enemy.

The first confiscation law, a measure of limited scope, applying only to property (including slaves) actually employed in the aid of insurrection, was introduced in the first session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress in the summer of 1861.<sup>4</sup> It was urged by such radical leadership as that of Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania,<sup>5</sup> considered with as much deliberation as the crowded business of this short session would allow, and became a law on August 6. So far as the pure principle of confiscation was concerned, these debates were unimportant. The absorption of Congress in more pressing matters, and the introduction of the amendment regarding slaves prevented a full discussion of the constitutional and legal merits of the confiscation question. Indeed it was only in the House of Representatives, and there but briefly, that the real issue of confiscation was debated at all. We must look therefore to the next session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress for a full treatment of the difficult points involved.

It requires laborious application to follow the second confiscation measure along its tortuous course through the long session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress. The subject was under frequent consideration during the whole of this session from December, 1861, to the following July. On the opening day, December 2, Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, a radical Republican, gave notice of his intention to introduce "a bill for the confiscation of the property of rebels and giving freedom to the persons they hold in slavery";<sup>6</sup> on the 5th he presented his bill with brief arguments in its support;<sup>7</sup> later as chairman of the Committee on Judiciary he redrafted the measure,<sup>8</sup> and it was around this nucleus that legislative confiscation developed. According to Trumbull's bill, the property of all persons out of reach of ordinary process of law who were found in arms against the United States or giving aid or comfort to the rebellion, was to be forfeited, the seizures to be carried out by such officers, military or civil, as the President should designate for the purpose. There were no enumerated classes, the liability of forfeiture being based simply upon participation in the rebellion. The bill in this stage differed widely from the measure which was finally enacted, but the debates are none the less instructive, since most of those who spoke dealt with the general question rather than with details.

<sup>4</sup> July 15, 1861. *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 1 sess., p. 120. For the final statute see *Stat. at Large*, XII. 319.

<sup>5</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 1 sess., p. 414.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 sess., p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 942.

In both houses the supporters of confiscation were Republicans of the more northern states, while its opponents were men of the border states and northern Democrats. The advocates of confiscation joined in urging the necessity of a measure to punish the "rebels"; stress was laid on the importance of crippling the financial resources of the Confederacy, at the same time adding to those of the Union, and it was urged that in a struggle so gigantic the Union government should exercise the supreme power of self-defense. On constitutional and legal questions, however, there was no such harmony of opinion. To raise such points as the war power of Congress, the status of the "rebels", the legal character of the Civil War, the restrictions of the attainder clause of the Constitution, the belligerent rights as against the municipal power of Congress, was to reveal a deplorable confusion of logic, and a jarring of opinions even among those who voted together. United in their notion as to the practical result sought, the supporters of confiscation, it would seem, had as many different views regarding the constitutional justification of their measure as there were individual speakers. Among the opponents of confiscation, inconsistencies and contradictions were no less frequent. Some of the speakers regarded the measure as too extreme; others denounced its unconstitutionality; others spoke for a policy of clemency or argued the inexpediency of the project.

As the discussion proceeded the possibility of securing a plan upon which all could agree became fainter. While the question would not down, each time of its recurrence seemed to present new difficulties. Motions to substitute radically different measures for the bill in hand, motions to postpone, motions to refer, and motions to amend, were continually being pushed, but these only served to delay and prolong the deliberations, and many a formidable speech on the merits of the question was delivered when in reality the matter before the House was one of parliamentary routine. Finally, after months of intermittent debate, after the appointment in each house of a select committee,<sup>9</sup> the matter was adjusted by a conference committee of both houses,<sup>10</sup> and thus a measure was evolved which passed the two branches of Congress.

As finally passed, the second confiscation law bore the title, "An Act to suppress Insurrection, to punish Treason and Rebellion, to seize and confiscate the Property of Rebels, and for other Purposes."<sup>11</sup> The first four sections, drawn from the Senate bill, relate

<sup>9</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 1846, 1991.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3166.

<sup>11</sup> *Stat. at Large*, XII, 589. The expression "other purposes" referred to those sections of the statute which provided for the forfeiture of slaves.

to the crime of treason and rebellion and prescribe punishments. Sections 5 and 6 declare the forfeiture to the United States of the property of certain specified classes of "rebels". A distinction was made between two main groups. The property of all officers whether civil, military, or naval, of the Confederate government or of any of the "rebel" states, and of citizens of loyal states giving aid or comfort to the rebellion, was declared seizable at once without qualification. Other persons in any part of the United States who were engaged in or aiding the rebellion were to be warned by public proclamation and given sixty days in which to return to their allegiance; if they failed to do so their property was to be confiscated. Proceedings against suspected property were to be instituted in the federal district or circuit courts, and the method of trial was to conform as nearly as might be to that of revenue or admiralty cases. If found to belong to a person who had engaged in rebellion, or who had given it aid or comfort, the goods were to be condemned "as enemy's property" and to become the property of the United States. The proceeds were to be paid into the treasury of the United States, and applied to the support of the armies. Three important sections, referring to slaves, do not concern us here. By section 13 the President was given power to pardon offenses named in the act.

An analysis of the vote on this measure shows that the division resulted from a complication of sectional with party interests. In the House of Representatives the count stood eighty-two to sixty-eight.<sup>12</sup> Of the supporters of the bill,<sup>13</sup> seventy-seven were Republicans representing constituencies north of the Ohio. All but three of the Democrats who voted opposed the bill. No such solidarity was to be found in the majority party, for twenty of the Republican or Unionist members answered "nay". Of the twenty-five border state men all but three voted with the opposition.<sup>14</sup> In the Senate the measure received twenty-seven affirmative and thirteen negative votes.<sup>15</sup> Eight of those voting in the negative were border state men, while only seven were thorough Democrats, showing again the large part which sectional sympathies played in determining the vote.

But the measure was not yet law. President Lincoln, who had

<sup>12</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., p. 2361.

<sup>13</sup> The three Democrats who favored the bill were: William G. Brown, from the loyal portion of Virginia, John Hickman, a Douglas Democrat from Pennsylvania, and John W. Noell, a Union Democrat of Missouri.

<sup>14</sup> Besides Brown and Noell the only border state man who favored confiscation was the intense Unionist and friend of Lincoln, Francis P. Blair of Missouri.

<sup>15</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., p. 3276.

never expressed more than a mild approval of confiscation, objected to several features of the congressional bill and prepared a rather elaborate veto message.<sup>16</sup> The measure, he said, would result in the divesting of the title to real estate forever. "For the causes of treason", he pointed out, "and for the ingredients of treason not amounting to the full crime", it declared forfeitures extending beyond the lives of the guilty parties. This feature of the bill the President regarded as a violation of the attainder clause of the Constitution. Further he argued that the act by proceedings *in rem* would forfeit property "without a conviction of the supposed criminal, or a personal hearing given him in any proceeding". When it was known in Congress that President Lincoln intended to veto the bill, a rather unusual proceeding was resorted to. A joint resolution was rushed through both houses which was intended as "explanatory" to the original measure.<sup>17</sup> In accordance with this resolution, the law was not to be construed as applying to acts done prior to its passage,<sup>18</sup> nor "as working a forfeiture of the real estate of the offender beyond his natural life". Although this left an important part of his objections untouched (*i. e.*, as to the condemnation of property without allowing a personal hearing to the supposed criminal), Lincoln approved the measure in its modified form, and on the last day of the session, July 17, 1862, he signed the act and the explanatory resolution "as substantially one".<sup>19</sup>

These widely different measures of confiscation were put into operation side by side, and remained so during the war.<sup>20</sup> By the terms of each of the statutes, the forfeiture of property was made a strictly judicial process, enforced through the federal district courts under the direction of the Attorney-General and the district attorneys. Information concerning confiscable property might reach the federal officials through regular channels, as by the deposition of a United States commissioner; it might be supplied gratuitously by some citizen informer, or it might be secured by the interception of letters and despatches intended for Confederate owners. The

<sup>16</sup> *Senate Journal*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., July 17, 1862, pp. 872-874; *National Intelligencer*, July 18, 1862.

<sup>17</sup> *Stat. at Large*, XII, 627; *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., p. 3380.

<sup>18</sup> In *Conrad v. Waples*, 96 U. S. 279, it was decided that confiscation under the act of July 17, 1862, applied only to the property of persons who might thereafter be guilty of acts of treason and disloyalty. For judicial interpretation of the duration feature of the resolution, see *Wallach v. Van Riswick*, 92 U. S. 208; *Bigelow v. Forrest*, 9 Wallace 330.

<sup>19</sup> *Senate Journal*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., July 17, 1862, pp. 871-872.

<sup>20</sup> The existence of the two acts side by side produced not a little confusion. Prosecutions in a given case might be instituted under either act or under both, according to the circumstances. In the *Wiley case* (*Annual Cycl.*, 1863, p. 220) the libel was under the act of 1861, and the proof under that of 1862.

application of the laws, it must be remembered, was limited to those districts where federal courts were in operation, and, since jurisdiction depended upon *situs*,<sup>21</sup> the property contemplated for seizure must be located in the north though owned by "rebels".

In beginning suit, a libel of information, analogous to that denounced against smuggled goods, would be filed with the district attorney; a monition or public advertisement would then be issued by the marshal summoning the owner to appear in court and establish his loyalty; then would follow, at its proper time on the docket, the suit itself, and in case of condemnation, the marshal would be directed to sell the property at public auction, turning the proceeds, after the payment of costs, into the public treasury.

The difficulties of enforcing these acts made the work exceedingly distracting to the officials. No distinct department of justice existed at that time<sup>22</sup> and the office of the Attorney-General, to whom legal questions were referred, was inadequate to the handling of any considerable amount of business.<sup>23</sup> Both the published reports and the manuscript records of the office indicate that its machinery was slow in starting, and it seems to have encountered considerable friction when it did start. Upon the difficult legal questions which arose in connection with the initiation of proceedings, there was considerable confusion of thought in the minds of the district attorneys, and little help in this matter was secured from the office of the Attorney-General who invariably "declined to advise the law officers of the government as to what constitutes a proper case for action under the law".<sup>24</sup> The local officers, thus left to their own responsibility, naturally hesitated to bring action, and this difficulty was augmented by the fact that no regular provision was made for defraying the preliminary expenses of preparing a suit in cases where the government might fail to secure conviction.

Taken all together, therefore, this seemingly smooth and workable method of seizure was seen to involve serious obstacles. The

<sup>21</sup> A district court in New York, for instance, could not acquire jurisdiction over the stock of an Illinois corporation. *U. S. v. 1756 Shares of Stock*, 27 Fed. Cas. 337.

<sup>22</sup> The establishment of the department of justice did not take place until June 22, 1870. *Stat. at Large*, XVI. 162.

<sup>23</sup> The total monthly pay-roll at this period amounted to only \$1522.06, while the schedule of salaries showed only eight employees in the entire office, the Attorney-General, assistant attorney-general, chief clerk, four assistant clerks, and one messenger. (These data are revealed in the files of the Attorney-General's office, Washington, for September, 1864.)

<sup>24</sup> Acting Attorney-General T. J. Coffey to R. I. Milton, U. S. Commissioner, Albany, New York, September 2, 1861. (Letter-Book "B 4", Dept. of Justice, p. 147. A series of such letters of instruction was issued to district attorneys and marshals during the same month. The one cited is merely typical.)



very correctness and completeness of the judicial process made it impracticable in a strenuous time when things had to be done quickly, and when a dilatory execution would seem to defeat the whole purpose of the law. It was natural under the circumstances for an impatient general or provost-marshal to take the law into his own hands and by his summary action become involved in disputes with the judiciary. These vigorous men regarded confiscation as a war measure, and proceeded to carry it out as such.<sup>25</sup> It was doubtless the purpose of Congress, however, to guard carefully the exercise of a power so formidable, and one which might be put to so great abuse.

In view of these distracting conditions the lax and irregular enforcement of the acts will not cause surprise. Though a considerable litigation was occasioned, the net results, after deducting the heavy judicial costs,<sup>26</sup> and after allowing for cases dismissed, appealed, "settled without suit", or in which the judgment was entered for the claimant, were almost incredibly small.<sup>27</sup> In New York, \$19,614; in Louisiana, \$67,973; in West Virginia, \$11,000; in Indiana, \$5,737—these sums, so far as mere financial totals can

<sup>25</sup> Instances of conflict between civil and military officers regarding confiscation were not uncommon. A dispute arose over a military seizure of property in Washington belonging to John A. Campbell, Confederate assistant secretary of war. *House Ex. Doc. 44*, 37 Cong., 3 sess. For General Lew Wallace's action in directing extensive military seizures in Maryland see *Official Record*, third series, IV. 407, 413, 431.

<sup>26</sup> The costs attached to the filing and publication of the libel, and the fees charged by the district attorney, clerk, and marshal, always reduced by a large proportion the balance remaining to the United States. The following case presents a rather striking coincidence, the various items of expense forming a total which corresponds exactly to the amount of the proceeds. Files of U. S. District Court for Indiana, case no. 205, January 17, 1863.

Proceeds of sale (of "credits etc.") .....	\$202.00
Marshal's costs .....	51.36
Marshal's fees .....	63.27
Docket fees .....	40.00
Clerk's costs .....	44.12
Clerk's fees .....	3.25
Balance for United States treasury .....	0.—

<sup>27</sup> An examination of the docket books and files of the federal district court in Indiana reveals 83 cases of confiscation between September, 1862, and May, 1865. Of these, 44 resulted in forfeiture. The property seized was miscellaneous in character, including real estate, credits, cash, judgments in court, commercial stocks, government bonds, cotton, whiskey, a stallion, and a steam-engine. In the District of Columbia, from May, 1863, when condemnations began, to September, 1865, the number of cases docketed was 52, and the number of forfeitures 27. The totals given in the annual reports of the solicitor of the treasury are unsatisfactory, since he combines confiscation suits with forfeitures under non-intercourse regulations, and sometimes with prize cases. See *Finance Reports*, 1863, p. 90, 1864, p. 88.

tell the story, are representative of the extent of the confiscations. According to a report of the solicitor of the Treasury Department dated December 27, 1867, the total proceeds actually paid into the treasury up to that time amounted to the insignificant sum of \$129,680.<sup>28</sup> In comparison with these figures, the confident predictions of the supporters of confiscation in Congress as to the material weakening of the enemy's resources sound strange indeed. This plausible justification, then, of a policy so extreme as that of general confiscation was based on an unfortunate miscalculation. Enough indeed was done to work individual hardship, and to add to the bitter feelings following the war, but the comparatively few transfers of property gave the Union government no material advantage at all sufficient to justify so questionable a war measure. Financially, it may be said, confiscation was a failure, while the other purpose of the act, that of punishing the "rebels", was very unequally accomplished.

In the field of judicial interpretation the confiscation problem proved equally as troublesome as in Congressional debate or in its official enforcement.<sup>1</sup> The relation of confiscation to the rules of international law was, to begin with, the source of continual confusion. When the confiscation policy was under discussion both sides appealed to the law of nations for a support of their claims. As usual in such controversies, much would have been gained if the direct issue had been clearly stated and kept in mind. Freed from its entanglements the question amounts to this: Does the law of nations allow to a belligerent in a public war the right to confiscate whatever property, within reach of its courts, belongs to the enemy? Numerous misapprehensions and inaccuracies, however, entered into the actual discussion of this issue. There was great difference of opinion as to the applicability of the rules of international law to the conflict than waging. Was the struggle to be regarded as a domestic rebellion, or a public war? Were those supporting the Confederate

<sup>28</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc. 58*, 40 Cong., 2 sess. This report of the solicitor was based upon the financial returns which marshals were required to make to the Treasury Department. The total which it shows does not include the returns in the District of Columbia, amounting to \$33,265, which were deposited in the registry of the court and later restored to the owners. It excludes also the proceeds of the Virginia confiscations, because of the fact that the clerk of the district court of that state was a defaulter to the extent of \$91,579.29. The proceeds of the Kansas cases were not reckoned in for a similar reason. By the addition of such sums as these the net proceeds of confiscation will be seen to approximate \$275,000. (Considerable unpublished material relating to the Virginia confiscations, comprising letters, receipts, depositions, and reports of investigating officers, may be found in the files of the Miscellaneous Division of the Treasury Department, marked "Cotton and Captured Property Record, 1370". Regarding the Kansas cases, see *Osborn v. U. S.*, 91 U. S. 474.)

cause to be treated as rebels or as enemies? In a civil war, is a nation restricted by the rules of international law in its operations against the insurgent power, or may it punish these insurgents by municipal regulations?

But, assuming that the legal character of the Civil War had been determined, a further difficulty remained. There was commonly a failure, in the debates, to discriminate between a general confiscation of property within the jurisdiction of the confiscating government, and the treatment accorded by victorious armies to private property found within the limits of military occupation. Thus the general rule exempting private property on land from the sort of capture which similar property must suffer at sea, was erroneously appealed to as an inhibition upon the right of judicial confiscation.<sup>29</sup> That a military capture on land analogous to prize at sea was not regarded as a legitimate war measure was so obvious and well recognized a principle that it would hardly require a continual reaffirmation. It was a very different matter, however, so far as the law and practice of nations was concerned, for a belligerent to attack through its courts whatever enemy's property might be available within its limits. Where the language was accurate, it was this form of seizure that was contemplated whenever confiscation was claimed as a belligerent right. In this connection much was said about the relation between conqueror and vanquished, which was also beside the point.

When after the war the question of confiscation as a belligerent right was presented to the Supreme Court<sup>30</sup> the legal precedents were various and doubtful.<sup>31</sup> Though the trend of modern usage

<sup>29</sup> Even Dunning, in his *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction*, though he treats directly the principles of international law involved in the confiscation policy, gives no place to this distinction between military seizure and judicial confiscation. "In the modern practice of civilized nations", he says, "the general confiscation of enemies' private property is unknown. It is as obsolete as the poisoning of wells in an enemy's country. As a rule, real estate is left to its owners, and movables are appropriated only so far as military necessity, as judged by the commander in the field, seems to demand it." Dunning then continues the discussion, still with reference to the treatment of private property by military officers, and for authority refers to the passage in Halleck which deals not with confiscation by judicial process within the jurisdiction of the confiscating state, but with the treatment of property by generals in military occupation of a part of the enemy's country. See Dunning, *Essays*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>30</sup> Miller v. U. S., 11 Wallace 268.

<sup>31</sup> Among the early authorities on international law whose opinion would carry weight in America, Vattel and Puffendorf favored the milder practice, Burlamaqui and Rutherford did not deal directly with the form of confiscation adopted during the Civil War, while Bynkershoek was among the few to state in its bald severity the extreme right of the belligerent over the enemy's property. To derive any clear authority for confiscation from these early writers requires

avored the milder practice, the court, without arguing the points of international law involved, rested the justification for the second confiscation act upon the law of nations. The measure was sustained on this broad basis as an "undoubted belligerent right" and was construed as the exercise of a war power, not as a municipal regulation. It is to be observed that there underlay this decision a presumption which had caused much controversy and honest difference of opinion—a presumption which was not rendered less conspicuous by the omission of arguments drawn from the domain of international law. The question was a fair one whether the right of confiscation could be clearly claimed on the basis of the law of nations, and this was a point of much larger importance and greater difficulty than would be indicated by the off-hand assertion of the court that Congress in passing the second confiscation act was exercising "an undoubted belligerent right". It has been an accepted practice in our courts to recognize international law as a "part of our law",<sup>32</sup> and while the judicial branch of the government would not be likely to invalidate a law of Congress on the ground that it

a rather sympathetic editing. Vattel, *Law of Nations* (Luke White ed., Dublin, 1792), bk. III., sec. 76; Puffendorf, *Droit de la Nature et des Gens*, liv. VIII., ch. v., sec. xvii ff.; Burlamaqui, *Principles of Natural and Political Science* (Nugent transl., Boston, 1792), pp. 375 ff.; Rutherford, *Institutes of International Law* (second Am. ed., 1832), ch. ix., *passim*; Bynkershoek, *Quaestiones Juris Publici* (1737), lib. I., ch. 7, p. 175. In the case of *Ware v. Hylton*, 3 Dallas 199, argued before the Supreme Court in 1796, many prominent American jurists of the time expressed opinions upon the right of confiscation. John Marshall, arguing for Virginia's claim to certain British debts sequestered during the Revolution, declared emphatically for the general right of confiscation, but his attitude was that of an advocate not a judge, and his interpretation of the authorities was not infallible. Later, as Chief Justice, Marshall prepared the opinion of the Supreme Court in *Brown v. U. S.* (8 Cranch 110), a case involving the right of the United States government to seize British property found on land at the commencement of the War of 1812. Basing his sweeping conclusion upon the partial citation of authorities submitted by the counsel for the appellant, Marshall wrote: "It may be considered as the opinion of all who have written on the *jus belli*, that war gives the right to confiscate, but does not itself confiscate the property of the enemy." A special act, so the court held, was necessary to authorize such seizures. Story went even further in his dissenting opinion and maintained that the right of confiscation vested at once in the executive on the outbreak of war, without the express provision of any statute. When one seeks the authority which these men quote, however, he is apt to find, in the passage cited, a treatment of capture, or booty, or the levy of contributions—topics quite distinct from confiscation. Story's reference to Puffendorf as a supporter of confiscation is an example of this stretching of the authorities. (8 Cranch 143.) Of the later writers, Kent favored the sterner rule, while Wheaton emphasized the milder practice which, however, he declared to be "not inflexible". Kent (*Comm.*, eleventh ed.), I. 66-67; Wheaton, *International Law* (Boyd ed.), pp. 410, 413.

<sup>32</sup> *Hilton v. Guyot*, 159 U. S. 163; *Ware v. Hylton*, 3 Dallas 281; the *Paquette Habana*, 175 U. S. 700.

violated the rules of international law, it usually takes care to consider these rules as fully as possible, and even to interpret the intent of Congress in the light of such rules. Even though one may not deny the soundness of the position assumed by the Supreme Court, there is still room for the wish that so important a subject had been handled with less superficiality.

When we study the problem of rebel status in relation to confiscation another series of legal tangles emerges. Though the question of such "status" might appear chiefly theoretical and involve much abstract reasoning, yet it seemed an inevitable requirement of the laws of intellect that men who discussed confiscation should have in mind some guiding principle, either expressed or implied, as to the legal standing of persons engaged in the rebellion. In this connection, therefore, the question bore directly upon the larger legal problems which the Civil War called forth. Here arose the same difficulty which presented itself in connection with the treatment of Confederate privateers, the blockading of southern ports, and the non-intercourse laws.<sup>23</sup> In a different phase the question again forced itself upon the attention of the government after the war when reconstruction issues were pending and the policy of pardon and amnesty was urged by the President and opposed by the radicals of Congress.

At first sight the situation would seem to resolve itself into a simple alternative. On the one hand, the severity of the law of treason could be invoked, and the insurgents could be held liable to treatment as criminals. In this case the government would be acting in the capacity of a sovereign punishing its rebellious citizens for their violation of allegiance. Or, on the other hand, the rebellion could be regarded as a public war, and all the privileges and amenities prescribed by the law of nations for the treatment of belligerents could be accorded to the Confederacy. The government, in taking this attitude, would appear to be laying aside its sovereign control over the South, and opposing the Confederate states only as a belligerent would oppose his enemy. The struggle would then be a clash *between governments*, not a conflict of individuals against their government. There was, however, a third possibility which would be most likely to commend itself to an administration guided by a spirit of expediency or practical opportunism rather than of rigid adherence to consistent principles. Instead of selecting one or the other of the two alternatives as an exclusive rule of conduct, the

<sup>23</sup> The well-known work of Professor Dunning, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction*, contains the best general discussion of these legal problems which the writer has found.

government could suit the rule to the occasion, and adopt whichever course might appear most suitable in a given situation. The theory of traitor status was, in the opinion of many, a convenient justification for certain severe measures which were more or less directly contemplated and which could rest on no other accepted principle, as for instance the condemnation after the war of the principal Confederate leaders under domestic criminal law. It became apparent at once, however, that this severe principle could not be adhered to rigidly. In the ordinary conduct of the war it was the *jus belli*, not the *lex talionis* which must govern the armies. In the declaration of blockade and in the treatment of privateers as public enemies instead of pirates, the administration followed the only rational and humane course possible, but in these particulars the insurgents were undoubtedly recognized as belligerents.

So far the way seemed clearly marked out by the plain dictates of reason and humanity, and there was no serious difference of opinion. When the question of confiscation was reached, however, there was no generally conceded principle around which all could unite, and it was in this connection that the difficulty regarding rebel status reached its most acute stage. The subject was beclouded rather than clarified by the debates. On the one hand the rebels were referred to as red-handed, black-hearted pirates, and traitors,<sup>34</sup> unworthy of claiming a single belligerent right. On the other hand they were represented as a regularly constituted governmental power with an organized administration in control, an authorized army in the field, and with all the attributes of a belligerent in a public war.<sup>35</sup>

It remained for the Supreme Court, in a few clear-cut decisions, to present what seems the only practical solution of the problem, by adopting the convenient and flexible principle of the double status of the rebels. In the *Amy Warwick* case Justice Sprague thus expressed the views of the majority of the court: "I am satisfied that the United States as a nation have full and complete belligerent rights, which are in no degree impaired by the fact that their enemies owe allegiance and have superadded the guilt of treason to that

<sup>34</sup> See speeches of Elliot of Massachusetts in the House of Representatives (*Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., p. 2234), Howard of Michigan (*ibid.*, p. 1717), and Davis of Kentucky (*ibid.*, p. 1750).

<sup>35</sup> The words of Blair of Pennsylvania, who favored confiscation, present a good statement of the principle of belligerent status: "What are our relations to these rebellious people? They are at war with us, having an organized government in the cabinet, and an organized army in the field, and I hold that in the conduct and management of the war on our part we are compelled to act towards them as if they were a foreign Government of a thousand years' existence, between whom and us hostilities have broken out." *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., p. 2299.

of unjust war."<sup>36</sup> A similar expression is that of Justice Grier in the Prize Cases: "The law of nations . . . contains no such anomalous doctrine as that which this court are now for the first time desired to pronounce, to wit: That insurgents who have risen in rebellion against their sovereign, expelled her courts, established a revolutionary government, organized armies, and commenced hostilities, are not *enemies* because they are *traitors*; and a war levied on the government by traitors, in order to dismember and destroy it, is not a *war* because it is an '*insurrection*'."<sup>37</sup> Again, in *Miller v. United States*: "Whatever may be true in regard to a rebellion that does not rise to the magnitude of a war, it must be that when it has become a recognized war those who are engaged in it are to be regarded as enemies."<sup>38</sup>

With this statement of the broad theoretical problem in mind we may now turn to a detailed phase of the question of rebel status in which its practical application and its bearing upon individual rights stand out clearly. One of the common difficulties confronting the courts in the enforcement of the confiscation acts was to decide whether, in the seizure of property of persons adhering to the rebellion, opportunity should be given to the supposed "rebel" to appear in court and plead his case. On the one hand stood the principle that an enemy has no standing in court, while on the other hand the very nature of the proceeding under the confiscation acts was such that judgment must rest upon a determination of the fact as to whether or not the party was actually engaged in the rebellion—a point on which the owner could claim a right to be heard. Moreover it was ably contended that a quasi-criminal character<sup>39</sup> pertained to confiscation proceedings, requiring the same strict construction of the law in the interest of the accused as belongs to actions brought under a criminal indictment. Such construction

<sup>36</sup> 2 Sprague 123.

<sup>37</sup> 2 Black 670. See also pp. 672 and 673. As to the necessity of some concession of belligerent rights in the case of a formidable rebellion, see *Williams v. Bruffy*, 96 U. S. 187. There the Supreme Court declared that such concessions depend upon "the considerations of justice, humanity, and policy controlling the government".

<sup>38</sup> 11 Wallace 309.

<sup>39</sup> The Supreme Court is authority for the statement that actions in confiscation were "in no sense criminal proceedings", and were "not governed by the rules that prevail in respect to indictments or criminal informations". The only subject of inquiry in such cases, in the opinion of the court, was the liability of the property to confiscation, and persons were referred to only to identify the property. (The Confiscation Cases, 20 Wallace 104-105. In this case there were three dissenting judges.) For a vigorous statement of the view that the confiscations partook largely of the nature of criminal statutes, see Field's dissenting opinion in *Tyler v. Defrees*, 11 Wallace 331, and Lincoln's proposed veto message, *Senate Journal*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., July 17, 1862, p. 873.

would certainly not deny to the suspected "rebel" all opportunity whatever of conducting a defense in court.

The practice during the war on this point was uncertain and frequently detrimental to the interests of the accused. In the district court for the eastern district of Virginia a general rule was prescribed which disallowed a hearing in the case of persons adhering to the rebellion.<sup>40</sup> In a case tried before Judge Betts of the southern district of New York in July, 1863, the defendant, a resident of Alabama,<sup>41</sup> duly filed an answer to the allegations set forth in the libel of information against his property, but the judge ordered this answer to be stricken from the files on the ground that the defendant was an "alien enemy", and hence had no *persona standi* in a court of the United States.<sup>42</sup> An able criticism of Judge Betts's position is to be found in the *Annual Cyclopaedia* for 1863. The writer points out that if Betts's doctrine was correct "the mere fact of Mr. Wiley's [the defendant's] residence in a southern insurrectionary state precludes him from appearing and contesting the allegations of the libel that he has rendered active aid to the rebellion. . . . Under such a practice every dollar of property owned by Southern citizens in the North, no matter how loyal, need only be seized under an allegation of disloyal practices, and as the accused cannot be heard to deny that allegation, (and if he remains silent no proof of it is required), the whole matter is very summarily disposed of to the great comfort and advantage of the informer, and to the increment of his personal possessions."

This question whether a rebel should have a hearing in a federal court on the issue of the condemnation of his property waited till after the war for its settlement by the Supreme Court. The case was that of *McVeigh v. U. S.*—one of the prominent confiscation cases.<sup>43</sup> In its facts the case resembled that in which Judge Betts had given his radical decision. A libel of information had been filed in the eastern Virginia district to reach certain real and personal property of McVeigh who was charged with having engaged in armed rebellion. McVeigh appeared by counsel, interposed a claim to the property, and filed an answer to the information. By motion of the district attorney, however, the appearance, answer, and claim were stricken from the files for the reason that the respondent was a "resident of the city of Richmond, within the Confederate lines, and a rebel". The property was condemned and ordered to be sold. When the case reached the Supreme Court the

<sup>40</sup> *Semple v. U. S.*, 21 Fed. Cas. 1072.

<sup>41</sup> *Annual Cycl.*, 1863, p. 220.

<sup>42</sup> *Jecker v. Montgomery*, 18 Howard 112, and cases cited.

<sup>43</sup> 11 Wallace 259; see also *Windsor v. McVeigh*, 93 U.S. 274.



judgment was reversed, and the action of the district attorney unanimously condemned. The court held that McVeigh's alleged criminality lay at the foundation of the proceeding, and that the questions of his guilt and ownership were therefore fundamental in the case. The order to strike the claim and answer from the files on the ground that McVeigh was a "rebel" amounted to a pre-judgment of the very point in question without a hearing. The court below in issuing this order had acted on the theory that no enemy of the United States could have standing in its courts, but the higher tribunal refused to allow such an application of this principle. On this fundamental question, therefore, the Supreme Court was committed to the proposition that a "rebel" should not be denied the right to a hearing in connection with the seizure of his property by a federal court. Had this conclusion been pronounced early enough to produce uniformity of practice during the war, and had the Supreme Court itself maintained this principle consistently, the advantage of the McVeigh decision would have been far greater than was actually the case.

A problem more fundamental perhaps than any of the above was that which concerned the constitutionality of the confiscation acts. It was not surprising that this legislation which had been enacted against the judgment of many of the ablest thinkers in Congress, which had barely escaped the presidential veto, and which had occasioned the greatest uncertainty in its judicial enforcement, should have to meet sooner or later that peculiar ordeal to which all American laws are liable—the test of constitutionality. The wonder is that the test was deferred so long, for it was not until 1871 that the matter of constitutionality was made a direct issue before the Supreme Court. The case was that of *Miller v. United States*—a proceeding under both of the confiscation acts to forfeit certain shares of railroad stock in two Michigan corporations.<sup>44</sup> The information filed against this stock alleged it to be the property of Samuel Miller, a Virginia "rebel". An essential feature of the case was the fact that Miller had disregarded the notice and the district court in Michigan, without a hearing of the case, had entered a decree of condemnation by default. Miller's attorney complained that the acts of Congress on which the seizure and the condemnation by default had been based were unconstitutional, involving a violation of the fifth and sixth amendments, which have to do with the guarantees of due process of law and of property rights.

The court met the defendant's objections by a liberal reliance on

<sup>44</sup> 11 Wallace 304 ff.

the "war power" and by reference to earlier decisions in which related problems had been settled. The primary question of the nature of the Civil War had been fully treated in the Prize Cases,<sup>45</sup> where the court had defined the conflict as one of sufficient magnitude to give the United States all the rights and powers appropriate to a foreign or national war. The belligerent rights of the United States, then, were not diminished by the fact that the conflict was a civil war. In the same decisions the relation of the Union government to the insurrectionary districts was dealt with, and the rights both of a sovereign and a belligerent were held to belong to the government of the United States. The court proceeded on the basis of these previous decisions to analyze the confiscation acts and defend their constitutionality. The most important problems before the court under the head of constitutionality were: first, to decide under what category to place confiscation, *i. e.*, whether to regard it as the exercise of war power or as a municipal regulation; and second, to deal with the objection that the act violated the fifth and sixth amendments relating to rights of property and of impartial trial. As to the first of these problems the court laid down the doctrine that the confiscation acts were not passed as a municipal regulation but as a war measure. With a tone of certainty which, as we have seen, the precedents hardly warranted, the court declared that "this is and always has been an undoubted belligerent right". Congress had "full power to provide for the seizure and confiscation of any property which the enemy or adherents of the enemy could use for the purpose of maintaining the war against the government". The act of 1861, and the fifth, sixth, and seventh sections of the act of 1862, were therefore construed as an enforcement of the belligerent rights which Congress amply possessed during the Civil War.

Having thus placed the confiscation acts within the category of war measures, the court found little difficulty in meeting the objection that the acts involved a violation of the fifth and sixth amendments. The relevant provisions in these amendments are that no person shall be deprived of his property without due process of law, and that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed. The acts, as we have above noted, permitted judgment on default without a jury trial, without a personal hearing, and without a determination of the facts as to the guilt of the owner. It was admitted by the court that if the purpose of the acts had been to punish

<sup>45</sup> 2 Black 673.

offenses against the sovereignty of the United States, *i. e.*, if they had been criminal statutes enacted under the municipal power of Congress, there would have been force in the objection that Congress had disregarded its constitutional restrictions. Since however the acts were passed in exercise of the war powers of the government, they were held to be unaffected by the limitations fixed by the fifth and sixth amendments.

Three of the judges, Field, Clifford, and Davis, dissented from this opinion. Their grounds of disagreement were that the forfeitures in question were punitive in their nature, being based on the municipal not the war power of Congress, that condemnations must depend on the personal guilt of the owner, that judgments against the property should only result from proceedings *in rem* to ascertain the guilt or innocence of the supposed offender, and that therefore a judgment based on mere default in such cases would amount to a denial of "due process of law". These words of the dissenting judges not only agree exactly with one of the important points in Lincoln's objections, but they harmonize very well with the position of the Supreme Court itself when dealing with the problem whether a "rebel" should have a hearing. We noticed in connection with the McVeigh case that the court insisted upon the necessity of a hearing to determine the question of the owner's alleged rebellion. The dissenting judges in the Miller case were merely applying this same principle to the case of default. It was not even necessary, said the majority of the court, to conduct an *ex parte* hearing after the default. The entry of the default in due form was to be regarded as establishing all the facts averred in the information, as in the case of confession, or of actual conviction on evidence. It was this principle which, according to the minority view, would involve serious judicial usurpation, and "work a complete revolution in our criminal jurisprudence". To the thoughtful student this view of the minority judges seems but a natural protest against an extreme and unjust claim. The dissenting position appears still stronger when it is remembered that the majority judges admitted the incompetency of Congress to allow such judgments as the confiscation acts permitted on the basis of municipal law, and that the "war power" theory was the convenient door of escape from this constitutional difficulty.

The above survey will perhaps be insufficient to convey a complete impression, omitting as it does all reference to the restoration of property, and to the various forms of *virtual* confiscation which

were quite apart from the confiscation acts.<sup>46</sup> It may however suggest the difficulty and uncertainty with which the courts labored in executing these unusual measures. It is often the case with mooted points of law that the period of the greatest diversity of opinion is also the period when the number of cases involved is greatest, and when therefore the pressure upon the judicial authorities is heaviest. In the case of these legal difficulties regarding confiscation their final settlement did not occur until after the war; in some cases so long afterward that the issue was practically dead, and little benefit could be secured from the decisions as guides to the lower tribunals. When during the war we find doubt on such fundamental points as the constitutionality of the law itself, and the question as to whether a rebel could be heard in his own defense, we need no longer wonder that judicial action in these cases was so often unsatisfactory. When in addition to this we remember that during the war both Congress and the courts did their work under heavy pressure, and sometimes in haste and confusion, we can better understand such mistakes and shortcomings as appear in connection with the execution of the confiscation policy. To carry out a war measure by peaceful process is a rather anomalous undertaking, yet this is what the strict judicial enforcement of the confiscation policy amounted to. We must remember, too, that these measures were exceptional, that they could be justified only on extreme grounds, and that they touched human nature in a very weak place.

JAMES G. RANDALL.

<sup>46</sup> Forfeitures under the direct tax levy, for instance, were so conducted as to amount, virtually, to confiscation. For the laws, see: *Stat. at Large*, XII. 294, 422; for a report of the extent of these seizures see: *Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., p. 3387; for the confiscation of Robert E. Lee's estate at Arlington, Virginia, after the form of a "tax sale", see: *Sen. Misc. Doc. 96*, 43 Cong., 1 sess.; *Cong. Rec.*, 43 Cong., 1 sess., vol. II., pt. 3, p. 2812; 47 Cong., 2 sess., vol. XIV., pt. 3, p. 2680; *ibid.*, pt. 4, p. 3361; case of *U. S. v. Lee*, 106 U. S. 196; *U. S. Stat.*, 47 Cong., 2 sess., ch. 141, p. 584.

## DOCUMENTS

### *Diary of Thomas Ewing, August and September, 1841*

AFTER the dramatic breach between President Tyler and his Cabinet in September, 1841, its members justified themselves by public letters. That of Thomas Ewing, secretary of the treasury, first printed in the *National Intelligencer*, is now most easily found in *Niles' Register*, LXI. 33-34. It appears that it did not rest on memory alone, but that Secretary Ewing, as soon as he scented danger to the relations between President Tyler and the executive advisers inherited from Harrison, in the course which the President was pursuing in regard to the bank act, began to keep a diary of the transactions relative to that and other measures. The manuscript of this diary now belongs to his grandson, Mr. Thomas Ewing of New York City, but a copy of it is possessed by the library of Ohio University at Marietta. To Mr. Ewing and to Mr. C. L. Martzoff of that university we are indebted for the opportunity to print this valuable record, which, as will be seen, contains much information that is not to be found in the letter in *Niles*.

Not all parts of the manuscript printed below are of the same date. The first three paragraphs were prefixed to the diary proper. The grandson of Secretary Ewing states however that, judging from the handwriting, they are of about the same date. The next three paragraphs are in his handwriting of much later date. The essential portion, beginning with the words "On the morning of the 16th August", are plainly contemporary. The last paragraph under September 1 is shown by the handwriting to be a later insertion. Such is also the character of the final three paragraphs.

A full discussion of the whole crisis from the point of view of the President may be found in Dr. Lyon G. Tyler's *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II. 39-123.

Thomas Ewing (1789-1871) was graduated from the Ohio University in 1815, practised law for several years at Lancaster, Ohio, was a Whig senator from that state 1831-1837, secretary of the treasury March 5-September 13, 1841, secretary of the interior 1849-1850, senator again 1850-1851, and in 1861 a delegate to the Peace Conference, of which Ex-President Tyler was president.

As soon as the election of Genl. Harrison to the Presidency was informally known to him, he addressed me a letter inviting me to take a place in his Cabinet and signifying that the situation of P. M. G. was the one he proposed to offer me.

I had been long aware that public opinion had designated me for this, or some other place in the Cabinet, and though Genl. Harrison had never in the most remote manner hinted at such a thing I had no doubt that it was his purpose to make me the offer. My mind being made up on the subject I accepted, with all due acknowledgments for the honor proposed to be conferred and the frank and generous promptness with which it had been offered me. I communicated this for the present to no one but my wife and my eldest son in whose secrecy I had full confidence, as I deemed it by no means proper that the fact should first transpire through me. In the same letter Genl. Harrison named Mr. Webster as his proposed Secretary of State and public opinion had definitively settled on Mr. Crittenden as Attorney General. Mr. Bell had been much spoken of for the War Department and several other gentlemen were named for other Departments but no one distinctly pointed to by general public opinion.

The Legislature of Ohio met in Columbus on the first Monday in December. The Court in Bank sat at the same time and the Circuit Court shortly after. I was engaged as counsel in many important cases in these courts and necessarily spent several weeks in that city about their trial. Having disposed of them and arranged my private business as well as I was able in so short a time, I set out for Washington and arrived in the City early in February. By this time it was pretty well understood that I was to be a member of the Cabinet, but it was by no means so well settled what particular post I was to fill. The impression became strong and was constantly gathering strength that I should be placed at the head of the Treasury. But in the midst of this uncertainty I was overwhelmed with applications for office in both Departments especially in the Genl. Post Office which had by far the largest share of patronage. For so completely had it become a settled political axiom within the last twelve years, "to the victors belong the spoils", that all men of both parties seemed to suppose that there would be an immediate and universal sweep of all the officers then in place. There was also another reason and a more just one for this opinion of the public and I may say *mandate* of the popular will. It had been the policy of the party just thrust from power, to retain in office none but their *active* political adherents, those who would go for them thorough in all things; and the performance of official duty, was far less requisite to a tenure of office, than electioneering services. Hence the offices had become for the most part filled with brawling offensive political partisans, of a very low moral standard—their official duties performed by substitutes, or not performed at all. Many defalcations and gross speculation constantly occurring among them, it was thought wise and prudent to make many changes and by so doing, to elevate, as far as possible, the official standard and ensure a more faithful execution of official duties.

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General Harrison consulted much with Mr. Webster and myself before announcing his Cabinet. Mr. Webster was made Secretary of State, Ewing Secretary of the Treasury, Bell Secretary of War, Badger

of the Navy, Frank Granger Post Master General and John J. Crittenden Attorney General. There was perfect harmony and good feeling of the members of the Cabinet, with each other, and between them and the leading members of the Whig party generally—but the quiet of the Administration and of the country was greatly disturbed by the sudden death of General Harrison.

Immediately on his demise Mr. Webster dispatched a special messenger to John Tyler the Vice President with the intelligence who in a few days came to Washington and was inaugurated as President. The Cabinet convened to receive him, and he very promptly and courteously requested us all to continue in our then present position as his Council.

An extra session of Congress had been called which met in May. One of their first acts, under the lead of Mr. Clay, was to pass an act to recharter the Bank of the United States, and restore to it the public deposits and fiscal agency, and therein was for the first time disclosed a serious difference between the President and the party who had elected him, including nearly all the members of his Cabinet. The Bank bill was passed early in August, and the President against the advice of his Cabinet determined to veto it. I saw clearly that the Administration was approaching a catastrophe, and on the 16<sup>th</sup> commenced and kept a diary for the month preceding its dissolution. I give it in full as it was then written.

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On the morning of the 16<sup>th</sup> August I called to see the President and found him putting together the Veto Message on the Bank Bill, in order to send it to the Senate. We had some conversation on the subject, and he read to me certain parts of the message, especially that which contained his strictures on the 16<sup>th</sup> fundamental article. While thus engaged Mr. Bell, Secretary of War, came in and joined us in the conversation. It was observed by Mr. Bell, that although the Veto would create a great sensation in Congress yet he thought the minds of our friends much better prepared for it than they were some days ago, and he hoped it would be calmly received, especially as it did not shut out the hope of some Bank. The President replied yes, he thought so—his mind had been made up from the first, and he had delayed his message until now that theirs might become quieted—that really they ought to make no difficulty about it, he had sufficiently indicated in his message what kind of Bank he would approve and they might if they saw fit, pass such a one (which would be more acceptable to the country than this) in three days.

The next day (17<sup>th</sup>) I called and found the President in conversation with Mr. Sergeant of the House and Mr. Berrien of the Senate.<sup>1</sup> I was about to retire but he invited me to sit, observing that the conversation was one to which I should be a party. Those gentlemen had come informally from the Whigs of the two Houses to confer with the President on the subject of a Bank or Fiscal Agent such as might be acceptable to him, and meet the wishes and wants of the Treasury and the country—much was said upon the subject. Mr. Sergeant stated his understanding of that part of the message which recommends agencies, with power to deal in Exchange etc. and wished to have a clear avowal from the President on that subject. The President in reply said that he considered the message sufficiently explicit on that point. That he

<sup>1</sup> John Sergeant of Pennsylvania and Senator John M. Berrien of Georgia.

did not think it became him to draw out a plan of a bank, but he thought it easy to ascertain from the general course of his argument what he would approve. In the course of the conversation I observed that I understood the President to have no objection to a Bank located in the District of Columbia, employing agents in the several States, to perform the services required of it by the Government as a fiscal agent, and incidental to those duties to deal in exchange, and do all other acts which the Bank proposed in the Bill which he had rejected might do except the making of local discounts. To this the President did not object. After continuing the conversation a short time, Messrs. Berrien and Sergeant left us, and I after transacting some official business also departed. The President spoke with some feeling and in a very proper manner of the mob that came the preceding night on his porch to insult him.

On Wednesday the 18<sup>th</sup>, which was the usual day for the meeting of the Cabinet, I went to the President's, and Messrs. Berrien and Sergeant were with him. He did not by either word or manner invite me to join them so I retired into an adjoining room where I was soon joined by Messrs. Webster and Bell. We remained some time, and Mr. Webster saying he had business retired and requested the servant to say to the President that he would come at his summons—after some time he was sent for and returned—but the door of the audience room was still closed and we waited more than an hour before it was opened and we were in the meantime joined by Mr. Badger. At length the President made his appearance—said he had been conversing with gentlemen who professed to come informally as a committee of the Whigs of the two Houses to get his views on the subject of the Bank—that he had doubts of the propriety of conferring with them and that he had stated those doubts to them—said that he had his constitutional advisers about him with whom and with whom only he thought he ought to consult and that having conferred with them his opinions could be made known to gentlemen on the part of the two houses so far as it was proper to communicate it. Having so said he began by asking us whether his views in that respect were correct. Mr. Webster replied that they were the same expressed by Mr. Madison on some occasion (what I do not remember) when he was consulted in like manner. His explanation drew from me the remark that the two cases probably differed in this—that appeared to have been a *committee* of one or both of the Houses *proper*; this an informal unofficial deputation of political friends who came to consult with the President informally, to ascertain his opinions that they might if consistent with their own views of the public good, conform to them. But even in that case I saw no impropriety, on the contrary much prudence in the President's proposed course. of consulting with his Cabinet before he committed himself, even informally, to any one. Mr. Webster said the case he referred to was in all these particulars similar to the present and that he thought the President's proposition, to confer with them only through his Cabinet, quite right. To this no one objected except Mr. Badger who saw no objection to this unofficial friendly intercourse between the President and members of the two Houses, for the purpose of exchanging views and endeavoring to come to an understanding on subjects of common interest. This being disposed of the President spoke of the Veto and its effects—expressed his surprise that our friends should be so much dissatisfied with it—



averred he believed it would be the salvation of the party if the Whigs in Congress would take it in a becoming spirit—spoke of the delay in taking the question upon it in the Senate and expressed anxiety as to the tone and temper which the debate would assume there.

*Badger*—Mr. President, I am happy to find on inquiry that the best temper in the world prevails generally in the two Houses on this subject. I believe they are perfectly ready to take up Mr. Ewing's bill and pass it without alteration except in some unimportant particulars.

*President*—Talk not to me of Mr. Ewing's Bill—it contains that odious feature of local discounts which I have repudiated in my message.

*Ewing*—I have no doubt, sir, that the House, having ascertained your views, will pass a bill in conformity to them provided they can be satisfied that it will answer the purposes of the Treasury and relieve the country.

*President*—Cannot my Cabinet see that this is brought about. You must stand by me in this emergency. Cannot you see that such a bill passes Congress as I can sign without inconsistency?

*Ewing*—I think a bill which will meet your views may be introduced into the House of Rep. and pass that body. Of the Senate I am not so certain. If such a bill could pass both bodies speedily and receive your sanction, it would immediately restore harmony here and confidence throughout the nation.

*President*—I care nothing about the *Senate*—let the Bill pass the House with the understanding that it meets my approbation and the Senate may reject it on their own responsibility if they think best. But what do you understand to be my opinions? State them, so that there may be no misunderstanding.

*Ewing*—I understand you are of opinion that Congress may charter a Bank in the District of Columbia giving it its location here.

*President*—A nod of assent.

*Ewing*—That they may authorize such Bank to establish offices of Discount and Deposit in any of the States with the assent of the States in which they are so established.

*President* (sharply)—Don't name Discounts to me—they have been the source of the most abominable corruptions—and they are wholly unnecessary to enable the Bank to discharge its duties to the country and the Government.

*Ewing*—I am proposing nothing, but simply endeavoring to recapitulate what I have heretofore understood to be your opinions as to the powers which Congress may constitutionally confer on a Bank. I now understand your opinion to be, that they may not confer the power of local discount even with the assent of the States.

*President*—(An expression of assent).

*Ewing*—And I understand you to be of opinion that Congress may authorize such Bank to establish agencies in the several states with power to receive, disburse or transmit the public monies and to deal in Bills of Exchange without the assent of the States.

*The President*—Yes if they be foreign bills or bills drawn in one State and payable in another. That is all the power that is necessary for transmitting the public funds and regulating exchanges and the currency.

*Webster*—I would like such a bill, with power to deal in Exchanges alone, without authority derived from the States, much better than if it

combined the power of Discount with the assent of the States, and the power to deal in exchanges without such assent. I do not think it necessary to give such Bank the power of local discount, in order to enable [it] to perform all its duties to the country and to the government, unless indeed it be essential to the existence of such institution and then it is liable to the objection of attaching one implied power to another which once admitted might be carried to a dangerous extent. And there is an incongruity in performing any of the necessary functions of the general Government by the separate assent of individual States. If that which the U. S. wishes to do be necessary in the discharge of its constitutional duties, it has already the assent of all the States granted in and by the Constitution; if not necessary—there is no right to do it with such assent. That these particular powers are necessary seems to me very clear, for the purpose of safe keeping and transmitting the public monies, for the restoration of a sound currency, regulation of exchanges and especially of commerce between the States—and I believe it will furnish sufficient inducements to capitalists to take the stock.

The President expressed his acquiescence in the views of Mr. Webster—desired that we would see that the Bill should assume that form, and especially urged us to take care that it was placed in the hands of some one in the House who was his friend. Ewing enquired of him whether Mr. Sergeant would be agreeable to him. He replied in the affirmative—wished us in communicating on the subject not to commit him personally, as having agreed to this project; for he was apprehensive it would be made the subject of comparison to his prejudice—but advised us to say that from the Veto Message and from all that we knew of his opinions we inferred that this would be acceptable. He then spoke of the name, which he wished should be so changed that it would not be called a Bank. To this there were some objections, but his wishes were finally acquiesced in. He and Mr. Webster then conversed about the particular wording of the 16<sup>th</sup> fundamental article and agreed as to the form of expression which should introduce the grant of power.

He then requested Messrs. Webster and Ewing to attend to getting it before the House and directed them to prepare for him as soon as practicable an exposition in writing of their opinions upon it. Mr. Bell said to Webster and Ewing—"Gentlemen you have no time to lose—if you do not attend to this today another bill less acceptable may be got up and reported." We were about retiring when the President called Mr. Webster back. He remained a few minutes and then joined us. Messrs. Webster and Ewing then consulted as to the means of carrying out the wishes of the President and it was agreed that Mr. Webster should see Messrs. Berrien and Sergeant who represented the two Houses in this matter and possess them of the plan agreed on; and if they desired it Mr. Ewing would call on them afterwards.

In a short time afterwards I received a note from Mr. Webster stating that Messrs. Berrien and Sergeant wished to see me at Mr. Berrien's chamber at 5 o'clock, at which time I waited upon them. They stated to me that they had conversed with the President that morning and had gathered from his conversation, though he declined to speak in explicit terms, that he was disposed to favor a charter which authorized the dealing in Exchanges through agents in the several States without reference to the assent of the States, but that he had re-

ferred them to his Cabinet after he should have consulted them. They also informed me that Mr. Webster had suggested the particular frame and referred them to me for my concurrence. After full conversation they agreed to present the project, before our political friends, and if agreed to by them in both branches it was to be introduced into the House. It is proper here to note that the President expressed great sensitiveness lest he should be *committed* by anything that he or we should say to a project which would not be accepted by Congress and which would be contrasted with that which he had rejected. And once in the course of the conversation he said he was bewildered—he had no time to collect his thoughts; why could not this thing be postponed to the next session?

The Bill proposed could not be brought into the House until that in the Senate with the President's objections was disposed of. This was done on the 19<sup>th</sup> and Mr. Clay in the discussion made one of his most powerful and happy efforts—extorting expressions of rapturous applause from his most bitter enemies in that body, and thrilling his friends with delight. I was not present and consequently lost this noble intellectual treat, for it is wholly vain for Mr. Clay or any one else to attempt to transfer to paper any just presentment of his lofty and impassioned eloquence. But the President though treated with respect was sorely wounded, particularly by the popular impression which was anything but favorable to him. There was, it is said, in Mr. Clay's manner, an evident restraint and suppression of strong feeling while he spoke directly of the President, his position, his duty to the country, to those who placed him in power, and of his wide and unaccountable departure from all those duties<sup>2</sup> and his forgetfulness of all those obligations—but when Mr. Rives<sup>3</sup> came out in the defence of the President and brought *himself* within the lion's bound, he sprang upon him with unrestrained and unmitigated impetuosity and poured forth upon him the whole torrent of his feelings in the most high toned and powerful invective. I had a report of the speech from Mr. Badger, himself an orator, who dwelt upon it with enthusiastic admiration.

I was taken ill on the night of the 19<sup>th</sup> and did not get about until Saturday, the 21st.

<sup>4</sup>Monday, the 23d, I called upon the President to transact some business and after conversing with him a few minutes Mr. Granger entered. The President soon introduced the subject of the Bank and his Veto and spoke with much feeling of the violence with which he was attacked and denounced by the Whigs and declared that he looked upon many of them as his very worst enemies. I told him it was what I had all along feared, if no means could be devised by which the Veto could be avoided—that in truth the excitement was not so general or the expression of disapprobation as strong as I had apprehended and endeavored to show him would take place. Mr. Granger said there was much to be considered on both sides, for, said he, "Sir, in every town and village, at the places where you and Genl. Harrison were insulted and denounced last fall, while the Whigs were supporting and defending you—flags are now hung out by your then enemies with Tyler and

<sup>2</sup> Word obscure, but seems to be "duties".

<sup>3</sup> Senator William C. Rives of Virginia.

<sup>4</sup> In the original this paragraph follows the fourth paragraph below. But a clean copy exists, made at some time for Mr. Ewing, in which the order is as herein given.

the Veto inserted on them in large characters—they have their triumphal processions, burn tar barrels, fire cannon and rejoice while the friends who elevated you either retire in silent sorrow or break out in expressions of disappointment or anger." To this the President replied little and we soon parted.

On Saturday the 21st the President, the Secretary of War and myself went to the Arsenal to see some experiments with improved rockets. In the course of conversation there he threw out very strong intimations that he would probably veto the Bill which had lately been introduced if it should come to him.

Monday the 23d I sent him my argument upon the Bill as it then stood—having in the meantime received a printed copy of the Bill. Mr. Webster's had been sent up a short time before. The 25th we had Cabinet Council—the President seemed gloomy and depressed—intimated in strong terms that he would not sign the bill and earnestly requested us to get it postponed—said in reply to an expression of doubt on our part that we had got it up easily, we might postpone it as easily if we chose to do it. He seemed earnest and exigent that this should be done.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> I conversed with him again in the presence of Granger. He still earnestly solicited postponement, not as he said because of the political but of the personal difficulties which immediate action upon it would involve.

A meeting of the members of the Cabinet was called at Mr. Webster's on the evening of the 27<sup>th</sup> to take this matter into consideration. When after much consultation and a full interchange of opinions it was agreed to endeavor to postpone, if we found it could be done by the general assent of the Whigs of the two Houses of Congress.

*Sept. 1.* A short time before the Cabinet meeting today I called on Mr. Webster and found him in conversation with Mr. Rives, who suggested that Mr. Clay had given notice in the evening that the Bank Bill would be taken up this morning, and finally disposed of today. To this he had asked the consent of the opposition, who readily agreed to it. Mr. Rives having left us I asked Mr. Webster if he had seen Mr. Evans<sup>\*</sup> to induce him to hold a conversation with Mr. Berrien and if possible get him to postpone the bill until after the passage of the revenue bill as I had requested him last evening. He said he had not. I returned to my office and sent my son to Mr. Evans, and then went to the President's to Council.

I met Mr. Badger at the door and we went in together. Bell and Granger were both there—the conversation first turned upon some indifferent matters—pertaining to the War Department. The President then examined and sent to the Senate some nominations from the State Department and told me that he had sent up all mine except the Baltimore Appraisers—that they objected to his friend Lester and he was unwilling to give him up. I told him I thought he would not make a good officer but that the names I had sent him were chosen with great care and I thought them unexceptionable. Just before I left him this subject was again adverted to and he said he must do something for Lester—he had but few friends and he must take care of them.<sup>†</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Senator George Evans of Maine.

<sup>†</sup> John Lester was nominated by Tyler as appraiser of merchandise for the port of Baltimore, December 14, 1841. The nomination was confirmed by the Senate, March 29, 1842.

Messrs. Webster and Crittenden came in. A report on the Fortifications was produced and read by Mr. Bell. It was in reply to a resolution of the Senate passed in March last calling for information at the commencement of the (then) next session. It was generally understood that the next session meant the next regular session and Mr. Badger said that on consultation it had been so agreed in Cabinet. I was not present at such agreement or do not remember it, but think the construction right unless the contrary appear in the resolution. The report of Mr. Bell was objected to by all the other members of the Cabinet, because it recognized a probable necessity of hereafter extending our fortifications very greatly—it was thought that he ought to have confined himself to the *present* wants of the country—namely, fortifications of the first class which can be completed at an expense of nine millions.

The Committee of the Senate called and presented several enrolled bills for the President's signature—he signed all except the bill for the distribution of the proceeds of the public Lands—this he read to us—made comments on some parts of it—talked jocosely about a *Veto*—asked our opinion of the clause objected to, which was that which gives 500,000 acres each to the new States for the purpose of internal improvements. I placed that clause upon this ground. The U. S. is exempt from taxation by the States while a great proprietor of lands within the State—all other land holders are taxed for their improvements which greatly enhance the value of the land. The U. S. as a proprietor ought to contribute to that by which it so much profits and this is the mode in which alone it can be done. Having conversed some time on the subject he asked the Atty. General for an opinion on the point.

A few minutes were spent on the mode of paying our Ministers abroad and a question raised as to the value of the pound sterling, on which I agreed to report.

Todd, the new Minister to Russia,<sup>7</sup> called and much was said to him in our presence of the importance of the mission, the precarious state of our relations with England and the necessity of having the aid of Russia in any contest with that power. His (the President's) manner during the session was courteous and kind—not perfectly frank though evidently striving to appear so. I thought the objections to the Land Bill a mere show of reason for keeping it awhile in hand that he might approve it or not as *political expediency* should dictate.

On returning to the Department my son reported that he saw Mr. Evans who had used every effort to postpone the bill, but without success. That Mr. Clay insisted on taking it up—said he was not ready to go on with the Revenue Bill—and that it was understood that the revenue bill should be laid on the table and the Bank bill taken up and disposed of, and he called upon the *opposition* to say if this were not the case—they vouched that it was—a vote was taken—all the Locos but one voted for taking up—13 Whigs against it, and it was taken up and considered—many of the Whigs were much incensed at Mr. Clay's course.

The events of the day caused me much reflection. On the one hand Mr. Clay was evidently hurrying matters to a catastrophe, intending to hasten the new Bank bill upon Mr. Tyler; force him to approve or

<sup>7</sup> Colonel Charles S. Todd of Kentucky, under whom Motley served as secretary of legation.

Veto—in the latter event compel the Cabinet to resign—drive Tyler into the Democratic party<sup>s</sup>—denounce the Administration and make himself as the head of the Whig party an opposition candidate for the Presidency. This opinion was formed from a consideration of previous matters connected with the doings of the day. Should these things take place and should I resign and unite in such a movement, I would be subjected to the imputation of having been a false counsellor to the President—near his person—admitted to his secret councils, and at the same time conniving with and abetting his most bitter adversary in his attempt to overthrow him, and when the movement came in which he was involved inextricably with having abandoned him to his fate and openly joined the enemy.

On the other hand if I should remain in the Cabinet after another Veto through the scene of excitement and in the midst of the denunciation consequent upon it, I would be charged with having abandoned my well known principles and broken up old associations for the love of office. It also seemed certain that some members of the Cabinet would resign. Those who should remain, must be associated with persons whom we did not esteem and whose political principles were adverse to ours. The situation of such of us would be the most unpleasant that could be conceived. We would be made the constant object of attack by the papers on both sides in politics, and probably be at last compelled to resign or be displaced, with injured characters, and minds soured and discontented. What was to be done?

I conversed very freely with Mr. Bell on the evening of this day and compared opinions and impressions with him. He concurred with me entirely as to the difficulty of our situation but declared that he would not resign for a Veto on the Bank Bill—nor in the event of resignation for other cause or removal, would he unite in or consent to the nomination of Mr. Clay, at this time. On the supposition of a Veto on the Land Bill his opinion as well as mine was in favor of Resignation—not because we differed from the President in two important measures but because in both he had been false to us—and because we believed the Veto upon those two bills made the evidence complete, that he betrayed the party by which we were all brought into power and sold himself to the adversary.

In the evening late Granger called on me. We compared notes and concurred in opinion. He said Mr. Clay had lost many friends by the hot haste with which he pressed the Bank Bill forward—spoke of the great imprudence of putting the Bank bill before the revenue bill, if he really desired that the Land Bill should be approved.

<sup>a</sup>On the whole I became satisfied that Mr. Clay was impatient, and unhappy in his then present position. He had been the undisputed leader of the Whig party for many years while they were in a minority and he could not well endure now they were in power, that his supremacy should be questioned or the power over the party divided. He wished submission from the Cabinet—this so far as I and some others were concerned was impossible. I would not even consult with him, after a breach between him and the President took place until after I presented my letter of resignation.

<sup>s</sup> This phrase, "drive Tyler into the Democratic party", is written in Mr. Ewing's hand of a much later date than the rest of the diary.

<sup>a</sup> This paragraph is in Mr. Ewing's handwriting of much later date than the rest.

*Sept. 2d.* Nothing special occurred. The President, the Cabinet and the chairmen of the committee of Foreign Relations of the Senate and House dined with Mr. Webster. In the course of the evening the President said to me that he had Mr. Selden's<sup>10</sup> views as to the choice of depositories of the public money which he wished to submit to me. That he was very anxious to hold the Treasurer responsible on his bond. He said he understood I had selected the Bank of Commerce in New York, which I told him was the case. He said he wanted to suggest some stipulations and I said I would send him the contract. In the evening we had a large party at Mr. Bell's where the President attended.

I had in the course of the day a long conversation with George Summers,<sup>11</sup> who said the universal opinion was that the Cabinet should hold their places until actually removed by the President. That the country considered us as holding by a higher tenure than merely his appointment, and that a resignation would be considered as an abandonment of the post which Genl. Harrison and the Nation had assigned us, and if the President chose to add this last crowning sin to his already great transgression that it should be his act not ours, *he* should be held responsible for it.

I also conversed during the day with Goode and Stokely members from Ohio and with Alfred Kelly all of whom united strongly in the same opinion.<sup>12</sup> I put the case to them of a Veto on the Bank bill in progress in the house—it was, they said, on the supposition of that Veto they had urged their opinion. I then put the case of a Veto on the Land Bill which would show a clear and fixed purpose to abandon the Whigs and their principles and throw himself into the arms of the opposition. On that they hesitated but inclined to the opinion that we should still hold our places and let *him* do the last crowning act of dismissal which they said would be esteemed by the people a sacrilegious desecration of the memory of the beloved Harrison.

The speech of Mr. Clay in the Senate, this day as reported by Mr. Fletcher Webster<sup>13</sup> was in his happiest manner, and was much spoken of (see the papers).

It was told me in the evening that Mr. Rives had called in the course of the day upon the President and proposed an amendment to the Bank Bill, providing that if any state should expressly dissent, that the corporation thereafter should not be suffered to deal in Exchange within its limits except so far as the wants of the Treasury required—which amendment he, Mr. Rives, was willing to support and that being inserted to vote for the Bill. The President declined having anything to do with the modification and preferred that the Bill should be sent to him in its then present form.

My letter to Luther Barker<sup>14</sup> published in the *Madisonian* this morning was read and commented upon by Mr. Buchanan in the Senate.

<sup>10</sup> William Selden, treasurer of the United States.

<sup>11</sup> George W. Summers, representative from Virginia.

<sup>12</sup> Patrick G. Goode and Samuel Stokely were representatives from Ohio, Alfred Kelly a man prominent in the management of the state's finances and father of the Ohio Canal.

<sup>13</sup> Son of the Secretary of State, and at this time his private secretary.

<sup>14</sup> Luther D. Barker had been a fellow-student of Mr. Ewing's at Ohio University.

It was spoken of at dinner by Mr. Webster in terms of commendation. The publication of that letter did not, in the opinion of our friends at all strengthen the position of the President.

*Extract from "Madisonian"—Sept. 2d, 1841.*

"The position taken by the President, that the people did not decide in the election of 1840 in favor of any particular scheme of finance, most of our readers will admit has been fully sustained.

"We have received, however, a communication signed by five of our subscribers at Piketown, Ohio, taking a very different view. They state that the issue was presented in Ohio, and decided in favor of a Bank by an immense majority. They are of course hostile to the Veto, and think that nothing will be sound or settled without a Bank. We hope they will be content with this simple notice to their communication. Although they have on their side the aid of the Senator of Kentucky, yet they and he must admit that there is at least room for an honest difference of opinion on the subject. We happen to have before us directly in point, the testimony of a well known, and influential witness from their own State, whose opinion we know they will respect, denouncing the attempt during the election to make the question of a bank the issue between the parties, to be impudent and absurd. We refer to the following letter from the present distinguished head of the Treasury Department."

LANCASTER, July 1840

*My Dear Sir:*

On my return from Columbus this evening I received your letter informing me that, in a speech at Philadelphia, I had said the true question between the parties was a Bank of the United States, and that you from a knowledge of *me* had contradicted the assertion. In this you were of course perfectly safe. I made no such statement but the very contrary. I avowed that the true question was and is the restriction of Executive power. That its encroachments, open and covert, were of the most alarming nature, and if not resisted must end in the subversion of all that is valued in the Republican principles of our Government, and that a gorgon's monarchy in effect if not in name must rise on its ruins. I said that our opponents were attempting to make the question of *Bank* the issue between the parties. I spoke of the *impudence* and *absurdity* of the attempt. That a Bank was not and never had been considered by us as anything more than a matter of convenience a useful article of furniture of our *noble edifice*. That our opponents were gravely raising and debating the question whether this article of furniture was convenient or necessary, Whether we should have a *table* or a *settee* standing in our halls, while its sappers and miners were at work tumbling its walls and columns about our ears. This with amplification and illustrations, is the substance of what I said touching that particular object.

You perceive therefore that you did not mistake my opinion or my language. . . .

Your sincere Friend  
T. EWING

*L. D. Barker, Esq.*



Sept. 3d. Today I sent the President a copy of my letter of contract with the Banks accompanying it with a note in which I said I would be happy to receive and consider any suggestions which he might choose to offer. I did not call to see him, but understood from Mr. Bell that he was disposed to talk on business merely, but was jocose and cheerful. Several of my friends called today to offer me their counsel, which was uniformly the same as that noted yesterday.

I called to see Mr. Webster and had a long conversation with him. He expressed great anxiety about the condition of things and seemed to anticipate a dissolution of the Cabinet. He said he could not sleep well of nights, for thinking of it—said if he were rich he would not mind it personally, but that he felt great unwillingness at his age to return to the Bar. We agreed that the situation at the head of a department here was enviable, if the President had intellect and was in harmony with his Cabinet and all supported by a good majority in the two houses. Spoke of a resignation in a certain event but desired to ascertain whether the President had been bargaining with the adversary.

Sept. 4th. Called on the President this morning and found Messrs. Bell and Granger with him. Mr. Webster came in soon after.

The conversation turned on the Land Bill which was lying on the table, before the President. He declared that it was his wish to approve it, but he objected to one clause as containing a recognition of the right of Congress to appropriate *land* and therefore *money* to internal improvements which right he denied. He drew up a declaration of his opinion on that subject, which on consultation underwent some modifications—he said he would have it copied in a fair hand and place one copy in the hands of each member of his Cabinet. He asked our opinion as to the *time* of sending up the Land Bill. The Bank Bill was passed and would probably be Vetoed; should he retain the Land Bill and send up both together or send the Land Bill immediately? The latter course was advised and resolved upon, as the more frank and generous—he having known of the passage of the Bank Bill before he approved the other.

The committee on Enrolled Bills came in and brought the Bank Bill to the President and withdrew. He wished to converse with us on the subject in the most perfect confidence—he should probably be compelled to Veto the Bill and he thought of accompanying the Veto with a solemn declaration that he would not be a candidate for the Presidency another term—said he had no ambition except to preserve a pure unsullied reputation, protect the constitution and promote the interests of the country and he thought such declaration would place his motives fairly before the people and disarm those who were assailing him. The members of the Cabinet present did not concur in these views and they were very readily surrendered by the President. He was generally it is true tenacious of his opinions but on this point he showed great deference to the views of his Constitutional advisers. In the course of the conversation he said that he had indited a sentence intended for insertion in his inaugural, expressly declaring that he would not be a candidate for reelection; which he withheld lest its effect should be to turn the batteries of Mr. Clay and his friends on Mr. Webster.

He evidently felt anxious and unhappy. He observed that coming to the Presidency as he did, without being prominent in the canvass, he

rallied no friends around him and had no party. That a singular spectacle was now presented—heretofore if a member of the Administration party abandoned the President he was instantly assailed and certainly prostrated, but now whoever ventured to support the President was as certainly ruined. He talked of his meditated Veto message—said he should criticise the bill with much severity. Mr. Webster thought it imprudent and not entirely consistent with official dignity to do so—that such a paper ought to be calm, elevated and full of dignity. The hope was expressed by some of us that he might yet approve the bill and we parted.

I walked to the Department with Mr. Webster who said we must prepare the public through the press for the event and wished me to call and see him in the morning.

Sept. 5<sup>th</sup>. After reflecting very fully on what occurred at the President's yesterday, I made up my mind that we ought not yet to give up the question or attempt to bring the public mind to an acquiescence in it. I called on Mr. Webster and gave him my views fully which were—

That the President had given him a fine opening for a free and confidential conversation at which he might tell him in the fulness of gratitude and in the sincerity of friendship the whole truth as to his present position—to show him the certain ruin of private reputation and political power consequent upon the contemplated Veto and perhaps induce him to avoid the gulf into which he was about to plunge. Well knowing the motives likely to operate on the mind of the President I suggested to Mr. Webster this course of conversation—

1st. To express his grateful feelings to the President for the friendly consideration of himself (Mr. W.) which had governed his (the President's) action in framing his inaugural.

2d. To speak of his own relations with Mr. Clay, and how and why there was not and could not be cordial amity between them.

3d. To speak of the other members of the Cabinet. Their willingness to support the President against any and all assailants if he would but give them ground to stand upon. That for myself, I was well impressed with the fact that Mr. Clay exacted great sacrifices of his friends and was willing to sacrifice nothing to them. That I was the friend of Mr. Clay as he (the President) had been his friend, but that I would not fail to sustain the Administration to which I belonged against any attack which Mr. Clay might think fit to make upon it. That I would be very far from sacrificing *my own certain present*, to *his contingent future*. That as to Mr. Bell, he was less strongly bound to Mr. Clay than was supposed; that he felt that he had sacrificed enough to Mr. Clay's ambition and that he would be willing to go in cordially with the President if this means were furnished of sustaining himself.

Messrs. Badger and Granger not being friends of Mr. Clay could be the subjects of no jealousy and the presence of Mr. Crittenden as a member of the Cabinet would serve to avert attacks, in the mischief of which, if made he must share.

4th. That he should refer to the suggestions of The President yesterday—that the Cabinet had no power or they could have postponed this bill, and say that circumstances had placed it out of their power to exert their influence in this but that their true strength was tested in getting up and carrying through the House the Bill, which was framed by their suggestion to meet the then expressed views of the President. That

he ought not to forget the circumstances under which that bill was got up and the situation in which we were placed with regard to it. That it did not at first meet the views of the members of either house—the country had not spoken upon it and the House was not willing to pass it until they had the assurance of the Senate that it would pass through that body. On full consultation this assurance was obtained and by our intercession and through our influence—hence after the passage of the bill in the House a few members of the Senate could not consistently with good faith, unite with the Locos and defeat the Bill nor could we in good faith ask them to do it; and it was not strange that the two houses should be unwilling, after passing the Bill through one Branch and finding it not only acceptable, but earnestly desired by the country, to abandon it without being able to render a reason to their constituents for such act. Hence it was not a case to test the influence of his Cabinet.

5th. That he should fully and carefully examine the situation of the President, as to the Bill. His committal in the Veto Message—in his inaugural—in his message to the two houses at the opening of the Session and his conversation to members of Congress, declaring his concurrence in such a bill.

6th. That he should undeceive him as to the supposed powerful effect of the public monies in regulating the currency.

In all this Mr. Webster concurred and wrote a note to the President saying that he would see him tomorrow morning.

The Whig papers from all the West and S. W. today were filled with the most bitter denunciations against the President on account of the first Veto. The signature of the Land Bill drew down upon him heavy animadversions from some of the Locos in the Senate yesterday (conversation between Wise and Beilly Peyton yesterday).<sup>15</sup> And the rumor was rife that the President through Judge Upsher and Alex. Hamilton offered the situation of Attorney-General to McMahon of Baltimore who rejected it with disdain and indignation as a proposed act of treachery to the Whig party.

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After our repeated conversations with the President and modifications to meet his views and remove his objections Mr. Webster and myself felt quite safe in assuring Mr. Berrien and Mr. Sergeant that the bill as we had modified it, if passed by the two Houses would receive his sanction. It was so passed without the change of a word, and when I ascertained that he had Vetoed it, I parted with a determination never to meet him again as a member of his Cabinet. Indeed I could not feel that my reputation as a man of truth and candor was safe, while I attempted to represent him. I went to my Department and advised him by letter that I would resign on the next Saturday at 12 o'clock. I wrote my letter of resignation—sent him a blank appointment for a suc-

<sup>15</sup> Henry A. Wise, representative from Virginia, and Bailie Peyton of Tennessee, formerly representative from that state. The persons mentioned in the next sentence are Judge Abel P. Upshur of Virginia, afterward Secretary of State, the son of General Alexander Hamilton, and John V. L. McMahon, counsel of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and author of *An Historical View of Maryland* (1831). With this next sentence the diary ends. The rest of the manuscript is in Mr. Ewing's handwriting of much later date.

cessor ad interim—caused my letter of resignation to be recorded and dispatched my messenger with it to the President. Just as I was leaving the Department Mr. Webster's messenger came with a request that I would see him immediately. I called and found him at his table with my letter of resignation lying before him—he took it up as if weighing in his hand and asked me if I recognized it—and added, "it is a harsh paper, the President has not read a word of it; he feels kindly towards you, has authorized me to tell you so, and that as you are determined to resign, if you part in friendship he will give your choice of Foreign Missions—think better of it and withdraw this letter." I told him it was impossible—that my people must know why I left the responsible position in which Genl. Harrison with their concurrence had placed me, that the reasons were set forth in that letter and I had made up my mind to abide by it. He told me he had determined to remain for the present—that there was one important fact stated which I could have got from no one but him—and as it might disturb his relations with the President he wished me to change the sentence and return the paper to him. I went again to the Treasury Department, made the change—had the record corrected and returned the letter.<sup>16</sup>

It was published in the *Intelligencer* Monday morning and caused much sensation.<sup>17</sup> Mr. Webster suffered much by remaining in the Cabinet, with his new associates. It was a mistake from the effects of which he never recovered. My friends who advised me not to resign after the publication of my letter approved what I had done.

Below is a copy taken from the *Intelligencer*. The record in the Department seems to have been destroyed.

<sup>16</sup> In Tyler's *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II. 122, note, is a story of the receipt of the letter of resignation by the President and of Webster's taking it, given in a letter of 1883 by John Tyler, jr., the president's son and private secretary.

<sup>17</sup> Reprinted in *Niles' Register*, LXI. 33-34, and partly in Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, II. 343-345.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*Ruins of Desert Cathay: Personal Narrative of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China.* By M. AUREL STEIN. In two volumes. (London: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. xxxviii, 546; xxi, 517.)

EASTERN or Chinese Turkestan has been for the past twenty-five years or so the goal of explorers and archaeologists. Russian, British Indian, Prussian, and French expeditions, starting from different points, invaded either Khotan, or the great Taklamakan Desert beyond, exploring the physical conditions of the land and excavating its ruined or buried sites. The finds of these expeditions were invariably of the highest interest. The entire country, prior to its subjugation by progressive desert sands, seems to have been a sort of triangular exchange for the civilizations of Western Asia, India, and China. Moreover Graeco-Buddhist art which had established itself in Northwestern India in the wake of Alexander's conquest, during the centuries around the Christian era, passed with Buddhism into the land of the Turks or Uigurs and there blended with Chinese art.

Prior to the Mohammedan conquest Turkestan was a hospitable country which kept its doors wide open. It must have been peculiarly unchauvinistic as to nationality and latitudinarian as to religion. Buddhists from India, Manicheans from Persia, Nestorian Christians from Syria, found there a cordial welcome: the native Khans seem to have adopted from time to time one or the other of the imported religions. Vast literary activity, in a surprising number of languages and a still more surprisingly great variety of scripts, there unfolded itself in the centuries after Christ. Manuscripts on all kind of materials, notably wooden tablets, in Turk, Uigur, Tibetan, Sanskrit and other Indian dialects, Manichean, Persian (Sogdian), Chinese, etc., were dug out entire, or in fragments. One or the other new language, notably the Tokhri or Tocharian, a new, mixed, Indo-European language, came to light. Here is the country, doubtless, in which early Christianity came in direct contact with Hinduism; the many resemblances between Christian and Buddhist belief and institutions (notably monasticism) are, at least in part, to be accounted for by mixtures in this easy flowing channel from the West to the East.

Up to the present time Turkestan discoveries were best known to the English-reading public in consequence of M. A. Stein's expedition of 1900-1901. He published a popular account of that expedition in 1903.

under the title *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*. The same intrepid explorer started in 1906 on a two and a half-years' trip which carried him not only through the length and breadth of Chinese Turkestan, but as far east as Kan-Chou, almost in the heart of China—about 1000 miles east of Khotan. The present work contains a very complete account of this journey, abundantly illustrated by maps, photographs, and color plates, which describe excellently the country, the people, the sites, and the countless finds of manuscripts and objects of art and antiquity. Notwithstanding its great size *Ruins of Desert Cathay* is merely a preliminary report, to be followed in due time by elaborate scientific treatises by specialists in the several domains of philology and archaeology.

A brief notice of such a work, containing as it does more than 1000 pages, and modulating the theme on almost every page, is of necessity a mere suggestion. A fairly systematic digest would call for the space of an elaborate article, a task even then not to be shouldered lightly, especially because the interest of the book depends in no small degree on its very abundant illustrations.

Stein's second expedition starts from the valleys of the Indo-Afghan border, across the Hindu Kush up to the cradle of the river Oxus on the Pamir, the "Roof of the World"; then down in the great basin drained by the river Tarim. The expedition skirts and at one time crosses the Taklamakan Desert, with constant excursions to ruined or sand-buried sites. We can dwell here only on some of the chief results.

The first important find was in the rubbish deposits and stable refuse of a sand-buried town on the Niya River, abandoned since the third century A.D. Here were found hundreds of documents on wood, a kind of "wooden stationery", used for legal and governmental purposes. The documents are written every time on rectangular or wedge-form tablets, covered with lids, fastened ingeniously with a string and clay seals, so as to prevent unauthorized manipulation. Some of the tablets bear in sockets sunk into their lids two or three seals; this seems to show that they contain agreements or bonds executed before witnesses. They remind us of the Pompeian tablets, separated though they are by a distance of one-third around the earth.

The writing is one of the most ancient forms of Hindu, known as Kharoshti; the language is a form of Prākṛit, a medieval Hindu language. A frequent introductory formula: *Mahannava Maharaya lihati*, "His Majesty the Mahārāja orders in writing", shows that the administration of this remote region was carried on in Indian language and script as late as the third century A.D. How much earlier no one knows. Most of the seals are from intaglios of classical workmanship, representing Zeus, or Heracles with club and lion's skin, or Pallas Athene with spear and aegis, just as she jumped out of the head of Jupiter—all importations of the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra.

The next more important act of the expedition concerns the Miran Fort and its treasures. It lies, deserted, about a day's journey to the

east of the town of Charklik, and is surrounded by Buddhist temples. In the fort itself were found Old Tibetan documents on wood and paper, as well as many important antiquarian objects. From a narrow passage which seems to have served as a sort of archive there emerged a large number of bundles of neatly folded paper wrapped in silk. These were Iranian documents, written in an ancient Aramaic script, spoken in Sogdiana (the region of the present Samarkand and Bokhara); they contain letters which again point to the intimate correspondence between West and East in that remote region. The Buddhist temples about Miran are replete with really wonderful wall-frescoes and remains of colossal Buddha statues in the Graeco-Buddhist style. The style of painting and sculpture, the features of the faces, and the elaborate arrangement of the draperies of the statues, again show that the painters and sculptors of the desert had derived their style through the channel of Gandhāra from far-away classical models.

Stein justly attaches much importance to his discovery and plucky exploration of the long-forgotten westernmost portion of the ancient Chinese frontier wall or *Limes*. Chinese records call it the "Barrier". After crossing the great desert on the track followed by the Venetian Marco Polo to Cathay, as well as by numerous early Chinese pilgrims to India, he came upon the line of the ancient wall with its watch-towers and forts. Following and exploring the wall for a distance of over two hundred miles he found it in a state of astonishing preservation. It was built at that point to guard the chief line of political and commercial communication with Central Asia against the raids of the Huns during the centuries immediately preceding and following the time of Christ. Adjoining one of the towers near Tun-Huang were found abundant dated records beginning with the twenty-sixth year of the emperor who founded the Eastern Han dynasty in 25 A.D. At another point there came to light many antiquarian objects dating back to the year 8 A.D.: a wooden lock with a wooden key; a foot-measure with decimal divisions, an ivory-topped baton, etc. Also a number of records on "wooden stationery" in Chinese, among them two with dates corresponding to the epoch of Christ's birth.

The most dramatic, as well as the most fruitful stage in Stein's progress to Cathay, was that which landed him at the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas", some ten miles out of Tun-Huang. A huge pile of troglodytic grottoes, hundreds in number, here honeycomb the side of a rock, some high, some low, perched one above the other without any order or arrangement in stories. Instead of having been, as might be suspected, a sort of bee-hive for Buddhist recluses, they proved one and all to have been tenanted by images of the "Enlightened One" himself. All these grottoes are shrines full of frescoes and statuary of very great archaeological and artistic interest. Stein describes and illustrates these with great care. But his real feat at the Caves lay in discovering and rifling the great Caves library. This was in charge of a pious Chinese

priest, Wang Tao-Shi, who knew enough about its value to induce him to shut it off with a brick wall. Stein cleverly played off his appreciation of the famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India, Hsüan-Tsang, so as to establish a bond of sympathy between himself and Wang, by placing himself in the light of another such pious devotee and admirer of the Buddha. When he succeeded in catching the first glimpse of the library, it appeared as a solid mass of bundles of manuscripts and votive paintings on silk, rising from the floor to a height of ten feet and filling, as was found later, about five hundred cubic feet. The collection had lain buried in its rock chapel for centuries, and had been espied by Wang Tao-Shi through a crack in a closed up chamber. This Wang afterwards further fortified with a brick wall in front of the crack.

Stein's story of how he parleyed and fenced with the Tao-Shi in order to induce him first to show, and later on to put aside, "for further inspection", the most promising of the manuscripts makes very good reading indeed. In the end a sort of system of transfer precipitated itself. For seven nights Stein's own Chinese assistant, Chiang-ssu-yeh, also a scholar zealous in the same cause, came to his tent when everybody had gone to sleep, "his slight figure panting under loads which grew each time heavier, and ultimately required carriage by instalments". And with it all Stein kept the good Tao-Shi, though he was not altogether averse to bakshish, in the belief that he was really performing a pious deed from his own point of view. Stein's haul consisted of twenty-four cases of manuscripts written in Sanskrit, Central Asiatic Brahmi, Sogdian, Manichean Turkish, Runic Turkish, Uigur, Tibetan, and Chinese; also five cases of votive paintings and embroideries. One single manuscript in Brahmi writing, an hitherto unknown language, is upon a gigantic roll of paper, over seventy feet long, and a foot wide. The find at the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas" represents, perhaps, the most important single act in Turkestan exploration. It will require years to elaborate all its results for Central Asiatic history, philology, and art.

On the return voyage the expedition passed across the great mountain range of the Kun-lun into Khotan and Keriya, at a height of 20,000 feet. Here Stein had the misfortune to lose the toes of his right foot through frost-bite, and had to have himself carried, a helpless invalid, for a distance of three hundred miles. Naïvely he says, that he was comforted by the thought that he had carried out his programme, the visible results of which appeared later on in the shape of one hundred cases of antiquities which reached the British Museum in safety.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

*South American Archaeology.* An Introduction to the Archaeology of the South American Continent with special Reference to the Early History of Peru. By THOMAS ATHOL JOYCE, Assistant of the British Museum. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912. Pp. xv, 292.)



STUDENTS of South American archaeology have long been in need of a book dealing with all the complicated problems of that subject. In the past only limited areas were dealt with and very little attempt was made in the way of classification of objects or in limiting the extent of cultures. The work in hand therefore fulfils a long-felt want as far as it is possible to do so in the present state of knowledge. Mr. Joyce has succeeded admirably in giving a comprehensive view of the whole field and where possible has explained and classified the details of the different cultures. Any classification must necessarily be inadequate because of the many gaps. No one area has been thoroughly explored and in many regions nothing whatever has been done.

The work limits itself to the continent of South America and commences with the region of Colombia. Four cultures are here described: 1st, that of the agriculturists of Antioquia in the north; 2nd, that of the gold workers, the Quimbaya, in the south; 3rd, that of the Coconuco in the west; 4th, that found in the highlands, where the Chibchas had developed a higher civilization than the rest of the Colombians. Religions and customs are described in some detail so that the arts and crafts may be understood.

In Ecuador there existed a state politically more advanced than the Chibchas but inferior to that of the Inca by whom it was later conquered. The Cara made alliances with other tribes but these loose bonds broke under the Inca invasion. The origin of the mountain culture is difficult to explain. The tradition of the arrival of a tribe at Lambayeque, in Peru, which migrated up the coast and later into the interior, probably has some basis in fact. The work of the Heye expedition in Manabi and Esmeraldas gives a good idea of the coast culture. Evidence of Inca occupation is found as far north as the river Ancasmayu.

Three-fourths of the whole book is given up to the Peruvians and their influence: the Empire, Government, Daily Life and Occupations, Burial and Religion, Sequence of Cultures, Arts and Crafts, and the Southern Provinces. This region was pretty thoroughly covered by Sir Clements Markham in his recent book *The Incas of Peru*. Dr. Max Uhle is given full credit for his splendid work and his classification of cultures is for the most part adopted. Abundant evidence is presented to prove the influence of the Peruvian culture in Argentina and Chile.

In the southern Andes and plains there is found a lower culture characterized by individual freedom and equality. The dominating tribe, the Araucanians, were a spirited people who maintained themselves against the encroachment of the Incas and the Spaniards as well. In the Patagonian area implements of palaeolithic type have been found associated with the remains of extinct animals. This may prove the recent extinction of these animals rather than the great age of man.

The chapter on the east and central regions brings together the little archaeological material available. The territory is now occupied by the Ges, Tupi, Carib, and Arawak stocks, but it is impossible to determine

which of these, if any, were responsible for the earlier cultures revealed in the shell-heaps and mounds.

The work concludes with a bibliography and a summary of the localities in which investigation is especially required. The book is well written and profusely illustrated. Those interested will find it a valuable contribution.

WILLIAM CURTIS FARABEE.

*The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century.* Translated from the Greek and annotated by WILFRED H. SCHOFF, A.M., Secretary of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia. (New York, London, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1912. Pp. 323.)

IN placing at the disposition of English readers this first-century account of the voyage down the Red Sea and coastwise to the eastern shores of India, by an unknown Egyptian merchant writing in Greek, the author has performed a valuable service. His version of the Greek, though profiting especially by the German rendering of Fabricius, is, on the whole, superior to his predecessor's. He has shown great industry in collecting the references from the widely scattered ancient and modern sources from which his copious commentary is drawn.

The *Periplus* largely consists of lists of geographical names and commercial products of the eastern world. It is an itinerary and an invoice combined. It would be impossible to discuss here the long array of highly specialized questions which the author has been obliged to take up in his discussions. Archaeologically they occasionally fall short. To quote Pliny's childish story as a sufficient authority on the question of the origin of glass (p. 68), when we now know that glass emerged on the Nile some three thousand five hundred years before Pliny was born, will do in Wendell Phillips's lecture on the Lost Arts (where Pliny's story really does figure), but is entirely insufficient in a modern commentary on the *Periplus*. A few words from the last edition of the *Britannica* would have set this matter right if the standard treatises on glass were inaccessible to the author. Again we have Pliny quoted to show that "the method of weaving cloth with more than two threads [of different color] was invented at Alexandria". This is the art of tapestry which was practised in Egypt over a thousand years before Alexandria was founded. We have a beautiful specimen from the reign of Amenhotep II. (fifteenth century B.C.).

In the discussion of cotton (p. 71) it would be well to note that tree-cotton (*Gossypium arboreum*) was cultivated in Assyria as early as the seventh century B.C., when the importation of the trees is a matter of royal record. Sayce's statement that cotton was exported from India to Babylonia in the fourth millennium B.C. is of course based on the old and obsolete chronologies of early Babylonia. It is now evident that we know nothing of Babylonia in the fourth millennium.

The later developments in the study of Oriental history seem not to have been accessible to the author. Movers is an obsolete and dangerous source to employ for Phoenicia, while the contributions of Hommel on the history of the Orient are of very dubious standing, especially his fantastic theories of Kush, cited by the author on page 134. Similarly, to date the appearance of tin in the Mediterranean "soon after the migration of the Phoenicians to Syria" (p. 77) is simply to say that we do not know when it appeared there, for certainly we do not know when the Phoenician migration to Syria took place.

In discussing the situation of the Biblical Land of Ophir the author very properly notes and discredits the attempts of the last forty years to find it in South Africa, especially Rhodesia. It would be well to add to his remarks on this subject some notice of the appearance of Dr. Carl Peters's book, *Im Goldland des Altertums* (Munich, 1902), which places the Egyptian Land of Punt (undoubtedly the Biblical Ophir) on the Zambesi, and backs up the identification with a mortuary statuette of the Pharaoh Thutmose III., found by one of Dr. Peters's friends in northeastern Mashonaland. No less an authority than Professor Flinders Petrie has vouched for the genuineness of the statuette in writing. Nevertheless the fact that the piece is a crude modern forgery has been demonstrated by Professor Heinrich Schaefer, who has even identified the workshop from which it issued (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Heft 6, pp. 896-904, Tafel X., XI., and XII., 1906).

It is unfortunate that the author's commentary (pp. 218, 270-271) has introduced further uncertainty as to the situation of this land of Punt, the earliest known source of incense. He transfers it from the African to the Asiatic mainland on the basis of a single precarious botanical identification, namely that of the trees of Punt (depicted in Egyptian reliefs) with the frankincense trees of the south Arabian Dhofar. The highly conventionalized drawings of botanical specimens by the Egyptians render such an identification, involving such serious results as the author draws, very uncertain indeed. Whether we should translate "myrrh" or "frankincense" is a difficult matter to determine, as such designations in the ancient Oriental world are notoriously unprecise. There is too much uncertainty in such terms to furnish a basis for conclusive argument. The only scientific basis for determining the situation of this earliest incense land is the entire ancient list of its flora and fauna, not *one specimen* selected at random. There is not space here to do this, but when we note that Punt furnished ebony, ivory, gold, panther skins, and giraffes, the conclusion is unavoidable that it lay in Africa. Giraffes are not found in Asia.

The author is correct in his conjecture of a Buto in the eastern desert (p. 132). He will find it mentioned on Seti I.'s march from the Delta into Palestine (see Breasted, *Ancient Records*, vol. III., par. 100).

It seems very regrettable that so valuable a book should not have

been accompanied by an adequate map. The map appended is on a scale so small that in many cases it proves entirely insufficient. It is moreover a lamentable specimen of the map-maker's art.

Finally, let it be said that these criticisms are intended in no way to reflect upon the value of a book, into which so much industry and conscientious work have gone. It will undoubtedly become, and deservedly, the standard edition in English, of this indispensable source for the study of the earliest history of commerce between the East and West.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I.* (A. D. 802-867.) By J. B. BURY, Regius Professor of Modern History and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. (London and New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. xv, 530.)

THIS is a continuation of the author's well-known *History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*. It is on a larger scale and the history of this later period is treated more exhaustively. The first five chapters, about two-fifths of the text, deal with the reigns of the successive emperors, beginning with the fall of Irene and closing with the murder of Michael III. It is characteristic of Byzantine history that the period should be included between two palace revolutions. These chapters are largely concerned with the iconoclastic struggle, and of the remaining nine chapters, two are devoted to ecclesiastical subjects: Photius and Ignatius, and the Conversion of Slavs and Bulgarians. Five chapters treat of the relations with the Saracens, the Western Empire and Venice, Bulgaria, and the Empire of the Khazars and the Peoples of the North. The other two discuss financial and military administration, and art, learning, and education in the Amorian period.

It is scarcely necessary to state that the work is excellent; the author's fitness for the task is well known. But it is interesting to note in the bibliography a dozen titles of articles and monographs by him, dealing with such different subjects as criticism of source material, chronology, topography, and constitutional and administrative topics. There are also twelve appendixes to this volume, mainly devoted to criticism of original material or clearing up difficult points in chronology. The author's exact and minute knowledge has enabled him to correct many errors of fact in the work of his predecessors. The bibliography contains over three hundred titles of books and articles, about evenly divided between sources and secondary material, and this does not include all the titles cited in the notes. Apparently nothing of importance has been overlooked. There is an excellent English index and a Greek index.

Bury thinks that "there has been a certain failure to comprehend the significance of the Amorion dynasty", and hopes "that this volume may help to bring into relief the fact that the Amorion age meant a new phase in Byzantine culture". Acknowledging his indebtedness to Diehl's brilliant work, he shows "that the iconoclastic age was far from being inartistic", and that "for the second great period of her art, which coincided with the Macedonian dynasty, Byzantium was chiefly indebted to the iconoclastic sovereigns". There was a revival of learning in the field of philosophy and science, probably due to some extent to the "stimulating influence of Baghdad upon Byzantium and emulation between these two seats of culture". The University of Constantinople was revived by Bardas, either as the result or a cause of the "genuine revival of higher education and a new birth of enthusiasm for secular knowledge". "Photius gave an impulse to classical learning, which ensured its cultivation among the Greeks till the fall of Constantinople."

In reading this volume we can not forget Bury's admirable edition of Gibbon; the editor seems to be the spiritual heir of the eighteenth-century scholar. Gibbon might have written some of the passages in this book: *c. g.*, "In either case, those who stand outside the Churches may find some entertainment in an edifying ecclesiastical scandal"; "The historian, who is not concerned, even if he were qualified, to examine the mutual relations which exist among the august persons of the Trinity"; "Since we may venture to suspect that the majority of those who profess a firm belief in the double procession [of the Holy Ghost] attach as little significance to the formula which they pronounce as if they declared their faith in a fourth dimension of space".

The portions of the work which deal with financial subjects are the least satisfactory. The author states sums of money usually in English currency, taking as the equivalent of a pound of gold £43 4 s. Even when he adds that the purchasing power was about five times as great as at the present day, the statement is misleading; it is impossible to furnish a clear standard of comparison by any such rough and ready method. Much worse, however, is his statement, "We have some figures bearing on the revenue in the twelfth century, and they supply a basis for a minimum estimate of the income in the ninth, when the State was stronger and richer." Will some future historian attempt to estimate the income of Charles V. by using the financial statements of Spain in the nineteenth century?

DANA C. MUNRO.

*Saint Francis of Assisi: a Biography.* By JOHANNES JØRGENSEN. Translated from the Danish by T. O'CONOR SLOANE, Ph.D. (New York, London, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1912. Pp. xv, 428.)

THE large literature in English dealing with St. Francis of Assisi has received an addition of first-rate importance in the volume before

us. It contains a translation from the Danish of a biography which, published in 1906, has already been translated into several other languages. The author, Johannes Jørgensen, a writer of renown in his own country, has had exceptional facilities for studying the life of St. Francis and he has produced a most complete and satisfactory account of the saint's career as a whole. Dr. Sloane has placed all students of the subject under obligations to him for his present version of Jørgensen's biography. As a piece of translation his rendering of the Danish is deserving of the highest praise. There are, however, some places where the work shows signs of haste. In transferring to the end of the volume the important chapter on the sources of the history of St. Francis, which in the original work serves as an introduction, more care ought to have been taken to make the references in this chapter correspond with its changed position. For example, on page 350 the Rule of the Poor Clares and of the Third Order "*will be spoken of in the proper place*" should read "*have been spoken of*". The meaning of note 3 on page 175 is hopelessly obscured for want of the word "different" or its equivalent after "essentially". Jørgensen, I am sure, does not mean to say that St. Bonaventure "took orders" when seventeen as is said (p. 378) but far rather that he "entered the Order", i. e., became a Franciscan, at that age. There are other mistranslations which seem to indicate that Dr. Sloane is not altogether familiar with early Franciscan phraseology in English—as if he did not know his subject otherwise than in Jørgensen. Thus, "Order of Smaller Brothers" (p. 101) is hardly a happy rendering of "Ordo Fratrum Minorum"; the "Order of Friars Minor" has been the recognized English form for nearly seven centuries. Again, "the Three Brothers' Legend" (p. 384) is certainly not an accurate translation of "Legenda Trium Sociorum" nor is "the Sun Song" (p. 342) quite equivalent to "Canticum Solis"; "Legend of the Three Companions" and "Canticle of the Sun" are the forms always used. So also "Inspector" (p. 206, n. 4) should be "Visitor" and "Mark Ancona" (p. 398 and elsewhere) should be "March of Ancona". There is another slip on page 400, note 1, where "Vienna Council" should read "Council of Vienne". For "St. Anthony of Florence" (p. 401) read "St. Antoninus", whose name is given on page 27 as "Antonin", though this is scarcely more correct as a translation of "Antoninus" than "Hugolin" *passim* is for "Hugolinus"; both these are Latin names which do not lend themselves to translation. And why, if "Peregrinus" is rendered "Pilgrim" on page 397, is "Pacifcus", page 155, not rendered "Peaceful"? The latter name has not been translated; neither should the former one be. The same holds good of "Ubertino da Casale" which is given (p. 388) as "Ubertius" or "Hubert"—a form which, I think, never occurs. "Alverna" (p. 395) and "La Verna" (p. 401): "Anonymus Perusinus" (p. 367) and "the Anonymous of Perugia" (p. 402); "Van Ortroy" (p. 405) and "V. Ortroy" (p. 406) are some

instances of lack of uniformity, while "Jacques de Vitry" is sometimes (pp. 163 and 403) left in its French form; elsewhere it is given as "Jacob of Vitry". Surely, "James" is preferable to "Jacob" in English. Hence "Jacob of Varaggio" (p. 401) should read "Jacobus de Voragine" or "James of Voragine". Moreover, "John Cantius" (p. 355) should be "John of Kent". "Bessa" and "Clara" *passim* are not English and should be rendered "Besse" and "Clare". Several small inaccuracies in spelling also strike the eye such as "Marni" (p. 106) for "Narni"; "Ricetius" (p. 235, n. 1, and index, p. 419) for "Ricerius" (whose name is rightly given p. 102); "Jago" (p. 108) for "Iago"; "Chaving" (p. 402) for "Chavin"; "Golubvich" (p. 405) for "Golubovich"; "Paplebroch" (p. 367) and "Paplebrock", as the index has it (p. 427) for "Papebroch", etc. The date of the *Specchio di Perfezione* should be 1899 not 1889. These and similar specks do not, of course, seriously detract from the value of Dr. Sloane's translation which, taken as a whole, is elegant and exact. A full and accurate index enhances his volume in which the work of the publishers has been admirably done.

PASCHAL ROBINSON.

*Les Papes d'Avignon, 1305-1378.* Par G. MOLLAT. [Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique.] (Paris: Victor Lecoffre, J. Gabalda. 1912. Pp. xv, 423.)

THE popes of Avignon have suffered much from historians who have passed on, with little critical examination, the views expressed in the writings of prejudiced contemporaries. Partly because of such treatment the prevailing judgment has been unfavorable to these popes. Research has not yet reached the stage where the accuracy of this opinion can be settled definitively, but it is now possible to make alterations in many important particulars. During the last thirty years the investigation by students of the sources made available by the opening of the Vatican Archives has resulted in the publication of a mass of documentary material and numerous monographs and papers. Many widely accepted views, such as Villani's story of the immense treasure left by John XXII. at his death, have been proved erroneous, and a great number of new facts have been established. A revision of this portion of papal history in the light of these recent discoveries is the contribution of M. Mollat in the present volume.

The work is divided into three parts. The first, occupying about a quarter of the book, contains short biographical sketches of the seven popes who resided at Avignon. The personalities of the different popes are delineated with a discriminating insight that produces excellent portraits, and the work and influence of each as head of the Church is described sympathetically but impartially. In the second portion, to which nearly half the book is given, the intricate windings of the political and diplomatic relations of the papacy with the principal

countries of Europe are traced in a generally commendable manner.

The author displays a wide acquaintance with papal sources and monographic literature but sometimes fails to take sufficient account of local sources. This defect is most noticeable in the chapter on England. Some of the best English sources are cited, but they do not appear to have been thoroughly used, while other sources, such as the many recently published episcopal registers, are not mentioned. This results in occasional slight errors and some important omissions. It is not true, for example, that Edward II. paid the royal tribute regularly after 1313 (p. 277), and the relations between Edward II. and John XXII. can scarcely be brought into the proper perspective without consideration of the several clerical tenths granted by the pope to the king from a recalcitrant national clergy. In the third section there is a rapid survey of the composition and life of the papal court and household, the organization and work of the administrative services, the position of the cardinals, and the centralization of the church, which is a concise summary of the recent publications on these subjects. The volume is supplied with bibliographies, which, despite the omission of a few obvious titles, constitute a fairly comprehensive guide to the recently published sources and literature.

In the last pages a few conclusions are stated which indicate in a measure the general tone of the book. In the author's opinion, although papal policy on some questions and under certain popes, such as Clement V. and Benedict XII., was shaped to accord with the wishes of the French kings, yet it was in the main independent. The prolonged sojourn outside of Italy was necessitated by a state of political anarchy, and had been presaged by half a century during which the popes rarely resided in Rome. Throughout the period the papacy pursued steadily the object of recovering the papal states, and the vast expenditures caused by this policy furnishes an explanation, and in a certain measure an excuse, for the fiscal policy (pp. 400-401).

On the whole M. Mollat has performed the difficult task of revising our knowledge of the popes of Avignon admirably. Both the general reader and the historical student will find the book useful and interesting.

W. E. LUNT.

*La Vita e gli Scritti di Niccolò Machiavelli nella loro Relazione col Machiavellismo.* Storia ed Esame Critico di ORESTE TOMMASINI. Volume II., parte I. e II. (Rome: Ermanno Loescher Compagnia. 1911. Pp. xxvi, 964; 965-1473.)

IN 1869, at the four-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Machiavelli, the first volume of Oreste Tommasini's work in manuscript took the prize offered by the city of Florence. In 1883, after the author had replaced his notes and references destroyed in a fire, it appeared in print in a volume of 750 pages. In 1911, twenty-eight years after the



first volume, forty-two years after the award of the prize, the work is completed by 1000 pages of text and notes and 500 pages of appendixes and technical apparatus.

During this lapse of years the author has read widely from Gemistus to Mark Twain and has traversed a very wide circle of thought; but the centre of the huge circumference has always seemed to him Machiavelli. In consequence, when he starts toward his centre, the line by which he travels is sometimes very long. For example, in the section Machiavelli and Religious Thought, he writes 167 pages crowded with foot-notes in the smallest print before he says: "At this point it appears proper to stop because we seem to have arrived at a position where we can make clear . . . Machiavelli's thought in regard to the religious motives which troubled the age in which he lived."

In traversing these long lines which lead from the wide range of over forty years of thought to Machiavelli, the judgments and observations through which the author passes are not all of equal value. The reader wonders, for instance, just what Signor Tommasini meant by the suggestion that Cromwell and Robespierre understood the Divinity in the same way, as a Divinity to be honored above all by deeds. But in proportion as any one of these long lines of thought draws near to the common centre, Machiavelli, the writer becomes authoritative, lucid, and interesting, his judgments are personal and scientific, based on a knowledge of the sources examined with skill and a just and critical judgment. It is true he holds a brief for Machiavelli and feels bound to demonstrate that none of the moral reprobation which has attached itself to Machiavelli really belonged to the great Florentine. How could it be otherwise? For fifty years the author has been thinking of Machiavelli with the last chapter of the *Prince*, one of the purest pieces of eloquence in literature, as a centre of his thought and, during that time, he has seen Machiavelli's great vision of an Italy united and free, wrought out not by one man who was "the ultra logical offspring of the deplorable conditions of the sixteenth century", but by "virtuous consent, warm and passionate, of the whole nation", gathering voluntarily not around one "who dragged and drove the people in order to lead them to independence", but about an "Elect Person whom they loved because he loved Italy, whom they held sacred because he held his word sacred, to whom the gates of cities and castles opened because gentlemen and people were brought into one harmonious body before the equality of the laws".

But though the author holds a brief, he pleads it like a trained historian with a wide and deep knowledge of the facts based upon long study, and his complete work will hold the place assigned to its first part twenty-five years ago by Victor Waille in *Machiavel en France* alongside that of Villari as one of the "monuments of patriotism as well as of science".

The defects of organization pointed out by the *Revue Historique* in

the first volume, the occasional obscurity of style, the excessive verbosity and over-fondness for metaphor noted in 1883 by Professor Pelligrini, have not been entirely overcome, but the work is a great storehouse of information and illuminative judgments on the life and writings of Machiavelli, and the analytical index of sixty double-column pages in small type facilitates its use for those who may be alarmed by the involution of some of its huge sentences and the length of the introductory pages which lead up to the discussion of many of its points.

PAUL VAN DYKE.

*The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research, 1550-1641.* By CHAMPLIN BURRAGE, Hon. M.A., B.Litt. In two volumes. (Cambridge: The University Press. 1912. Pp. xx, 379; xvi, 353.)

No American scholar has done so much in recent years to illuminate the beginnings of the religious movements which ultimately influenced New England as has Mr. Champlin Burrage. His discoveries and investigations concerning Robert Browne have remade the portrait of that early Congregationalist. John Robinson is better understood, thanks to his work. The origin and development of the church covenant idea has been made more evident by his researches. It is, therefore, with anticipation of fresh material of value that one takes up the two volumes issued in the handsome form adopted by the Cambridge University Press, nor is the expectation disappointed.

Mr. Burrage's work was originally prepared in 1908 as part of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Literature, which he received from the University of Oxford. It is no exhaustive history of early dissent, and its author intends it as but "the first section of a larger treatise" which he has in preparation. He "has sought as much as possible to limit himself to the discussion of points which have not been previously treated, or which appear to have been handled with insufficient care". His method of presentation is one volume of history and criticism and a second made up of a painstakingly printed collection of illustrative documents, many of them heretofore unknown or of great rarity.

Mr. Burrage gives a valuable introduction, outlining the development of scholarly studies in the field of his investigation and estimating critically the literature to the present. He also indicates the principal collections of manuscripts and books wherein research may be conducted. A feature of convenience to the reviewer or the reader anxious to gain a rapid acquaintance with the scope of his work and the principal results of his researches is an epitome made up of some sixty-four "notes" in which the chief contentions and conclusions of his studies are summarized.

Mr. Burrage makes it abundantly evident that while an instance of the tenure of Baptist convictions may be found among native English-

men, as in the case of Robert Cooche, as early as 1550 or 1551, the first group of English Baptists which had any semblance of a congregation had its beginnings, probably under Continental Anabaptist influence, in Francis Johnson's exiled congregation, apparently at Campen, in Holland, about 1594. The first Baptist congregation to be settled in England was that of Helwys and Murton in 1611 or 1612. Regarding the erratic but high-minded John Smyth, Mr. Burrage has much to say that is of value; but he finds him "not such a unique figure in Church history as Dr. Dexter and Mr. Arber would have us believe". Even in his "se-baptism", Smyth had a predecessor among English Baptists on the Continent before 1600. In Leonard Busher, whom Mr. Burrage gives convincing reasons for believing an Englishman rather than a Dutchman, though he undoubtedly wrote in Holland, the author discerns the earliest English champion of believers' immersion, his *Religious Peace* having been published in 1614, "nearly thirty years before the Calvinistic or Particular English Anabaptists adopted it as the only correct manner in which to administer that ordinance".

Probably the discussion of most interest to students of New England religious beginnings is the author's sharp discrimination between the Separatists and what he terms the "Congregational Puritans".

The beginnings of Independency, or Congregationalism, are not, as heretofore, traced to the Brownists or Barrowists, but to the Congregational Puritanism advocated by Henry Jacob and William Bradshaw about 1604 and 1605, and later put in practice by various Puritan congregations on the Continent, whence it was brought to America and back into England. Puritan Congregationalism accordingly did not have its source in separatism, nor was it separatist in spirit, but was constantly declared by its upholders as involving a separation only from the world, and not from the Church of England. . . . American Congregationalism, as well as that in England, is to be traced back directly neither to Browne nor to Barrowe, but to the Independent or Congregational Puritanism of the Continent. American Congregational churches, then, did not originally separate from the Church of England, but have become separatist and as they are to-day in other respects, only by a gradual and almost unnoticed process of evolution.

Mr. Burrage even gives reasons of weight for believing that Browne was far less a Separatist than Barrowe and Greenwood.

The Elizabethan bishops fare less hardly at Mr. Burrage's hands than has usually been their fate with writers of Nonconformist sympathies. He evidently feels that they were largely the agents of a governmental system which put a constraint upon their actions too often forgotten in estimating their relations with the early English Dissenters.

WILLISTON WALKER.

*Philippe II., Roi d'Espagne: Étude sur sa Vie et son Caractère.* Par CHARLES BRATLI, Membre Correspondant de l'Académie Royale d'Histoire de Madrid. Nouvelle édition revue et augmentée par l'auteur avec une préface du Comte BAGUENAUT DE PUCHESSE. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1912. Pp. 300.)

For the past fifteen years the author of this book has been known to the literary and historical world of Madrid as a careful, thorough, and sympathetic student of the annals and institutions of Spain. Few foreigners have been able to acquire the Spanish point of view as completely as he. A number of valuable contributions to periodicals have emanated from his pen, noteworthy among which is an unusually full and able discussion of recent Danish works on Spanish topics, which appeared on pages 381-398 of volume LVII. of the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*. It was in 1909 that the first edition of the present work appeared, in Danish, at Copenhagen. Those who, like the present writer, spent weary hours in grappling with the linguistic difficulties of the original, will perhaps feel that they were somewhat maltreated in not being told at an earlier date of the prospect of the present French edition: but their vexation will be mitigated by the reflection that this useful work is now accessible in the more generally familiar language.

M. Bratli's book, as its title implies, is in no sense a biography, but rather a series of essays on the historical literature concerning Philip II., and on some of the more disputed phases of Philip's life and reign. These are accompanied by a profusion of bibliographical notes, a list of authorities, and nine appendixes, which together occupy more pages than the body of the work itself. The point of view is, of course, frankly apologetic, and, if the author seems to go too far, it is but fair to remember the excesses in the opposite direction of which other historians have been guilty. We cordially concur in his view of Philip's character and in his substitution of the adjectives "laborious", "deeply religious", and "justice-loving", for "despotic", "fanatic", and "wantonly cruel". M. Bratli's estimate of the Don Carlos episode (a sorrowing father forced to sacrifice his incapable son to his sense of duty to the realm over which he ruled) seems to us entirely convincing: his palliation of the murder of Montigny (by putting the blame on Alva) less so. The pages which deal with the Inquisition and the expulsion of the Moriscos will doubtless provoke much contradiction, especially the passages which touch on the economic side of the matter. It will do no harm, however, to have the Spanish interpretation of what is essentially a "cosa de España" given wider circulation than it at present enjoys, and it is a blessing to have the persecution of the Spanish Protestants once more reduced to its proper dimensions.

Of the bibliography, bibliographical notes, and critical estimate of the authorities, it is to be said that those parts which deal with Spanish writers and Spanish books—whether contemporary or modern—are far

more valuable than those which have to do with works produced outside the peninsula. There are certainly few omissions in the bibliography itself; but there is evidence that M. Bratli has not familiarized himself with the contents of some of the works (especially non-Spanish works) whose titles he has quoted. His chapter on "La Situation Intérieure de l'Espagne vers le Milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle" contains much which is flatly contradictory to Señor F. de Laiglesia's essay on *Los Gastos de la Corona en el Imperio* without the slightest attempt at a refutation; his general estimate of the Morisco problem diverges completely from that of Lea, but the standpoint of the American historian is not even hinted at.

It is a pity that such a really good book as this should be disfigured by so many careless errors and misprints. Minor slips like "alcades" for "alcaldes" (p. 66) or "parli" for "parmi" (p. 217) may be forgiven: to say that the great Military Orders formed a state within a state down to the end of the sixteenth century is more serious: but for an historian of Philip II. to assert that the *Justicia* of Aragon was elected by the Cortes down to the Aragonese revolt of 1592 (p. 202), and that the practice of the king's appointing him began after the suppression of that rebellion (p. 127), is really quite unpardonable. In spite of these and other similar mistakes, however, M. Bratli deserves the thanks of all students of Spanish history for a useful and timely piece of work.

R. B. MERRIMAN.

*A History of Witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718.* By WALLACE NOTESTEIN, Assistant Professor of History, University of Minnesota. (Washington: American Historical Association. 1911. Pp. xi, 442.)

IN this work Professor Notestein presents us with a chronological survey of the witchcraft delusion as it found expression in England between 1558, the year of Queen Elizabeth's accession, and 1718, when Hutchinson's able work on the history of witchcraft was published.

His chapters deal with such subjects as: the Beginnings of English Witchcraft; Witchcraft under Elizabeth; Reginald Scot; the Exorcists; James I. and Witchcraft; Notable Jacobean Cases; the Lancashire Witches and Charles I.; Matthew Hopkins; Witchcraft during the Commonwealth and Protectorate; the Literature of Witchcraft from 1603 to 1660; Witchcraft under Charles II. and James II.; Glanvil and Webster and the Literary War over Witchcraft, 1660-1688; the Final Decline; the Close of the Literary Controversy.

The work is based mainly on the contemporary pamphlets and chap-books dealing with particular trials, municipal records, and the newspapers of the time, supplemented by the diaries and memoirs of the seventeenth century, in which can be found many accounts of trials witnessed by the diarists or described by them.

A complete history of the witchcraft delusion in England would of

course include a full account of the trials from Anglo-Saxon times to the accession of Queen Elizabeth, but such a work, as the author points out, would involve "an examination of all English sources from the earliest times and would mean a study of isolated and unrelated trials occurring at long intervals and chiefly in church courts". In all probability such an examination would add but little to our knowledge of English witchcraft. The author has therefore rightly confined himself to the period above mentioned which in reality covered the rise and downfall of the delusion in England, or rather Great Britain.

The appendixes, which are approximately equal in extent to one-quarter of the text, contain a mass of illustrative material of great value. The first deals with the contemporary pamphlet literature; the second gives a "list of persons sentenced to death for witchcraft during the reign of James I."; while the third is a "list of cases of witchcraft, 1558-1718, with references to sources and literature", and, as the author admits, is very incomplete.

Professor Notestein shows clearly that the developing of the notion of witchcraft in the popular mind was due to the practisers of magic arts, the charmers and enchanterers who were plotting against the life of Queen Elizabeth. "When Protestant England", he says, "grew suddenly nervous for the life of the queen, when the conjurers became a source of danger to the sovereign, and the council commenced its campaign against them, the conditions had been created in which witchcraft became at once the most dangerous and detested of crimes. While the government was busy putting down the conjurers, the aroused popular sentiment was compelling the justices of the peace and then the assize judges to hang the witches." This public sentiment grew in volume and was so much accelerated in the succeeding reign of James I. by the publication of that king's *Dæmonologie* (1597) that, as the author says, the view that James set the superstition going in England, however superficial, has some truth in it. The fluctuating development of the delusion throughout the seventeenth century is illustrated by constant reference to the opinions of contemporary authors and by extracts from the evidence given in the leading trials until we reach the stage when disbelief and indifference led to the nullification of the law against witchcraft. This disbelief was powerfully helped along by such works as Ady's *A Candle in the Dark* (1655), Wagstaffe's *The Question of Witchcraft Debated* (1669), and Webster's *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (1677).

As a whole the volume is an acceptable contribution to the study of a deeply interesting subject, and it is to be hoped that the author will round out his work by giving us a further study on the relation of witchcraft to the social and political history of England. The index is fairly good.

G. F. B.

*Les Prédicants Protestants des Cévennes et du Bas-Languedoc, 1684-1700.* Par CHARLES BOST. Tome premier, 1684-Février 1692. Tome second, Février 1692-Septembre 1700. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1912. Pp. xx, 478; 665.)

To the story of the Huguenot preachers of the desert during the sixteen years from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes to the appearance of *prophétisme*, M. Bost devotes over a thousand pages. At first sight one fears something of the aridity of the desert through which the ministers wandered; but the sincerity and power which held the mountain audiences of the seventeenth century for three or four hours has passed into the modern narrative.

The region of Cévennes and Lower Languedoc (including in 1571 one hundred and twenty-one churches), extending from the Mediterranean and the Rhone to Mt. Lozère, included a territory about fifty to sixty miles square, approximately the size of the White Mountain district from the northern slopes of the Presidential Range to the southern end of Lake Winnepesaukee and from the Connecticut River to Maine. Over all this characteristically Huguenot region the author travelled as pastor for ten years. Through his map, his extracts from documents, and his story, one can follow Bâville and his dragoons running down their human quarry in caves and dens of the earth, deserted farms or chestnut drying houses, along the mountain roads and sheep paths, by which the human flocks (sometimes of 1500 to 4000 persons) came to communion and sermon, and along which the hunted preachers fled through the Cévennes. The adventurous escapes of Faucher, the intrepidity, resource, and tragic deaths of Vivent and Brousson, balance the scholarly discussion of doctrine, discipline, and political theory. A careful analysis of the organization and worship of the churches, followed by one hundred and twenty pages of *pièces justificatives*, is given in the second volume. Good indexes of persons and places, covering fifty-four pages, are followed by a useful but scanty three-page index of other matters. The references to words peculiar to the locality and explained in the text are valuable and might well have been enlarged. Twenty-three full-page photographic reproductions illustrate the narrative and the excellent geographical introduction, although the plates are annoyingly separated from the text to which they refer.

The author shows thorough familiarity with both the ground and the documents. He has utilized the archives of the prosecutors of the Huguenots at Montpellier and half a dozen other places; the valuable collections at Paris of Weiss and Fonbrune-Berbinau; particularly the copies of the Antoine Court manuscripts in Geneva; the printed letters and *relations* of the preachers; and he shows critical handling of the work of his predecessors. The book is historical, not polemical. The chronicler is very appreciative of the aims and heroism of the ministers, but sees both sides of their character and even of the intendant Bâville. He does not hesitate to show the errors of some of the earlier and more

pietistic writers who accepted narratives at face value without recourse to documents; and he recognizes Brousson's sympathy with foreign invasion, and his legal rather than frank replies under trial.

There is valuable evidence as to the character of the Huguenots of the mountain and plain: their development of moral sense and responsibility through discipline and worship; and their tendency to work out a series of little republics insisting upon the consent of the people, the obligation to observe treaties, the subjection of the monarchy to the Word of "the Eternal", the right of liberty of conscience and of resistance to tyranny. The comparison of the conceptions of Brousson as to calling and ordination through God and the people, with those of Wesley and Whitefield might be interestingly widened to include the views of the Independent and Congregational ministers of England and New England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

M. Fonbrune-Berbinau in an appreciative introduction points out that while the volume of Douen, published in 1879, on the pastors of the desert in the north, remains monumental, the other volume relating to the southern region has omissions due to lack of knowledge of the material which M. Bost has so skilfully used—the testimony of the prosecution and the defense.

HERBERT DARLING FOSTER.

*L'Abbé de Saint-Pierre: l'Homme et l'Oeuvre.* Par JOSEPH DROUET, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1912. Pp. viii, 397.)

*L'Abbé de Saint-Pierre: Annales Politiques (1658-1740).* Nouvelle édition collationnée sur les exemplaires manuscrits et imprimés avec une introduction et des notes, par JOSEPH DROUET, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1912. Pp. xxxvi, 399.)

THE first of these volumes is a history of the intellectual activities of St. Pierre and is in every particular a valuable contribution to the historiography of the eighteenth century. The first part (pp. 1-106) is biographical; the second and much the longest portion (pp. 107-384) is an extended account of St. Pierre's literary labors in behalf of reform. The abbé was an intelligent and indefatigable writer; the bibliography of his works fills ten pages. In the midst of a world of war he was an earnest advocate of universal peace, reflecting the influence of Sully, Grotius, and the *Nouveau Cynée*. A contemporary of Montesquieu, he wrote upon the origin of sovereignty, forms of government, division of powers, the English constitution—for which he had less enthusiasm than Montesquieu—etc. In the interest of administrative reform he wrote: a notable *Discours sur la Polysynodie*, arguing that a "pluralité des conseils est la forme du ministère la plus avantageuse pour un roi et pour son royaume"; pamphlets upon police of the roads; for the improvement of the road-system of France; for revision of the *taille*; for simplifying judicial processes; for the sup-



pression of duelling; for the relief of the poor; on mendicancy; on the education of women; on commerce and colonization, etc. Some of these memoirs are still unpublished and certainly ought to see the light. St. Pierre had a powerful influence upon Aubert de Tourny, Turgot's predecessor in the Limousin, and himself as enlightened an intendant as Turgot in Guyenne, but one whose brilliance has been effaced in the greater glory of the latter.

The second volume is a new edition of the Abbé de St. Pierre's *Annales Politiques*, which cover those eventful years of France between 1658 and 1740, based upon a new collation of all the existing manuscripts and the three printed editions. The basis is the Caen manuscript, all variants being given in the notes. The record begins with the year of the writer's birth, although the actual composition dates from 1694 to 1696. Though modestly denominated annals, the work is really a philosophical and critical as well as a narrative account, for the author sensitively appreciated the "new history" of his times—the transition from the classicism of the age of Louis XIV. to the philosophical and critical thought of the eighteenth century. St. Pierre lacked the constructive mind of Montesquieu and his utopianism excited the scorn of Voltaire; he lived on a high plane of thought and endeavor below the grade of genius. Like so many writers of the time he was strongly influenced by Plutarch and was prone to moralize, but his moralizing is not flat nor tenuous and his comments are often keen and direct, like St. Simon bled of his Tacitean power. Probably no single source pertaining to the last half of the reign of Louis XIV. and the early years of Louis XV. will give a reader a better idea of men and events or more fully enable him to appreciate the unity of the period. The work is a mine of political, military, social, economic, and literary information, as readable as any save the greatest memoirs of the time, and freer than all from chit-chat and gossip. The temptation to quote from clever or critical judgments, apt characterizations, pithy comment, is strong, but the reviewer is mindful of the statute of limitations governing space and forbears. It is a pity there is no index to the book.

*Le Directoire et la Paix de l'Europe: des Traités de Bâle à la Deuxième Coalition, 1795-1799.* Par RAYMOND GUYOT, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1911. Pp. 956.)

THROUGHOUT the existence of the Directory the possibilities of war and peace for France turned on her relations with Austria and England. The accepted version of the diplomatic history of the period is the account by Sorel. M. Guyot, relying on more thorough studies in the archives and the use of the *Dropmore* (Grenville) *Papers* and other documents, has ventured, in his doctoral dissertation, to attack the supposedly impregnable positions of Sorel and has carried them by storm, as is shown by the hearty approval of his work expressed by eminent historians of the French Revolution. The volume shows commendable attention

to the details which make an historical work first-class, and exhibits on every page proof of the extensive and diligent researches which have enabled the author to rewrite the history of a much-tangled subject so convincingly. Rarely does a doctoral dissertation, even in France, furnish such a notable contribution to historical knowledge.

After sketching the organization of the Directory and the status of foreign affairs after the treaties of Basel, he enters upon a study of the foreign policy of the Directory to determine whether the Directory wished to make peace, upon what terms, and with what probability of success. The failure of the first tentative negotiations was followed by the campaign of 1796. It is obvious that the Directors intended that the veterans Jourdan and Moreau should conduct the main campaign in southern Germany, while the novice Bonaparte with an inferior force should make a diversion in northern Italy. That their diplomatic plans accorded with their military strategy is fully demonstrated by M. Guyot in his highly important sixth chapter, though the phrase, "the Grand Design of the Directory", seems to dignify unduly anything born of that sordid régime. In essence the Grand Design was the old monarchical policy of the natural frontiers, specifically worked out to secure for France peace, with the possession of the left bank of the Rhine. The alliance with Spain, the negotiations with the pope for a religious settlement, the mission of General Clarke to discuss terms with Austria, and the tentative negotiations of Wickham at Basel and of Malmesbury at Paris show the workings of this policy during 1796.

The great offset to these cumulative tendencies toward peace was the commander of the Army of Italy who "first saw his star at Lodi". While M. Guyot shows that the armistice of Cherasco was not an act of insubordination, Bonaparte's repeated successes in the campaign of 1796 kindled his imagination and determined him to play his own hand. After the capture of Mantua, he rid himself of Clarke, pushed his army through the mountains toward Vienna, and compelled Austria to sign the preliminaries of Leoben in direct defiance of his instructions and of the Grand Design. Then he knew how to put such pressure upon the Directors that the treaty was confirmed in spite of the opposition of Reubell and Delacroix, the exponents of the Grand Design. The Little Corsican by his creation of the Cisalpine Republic revived the revolutionary propaganda, appealed to the Italian patriots, and at the same time secured himself a position of international importance. The later intervention in Switzerland was an almost necessary sequel for strategical reasons. Austria was not slow to discern the change of policy and to delay negotiations by attempts to develop the opposition between the Directors and their general. The coup d'état of Fructidor dispelled all hopes to that end, and the treaty of Campo Formio soon carried the Bonapartist schemes a step further. Meanwhile, negotiations with England had been in progress at Lille with strong probabilities of success, for M. Guyot has shown conclusively that Pitt sincerely desired

peace even on the basis of the French control of the Low Countries. Fructidor, by a strange combination of circumstances, ruined the chances of peace with England, in spite of the efforts of Talleyrand, whose machinations are fully set forth. The Directors now desired to push the war against England vigorously and summoned Bonaparte to conduct a great attack upon the British coasts. He and Talleyrand secured the adoption of their counter-proposal of the expedition to Egypt. Meanwhile, there were in progress the negotiations at Rastatt and those of Sieyès in Berlin; Bernadotte had been on his fruitless mission to Vienna; but most serious of all, Bonapartist adherents, Italian patriots, ambitious generals, and greedy grafters, had rapidly forwarded the republican propaganda in Italy by their activities in Rome, Naples, and elsewhere. The Directors successfully checked the propaganda by preventing the amalgamation of the new republics and by the recall of Championnet. These and other acts served to postpone war with a second coalition, but the destruction of the French fleet in Aboukir Bay revealed the possibility of humbling France and so brought to being the Second Coalition. The retirement of Reubell from the Directory marked the disappearance of the policy of the natural frontiers. The revolutionary propaganda gave place to the Napoleonic imperialism.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

*La Commune du Dix Août 1792: Étude sur l'Histoire de Paris du 20 Juin au 2 Décembre 1792.* Par F. BRAESCH, Professeur Agrégé d'Histoire, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1911. Pp. xviii, 1236.)

IN this work M. Braesch takes the term "Commune" in its broadest sense covering all the organs through which the life of Paris expressed itself, and especially the sectional assemblies, in the action of which he finds the real explanation of municipal policy, and, in many cases, of political tendencies still more general. His narrative opens with the affair of June 20—the movement which then started leading directly to the formation of the Revolutionary Commune on the night of August 9—and closes with the dissolution of that body, December 2. The volume is the first part of a political history of the Commune during the Terror, which, like Mortimer-Ternaux, though with very different sympathies, M. Braesch thinks became an instrument of government, August 10. The treatment is not exclusively political, for the present volume contains chapters on the economic and religious situation.

M. Braesch believes that in order to set forth adequately the life of Paris in such a momentous period he must descend "*résolument dans l'inextricable fouillis des faits*". This he has done, as the size of the volume—1176 closely printed pages—indicates. So great is the interest of the facts, many of them hitherto unnoted, which make up his narrative, that no one will wish the treatment briefer. The volume is also long because it includes many detailed bibliographical notes and lists,

being intended to serve in part as an "instrument bibliographique". There appear, for example, in the course of the narrative calendars of the acts of the sections on important questions, and lists of officials with precise references to all sources of information, a "Résumé des délibérations des 48 sections de Paris pendant la nuit du 9 au 10 Août", and a "Liste des individus ayant fait partie du Conseil général de la Commune du 9 Août, à minuit, au 17 Août, au soir". Documents of unusual importance are also inserted in the text, instead of being relegated to an appendix.

The subject of deepest interest is the situation in Paris from the closing days of July, when the movement for the deposition of the king had become well defined, to September 6, when the massacres in the prisons ended. Suffice it to say that the author has contributed essentially to the comprehension of the subject, rendering especially clear the origin and character of the body which conquered a temporary dictatorship in Paris, the currents of opinion in the sections, the quarrels between the Conseil Général and the Girondin group in the Legislative Assembly, and the responsibilities for the Massacres of September. His strong democratic sympathies have not influenced him to withhold facts distinctly disagreeable to radical susceptibilities. Not a suspicion of "tendency writing" can be discovered in the volume. The characterization of the personnel of the Conseil Général, or, strictly speaking, the commissioners of the sections, is a fine example of candor in a man rather inclined to apply the epithet "réactionnaire" to any one who before August 10 attempted to defend the constitutional order against the extreme revolutionaries. He says that the most influential group among the commissioners was composed of "petits patrons" and artisans in the shops of such "patrons", who resembled "un grand enfant, foncièrement bon, mais naïf et faible, aussi prompt à s'emporter qu'à s'attendrir". But, he notes, there was a group of "légistes", "robins, tous ces disputeurs de profession qu'avaient fait vivre jusqu'alors les démêlés du boucher du coin avec le boulanger d'en face", and a group of literary men, including Hébert and Chaumette, who assume this designation to conceal the absence of any profession, and some of whom were "ratés, des aventuriers de toute espèce, véritables épaves de la lutte pour la vie".

M. Braesch's inferences are for the most part unquestionably sound but in a few cases they seem open to objection. One example is his conclusion that the revolution of August 10 was in great part the work of "citoyens passifs" who invaded the assemblies of their sections, displaced the majority, ordered the tocsin rung, and took arms from the royalists to use against the king. For all the evidence to the contrary, the "personnes inconnues" who, according to the procès-verbal of the section of Montreuil, invaded the sectional assembly at 1:45 A. M., and forced the despatch of commissioners to the Hôtel de Ville, may have been radicals from other sections, instead of "citoyens passifs" of that

section as M. Braesch concludes. The record says they were "personnes inconnues", and to go beyond that is guess-work.

H. E. BOURNE.

*William Pitt and the Great War.* By J. HOLLAND ROSE, Litt.D.  
(London: G. Bell and Sons. 1911. Pp. xiii, 596.)

IN this volume Mr. Rose concludes his notable biography of the younger Pitt. As indicated in the review of the preceding volume (AM. HIST. REV., XVII. 134) the career of Pitt is logically divided into two distinct periods, in the first of which he is to be judged for his administration of British finances and his efforts for parliamentary reform, while in the second he was plunged by forces beyond his control into the chaos of European politics and wars. The biographical method lends itself much less easily to the second period, for here the author must frequently devote pages to an analysis of general European diplomacy, before he can introduce to the reader's understanding, the activities of his hero. Mr. Rose himself writes that Pitt's "career now depended upon the issue of the gigantic strife", and that "the mighty drama dwarfs the actors". Thus the method of the second volume seems quite different from that of the first—is less simple, less direct, and in some degree less convincing. Mr. Rose shares with other English writers an apparent disdain of the critical bibliography, but to the student of the period it will be an exasperation, that but a page and a half of "chief works" used, is given, consisting of such undifferentiated materials as the *Malmesbury Diaries*, *Dropmore Papers*, "Pitt MSS."; Sorel's *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, and Wraxall's *Memoirs*. Mr. Rose has shown in other writings that he understands perfectly the care with which Malmesbury must be checked for accuracy; that the one great weakness of Sorel's work is its treatment of English diplomacy; that Wraxall was first of all a malicious gossip. Certainly some indication should have been given in the list of the distinction to be drawn as to credibility between such works and the *Dropmore Papers* and the "Pitt MSS." Many other references are cited in foot-notes that do not appear in the initial list, but there also the author does not discriminate as to values. Miles's *Correspondence* appears, in fact, as a citation much more frequently than does Wraxall, though the former is not listed as a "chief work". This criticism, be it understood, is directed against the usefulness of the work, and not against the author's knowledge or discrimination, though occasionally he sins in citing but one indifferent authority for some doubtful point.

Turning to the merit of the work as a study of European conditions, and Pitt's relation to them, Mr. Rose must be congratulated for a distinctly able and readable book. It is true that one does not get much new light on Pitt's own personal characteristics, though the author has searched high and low for every additional scrap of evidence. A brief review cannot present details, but three main points are made again

and again, either directly or indirectly, throughout the volume. The first of these is that Pitt was *not* always and ever "his own master"—with a free hand to direct British policy, and a complete control of his cabinet. Mr. Rose, when treating of foreign policy up to 1797, is very careful, for example, to state that "Pitt and Grenville", or "Grenville and Pitt" reached a determination, and took such and such a step. Pitt is shown indeed as the recognized leader, but not as the dominating master of English policy, whether at home or abroad. Secondly, it is acknowledged that Pitt was not fitted by previous experience to deal successfully with the intriguing diplomacy of the Continental courts, was too trustful of foreign powers in alliance with England, and was frequently deceived. But here, as also in regard to military affairs, Mr. Rose states rightly that Pitt should not be judged incapable because of occasional failures, but rather as a man of superior ability, since, cast unexpectedly into a vortex of war and diplomacy, for which he had no natural gifts, he rose in the end above his limitations, and evolved certain great principles of action that brought England safely through the crisis. And in the third place, with repeated emphasis, the author regrets Pitt's treatment of the movement in England for political reform. Himself earlier an advocate of such reform, he seems to have lost heart in the cause and to have turned in the end to a severe repression of it. The so-called revolutionary movement in England, the author does not consider to have been ever seriously dangerous. Pitt himself was not troubled by its first manifestations, and not until the rupture with France did he begin those acts of repression that have dimmed his fame. The Whig accusation that Pitt secretly stirred revolt, that he might gain parliamentary support by crushing it, Mr. Rose denies, but Pitt's cruelty in repression, the author does not think justified. "So far as I have found, not one life was taken by the people in the course of this agitation. . . . The hero of the year 1794 is not William Pitt, but the British nation. . . . In truth, Pitt had not the gift without which the highest abilities and the most strenuous endeavours will at novel crises be at fault—a sympathetic insight into the needs and aspirations of the people. His analytical powers enabled him to detect the follies of the royalist crusaders; but he lacked those higher powers of synthesis which alone could discern the nascent strength of Democracy." Mr. Rose is in the main, however, eulogistic of Pitt, but the illustrations just given indicate that in this life of his hero he has preserved an unbiased mind. The result is a work superior as an historical study to any that has appeared in English on the career of the younger Pitt.

EPHRAIM D. ADAMS.

*Pitt and Napoleon: Essays and Letters.* By J. HOLLAND ROSE, Litt.D., Reader in Modern European History, University of Cambridge. (London: G. Bell and Sons; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. vii, 343.)

DR. ROSE here presents eleven essays and ten selections from correspondence. The True Significance of Trafalgar, and General Marbot and his Memoirs are reprints. Of the remaining essays, six treat of Pitt and three of Napoleon, while all of the correspondence relates to Pitt. In substance the author offers in this volume, in greater detail than seemed suitable to his earlier volumes, an account of certain episodes or conditions in the careers of the two great antagonists. In the essay entitled "Was Pitt responsible for the Quiberon Disaster?" Mr. Rose is in reality concerned to answer the accusation later made by Fox, Sheridan, and the *Émigrés*, that Pitt was guilty of perfidy in deliberately organizing an expedition secretly designed to get rid of the *Émigrés* themselves, and relieve England of the burden of their presence. This accusation no credible historian has made, and the author's defense was not needed. As to responsibility in the sense of lack of foresight, and confusion of ideas and instructions, Mr. Rose emphasizes the incapacity of Puisaye and Hervilly, the mutual suspicions of royalist leaders, and the antagonism and lack of co-operation between peasant and noble. The general effect of the study is to place the blame for disaster upon the *Émigrés* themselves, where indeed it in large part belongs, but in reaching this conclusion Mr. Rose apparently loses sight of the historical accusation still remaining, that English governmental mismanagement (not perfidy) was a contributing element, and that for this Pitt *was* responsible. In another essay, "Did Napoleon intend to invade England?" Mr. Rose affirms that on three distinct occasions Napoleon really planned such invasion, but was each time distracted by unexpected conditions. The proof here offered is very slight, documents are lacking, and the author's verdict rests rather on his conception of Napoleon's character—always optimistic, over-bold, and confident in his superior military genius. The essay on Napoleon's Conception of the Battle of Waterloo also dwells upon this element in Napoleon's character, but the matter is much better handled than in the previous essay. Mr. Rose here brings together the utterances of Napoleon during the progress of the battle, and his later statements, to show that he neither at the time nor later, clearly realized the military situation, and was almost to the last disdainful of his opponents. Mr. Rose writes (pp. 196-197), "Singularly enough, Napoleon never understood why he was beaten. . . . The most curious feature of the whole question is the inability of Napoleon to understand that he himself was responsible for losing the campaign. As has now appeared, he underrated the fighting power of the allied armies and the abilities of their commanders. . . . There is little or no sign of hesitation on which M. Houssaye has laid stress. On the contrary, every move up to about 4:30 betokened absolute confidence in the result." The correspondence forming part II. of the present volume is not especially interesting or illuminating since it consists for the most part in letters, as in the fifteen from Grenville to Pitt, which have little or no meaning unless read in

connection with those which drew them out. Nevertheless, as in the case just cited, the letters here published fill out gaps in correspondence previously printed elsewhere, and are therefore of value to the student of the period. Taken all in all however the volume is not up to the standard of Mr. Rose's previous work. It unfortunately leaves the impression of mere book-making—of using material for which no suitable place was found either in his earlier work on Napoleon, or in his more recent volumes on Pitt.

EPHRAIM D. ADAMS.

*Mémoires et Documents inédits sur la Révolution Belge et la Campagne de Dix-Jours (1830-1831)*. Recueillis et annotés par le Baron CAMILLE BUFFIN, Avocat. In two volumes. (Brussels: Kiessling et Cie. 1912. Pp. 650.)

THESE two volumes, issued under the auspices of the Royal Historical Commission of Belgium, contain about twelve hundred pages of hitherto unpublished material upon the Belgian Revolution of 1830 and upon the brief campaign of 1831 which followed upon the success of that movement and in which King William I. tried to win back his southern provinces, only to be checked by France and by diplomacy. These documents are of unequal value and of fragmentary character. They give no complete account of the revolution but light up many points of detail in the history of the times. Most of them are from the pens of military men and have to do mainly with military or semi-military events or plans. Political movements and diplomatic measures occupy a less prominent place; indeed the latter hardly appear at all. Considerable parts of the military documents are of a formal, statistical nature, of interest to the professional military historian but of slight value to the political historian. The latter will however be abundantly rewarded for a careful examination of these volumes. He will find in them valuable evidence concerning the spontaneous and powerful insurgence of national feeling, and illustrating the rapid spread of the spirit of revolt from Brussels to other towns, large and small. He will perceive the fundamental unwisdom of the Congress of Vienna in thinking that states can be artificially created and can endure, in spite of history, race, and sentiment, an error for which the practical men of Vienna had for years been reproaching the French revolutionists and Napoleon. The political historian will not get from these documents any light on the work of the Belgian revolutionists in the construction of new national institutions, in the elaboration of a new fundamental law, in the inauguration of a new monarchy in Europe. Nor will he gain any new insight into the causes of the revolution, for the narratives do not go back to causes but begin with the Brussels riots of August, 1830.

The first of the two volumes contains unpublished memoirs of three men who participated very actively and in important ways in the events



of 1830, Baron Chazal, General Pletinckx, and General Monceau. Chazal, a young man of twenty-two, son of a former *conventionnel* of France, threw himself impetuously into the insurrection of Brussels, was intrusted with important missions by his colleagues of the revolutionary junta, and discharged them with ability and dash. His narrative, graphic, enthusiastic, and characterized by much self-complacency, is significant as showing how important cities like Mons and Antwerp were brought into the general movement (I. 33-272). Pletinckx was the real organizer of the *garde bourgeoise* of Brussels at the outbreak of the revolution and his account throws some light upon events in the capital in August and September, 1830 (I. 293-406). General Monceau was aide-de-camp to the Prince of Orange, son of the King of the Netherlands, and as such was in constant attendance upon him. The extracts from his memoirs are extremely interesting and important. He accompanied the prince to Brussels and Antwerp during the troubles of 1830. His point of view was that of an instinctive defender of the established order. For him insurrectionists were nothing but *canaille*, *gens à l'aspect sinistre*, and members of parliament were nothing but *ces messieurs*. But he possessed very unusual powers of rapid and accurate observation. His account of the prince's visit to Brussels is remarkable. He noted instantaneously and with apparent discrimination every manifestation of popular feeling favorable or unfavorable to the prince and to the government, and recorded all with such directness, such objectivity, and such evident fidelity to the truth, that his narrative constitutes a valuable historical source (I. 412-558).

The second volume contains extracts from the journal of General Constant Rebecque, chief of staff of the army of the Netherlands; a long contemporary account, in Dutch, of events in Antwerp from August 28, 1830, to May 1, 1831; and various other documents.

The editor of these volumes has done his work well. Biographical sketches of the men whose memoirs he publishes, brief biographical notes concerning the lesser personages mentioned in the course of the narrative, and an admirable index of personal names add to the usefulness of this work. It would have been increased still further, had he given us information as to when and under what conditions the various memoirs were composed, facts essential to any final and authoritative appreciation of their historical value, and in regard to which we are left entirely in the dark.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*La Révolution de Février: Étude Critique sur les Journées des 21, 22, 23, et 24 Février 1848.* Par ALBERT CRÉMIEUX, Agrégé d'Histoire et Géographie, Docteur ès Lettres. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne.] (Paris: Édouard Cornély et Cie. 1912. Pp. 535.)

THE French Revolution of 1848 has been greatly and variously

denatured by those who have written concerning it. It has been a congenial theme for partizan polemics since the very day when the invaders of the Tuileries seized the throne of Louis Philippe and, having carried it in tumultuous triumph across the city of Paris, burned it to ashes in the Place de la Bastille where stood the monument that commemorated the Revolution of 1830, a revolution to which the Citizen King owed the throne upon which he had sat for eighteen years and which was now so unceremoniously incinerated. Thus was completed another cycle in the history of France and then began a war of words concerning the causes, course, and consequences of the three days. Republicans, socialists, monarchists of two schools, Bonapartists, clericalists, and militarists have all rushed to the attack and the defense of this much belauded, much maligned revolution. That the resulting literature has been large, if not convincing or satisfying, is evident from the extensive and classified bibliography prefixed to the present volume. But what has hitherto been lacking has been a dispassionate, analytical, and critical history of this event, fraught with such significance both to France and Europe. Such a history M. Crémieux has now given us in this notable volume, which is another brilliant illustration, in addition to the many we have had in recent years, of the vigor, the thoroughness, and the solidity of much of modern French historical writing.

What has hitherto rendered difficult, and, indeed, impossible, an authoritative account of the February Revolution has been the lack of any source, superior to all others, by which the multitude of statements previously made by more or less competent witnesses and commentators could be effectively controlled. Such a source is now accessible. It consists of the voluminous documents gathered immediately after the revolution in the course of the judicial investigation undertaken by the government in connection with the projected prosecution of the Guizot ministry. These documents, long preserved and overlooked in the archives of the Ministry of Justice, were, in 1905, deposited in the Archives Nationales. Upon the method followed by the government in the investigation and upon the value of the resulting documents M. Crémieux has published an article in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* (IX. 5-23, 1907-1908). Though of the most unequal character, being the reports or answers or depositions of participants, and needing most cautious examination in every case, they form, as the author states, a source "unique in the history of insurrections and revolutions". The method which he has followed in the construction of his book is sufficiently indicated in the following sentence. "In the presence of the abundance of documents I have accepted for each fact only the testimony of those who were ocular witnesses of it; and whenever it has been possible without danger to clearness of exposition . . . I have allowed the witnesses themselves to speak and I have been the more inclined to do this as in most cases the documents have been hitherto unpublished."

It is impossible within the limits of a brief review to show in detail the numerous merits of this volume. The narrative is one of precise statements of fact. The events of those crowded days are described with sufficient fullness. Half of the book is devoted to those of February 24. It would be difficult to find a theme offering more resistance to orderly presentation, for the February Revolution was a wild welter of conflicting forces, of multitudinous incidents. The situation changed from hour to hour and almost from moment to moment, with astounding, disconcerting rapidity. Yet M. Crémieux's narrative is surprisingly clear and admirably balanced. It is characterized by a continuous critical control of the sources and of the numerous previous writers on the subject. And where the author is in doubt, where the evidence is lacking or is dubious, he points out that fact and avoids resorting to conjecture, hypothesis, or easy generalization.

This monograph disproves several conceptions concerning the February Revolution which have passed into the historical literature of the last half-century without serious challenge. One of these is that that revolution was a *surprise*, a veritable accident in which chance and the activity of a few men played the preponderant rôle. In the polemics which began on the very morrow of the event between Monarchists and Republicans both parties accepted this description as correct. We find it in the work of Garnier-Pagès, the most elaborate and hitherto the most important republican history of this revolution, and in the royalist writings of Guizot and Thureau-Dangin. It is impossible here to summarize M. Crémieux's proof to the contrary, but it is ample and convincing. The destruction of this legend is a most important service to historical scholarship.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*The Life and Times of Cavour.* In two volumes. By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1911. Pp. xvi, 604; viii, 562.)

THIS solid biography of the foremost among the makers of modern Italy has been published at an auspicious moment. African expansion, which is the logical outcome of Italian unity and prosperity, has recently been undertaken by Cavour's successors with a thoroughness of organization and a command of national energy which recall the best traditions of Cavourian government, proving the quality and stability of the national structure and justifying the designs of the master-builder. It has been usual among historians of the Italian national struggle to give exaggerated prominence to the purely revolutionary aspects of the conflict. Dramatic Italian victories on the battle-field lay mostly with the volunteer revolutionary corps glorified by the leadership of Garibaldi, and it is natural that both the latter and the thrilling story of a half-century of heroic conspiracy should have appealed more to most historians than the long, prosaic course of legislative reform, sound finance-

ing, educational and industrial development, and army and navy reorganization. Yet these slow processes are what constitute state-building, and Italy is what she is to-day because they were carried out conscientiously along the lines laid down by a great leader, one whose claims to the foremost place among European statesmen of the nineteenth century Mr. Thayer has now done much with the English-reading public to establish. Italy, whose pride in Cavour's achievements has been obscured in some quarters by loud-voiced Garibaldian claims upon national gratitude, will give wider recognition to his genius now that the events in Tripolitania have awakened her to a fuller consciousness of strength as an organized, disciplined, and united state. She has recently decreed a national edition of the letters of Cavour, which will bring to light many unpublished documents, and help to a full appreciation of his work.

Mr. Thayer's biography is the most important life of Cavour that has been published. It makes little pretense at bringing out new material, but the writer understands and has interpreted the character, the ideas, and the policy of Cavour as no historian has done since Luigi Chiala. Cavour's life falls into two distinct periods. The first, that of an obscure private citizen, closes with his thirty-seventh year. Mr. Thayer has made a painstaking and thorough study of all published correspondence and other documentary evidence of this earlier period, and in setting forth the practical philosophy and clever dealings of the agriculturist and capitalist gives a striking picture of the "most practical finance minister of modern times" *in the making* (I. 25). In 1847 Cavour emerged as a progressive journalist and in 1848 entered Parliament; in 1850 he became Minister of Agriculture and Commerce and in 1852 he was called to the premiership. For the last six years of his life, 1856-1861, he was the dominating figure in Italy, and from 1859 to 1861 the master-mind in the international conflicts of Europe.

Mr. Thayer's analysis of parliamentary groups and struggles in Piedmont in the second period shows wide research and full maturity of judgment. His narrative throughout the work is clear and spirited. He has an unerring eye for what is essential, and as a whole the biography is a model in dramatic development. The individual chapters abound in incisive criticism—and it should be added, are well larded with apt bits of philosophy and clever metaphors which incidentally attest the writer's strong anti-protectionist, anti-papal, and anglophobe principles. As Cavour enters the labyrinth of European diplomacy and, playing upon Anglo-French jealousies, entices the French emperor to enter the lists against Austria, and Palmerston and Russell to play diplomacy in Italy's favor, Mr. Thayer is at his best. In the varied and involved phases of the solution of the Italian Question he never loses sight of, as Cavour never forgot, the exigencies of the general European situation. His account of Cavour's adroit but dignified conduct at the Congress of Paris is one of the many strong chapters of the work, and he leads up to

Cavour's great speech with masterly effect—but he is in error in describing the reception of Victor Emmanuel at Paris in the preceding November as "enthusiastic", though he judges accurately Napoleon III.'s policy at the time. His account of the campaign of 1859 is spirited and of unflagging interest, and his study of the diplomatic struggle which preceded is an exceptional piece of close criticism, of the first importance for students of European foreign policy. He lays bare English self-interest in several of the pro-Italian diplomatic efforts of Russell and Palmerston, but he is wrong in ascribing to them disinterestedness "in a high sense" (II. 128)—instead of jealousy of France—in 1859.

The portrait of Napoleon III. is one of the best drawn in the work, although the features are somewhat brutalized. Yet Mr. Thayer is fair in justifying Napoleon III.'s reasons for the peace of Villafranca and in not approving Cavour's conduct at this crisis. Mr. Thayer shows little respect for crowned heads. Queen Victoria has an "unsubtle, commonplace nature" (I. 364), and the Emperor Francis Joseph is complimented upon having "escaped the blight of imbecility" (II. 95). The chapters on contemporary conditions in the Italian states, aside from Piedmont, are the less satisfactory portions of the biography, being based largely upon secondary authorities, some of which, such as Hippolyte Castille and Charles La Varenne, are distinctly questionable. He treats Mazzini with generally deserved severity, but one wishes that he might have inserted a sketch of Mazzini's earlier services to Italy, for which space might more properly have been found than for the dissertation on the medieval papacy (I. 278 ff.). But Mr. Thayer seems imbued with apostolic zeal to smite the "magnificent impudence" of the papacy at every turn, and his constant, unmeasured raillery in this regard is a defect. He criticizes Garibaldi in unnecessarily harsh terms, but usually with full justice. Unpublished documents in the state archives of Italy will show that Brofferio, champion of Piedmontese democracy, whom Mr. Thayer describes as having "deserved the respect even of his antagonists" (I. 93), was at one time in secret relations with Austria. Other hidden documents will prove that what Mr. Thayer describes as "popular belief" was indeed a fact—namely that "the confessional was one of the channels through which the police got information" (I. 186). Much remains yet to be revealed relative to Risorgimento history, but this biography of Cavour, the best work on modern Italy published in English, must long continue an indispensable source.

H. NELSON GAY.

*The History of the British Post Office.* By J. C. HEMMEON, Ph.D.  
[Harvard Economic Studies, vol. VII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University. 1912. Pp. xi, 261.)

THE arrangement of Mr. Hemmeon's book, which is a study in economic history, is partly chronological, partly topical. The first four chapters trace the development of the British Post-Office from the be-

ginning of the sixteenth century to recent times. Subsequent chapters discuss the travellers' post and post horses, roads and speed, sailing packets and foreign connections, rates and finance, the question of monopoly, the telegraph system as a branch of the postal department, and the Post-Office and the telephone companies.

In comparison with Herbert Joyce's well-known history of the British Post-Office, which extends only to 1836, this new work is a considerable improvement. Though not so readable as Joyce's account, the story is clearly told and the reader is willing to accept it as definitive for early British postal history. The bibliography is sufficient although many would value a critical estimate of all the important works bearing on the subject. The foot-notes are judiciously used, but in some chapters dealing with the later period they show that the author has relied almost exclusively upon government publications and that, too, when dealing with subjects upon which the outside world might wish to be heard.

That it is not a very interesting book is not wholly the fault of the author. It is not easy to describe such a complex institution as the Post-Office in language that is eloquent and readable. It may well be doubted if early British postal history can be made as interesting as the early history of the posts in this country, where the great distances and numerous physical obstacles lend many picturesque features to the transportation of the mails. The dullness is due in part, however, to a somewhat narrow conception of the work, an apparent absence of knowledge of the postal history of other countries, and a failure to understand the difference between essential and unessential details. The pages are sometimes burdened with detailed matter that might well have been omitted.

It is an ungrateful and perhaps useless task to attempt to say how a given book should have been written and what the results ought to be. If the thing desired is a painstaking account of the development and operations of the British Post-Office since its beginning, with relatively little attention to the more important economic aspects of the service at the present time, then the author has succeeded admirably and his work must be pronounced good. It seems, however, to the reviewer that a history of the British Post-Office ought, in these days, to pay less attention to the period before 1837, and deal more fully with modern postal problems. Measured by this standard Mr. Hemmeon's book, in its present substantial form, and in such respectable company as the *Harvard Economic Studies*, ought to be justified by more suggestive conclusions than the author has given us.

It is recognized that the book is a study in economic history and not in economics, but what is the use of economic history unless it grapples sharply with the economic, political, and social problems involved in the subject? A sound historical and economic study of the British Post-Office in the last seventy-five years would be of considerable value to

students of politics, government, and economics. Mr. Hemmeon gives us the early history of the Post-Office with a wealth of detail that speaks well for his thoroughness and industry, but he does not deal with the telegraph, the telephone, the civil service, and other modern problems of the Post-Office in such a way as to make his book of the largest possible service. A student of American postal problems, for example, would not gain a great deal by reading this work.

J. P. BRETZ.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*The Stone Age in North America.* An Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Implements, Ornaments, Weapons, Utensils, etc., of the Prehistoric Tribes of North America, with more than Three Hundred Full-Page Plates and Four Hundred Figures illustrating over Four Thousand Different Objects. By WARREN K. MOOREHEAD, A.M., Curator of the Department of American Archaeology, Phillips Academy. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1910. Pp. xii, 457; vi, 417.)

It is rather difficult to review these volumes with absolute justice, for the author has, unfortunately, tied up his long and varied experience as an archaeologist in the field with a special theory of the nature and the significance of "prehistoric" remains in North America, a theory which he several times pushes beyond all reasonable limits. On page 7 of volume I. he speaks of the unfortunate "tendency to explain much of prehistoric times through knowledge of tribes whose customs are more or less saturated with white man's influence", and he censures the labors of the investigators represented in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, recently published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, for having "led many to consider prehistoric life in America as nearly the same as the life of our Indians for the past one or two centuries" (p. 2). He says, again (pp. 4, 6), that the *Jesuit Relations* show "a great gulf between the aborigines of long ago and the Indians of the present", going so far, at times, as to recognize pre-Indian forms of culture—such, *e. g.*, would seem to be "the strangest culture . . . in America . . . that of the cave region of the Ozark Mountains" (II. 361). This "gulf" between the Indians of to-day and the "prehistoric" aborigines he emphasizes further elsewhere by maintaining (*American Anthropologist*, new series, XIII. 494, 1911) that "the bulk of implements and works in this country are not known to existing tribes, or were not known to the tribes of the past two centuries", and that "the earthworks of the Ohio valley cannot be explained by a study of any historic tribes of which we have knowledge, neither can the remarkable objects and altars found in the Scioto valley be so explained".

While he does right in calling attention to the effects of the contact

with the white man upon American Indian culture in general and in particular, and, in pointing out the necessity of "seeking to find primitive man untouched by civilization", he is hardly justified in constantly minimizing, as he does in all regards, the primitiveness still attaching, in certain regions of America, to the art and folk-lore, the religion and daily life, of the aborigines. It is a somewhat dangerous comparison to state (II. 355) that all is changed as the Renaissance changed art in Europe. So far as present evidence goes, there is really no proof whatever of a pre-Indian physical type, or of a pre-Indian culture, in North America. Nor, after abstraction has been made of the influences of European contact, can any case be made out for a "gulf" between historic and prehistoric man on this continent; such differences of culture only are recognizable as naturally arose from environmental causes, historical experience, etc., differences entirely comparable to those which may be observed in any large area so long in the possession of one and the same variety of mankind. One must, therefore, take with reserve, inferences drawn from the author's belief (I. 10) that most of the stone objects considered by him to represent the "prehistoric" aborigines of North America were "in use long before Columbus discovered America". Just as he blames "those museum men who collect and study modern material more than the prehistoric" for not having "a clear perspective of the past in this country", he is open to criticism himself for not having "a clear perspective" of the present and the immediate past.

Nevertheless, as one whose boyhood's days were spent in the archaeological environment of Greene County, Ohio, and who has behind him twenty-five years' study of the artifacts treated of in this work, his attempt to classify them must be conceded to be that of an expert, even though he chooses a classification "based on archaeological evidence alone". In his descriptions of the very numerous implements, weapons, ornaments, miscellaneous and problematical objects, of which so many are figured (sometimes in illustrations of great beauty) in these two volumes, he quotes freely from both printed and manuscript essays and studies of such authorities as Holmes, Mason, Wilson, McGuire, Brown, Rust, Kroeber, Carr, Perkins, Sellars, Moore, Meredith, Fowke, etc., and, in addition, he has had the consultative assistance of some of these together with that in particular of Professor Charles Peabody. Some of the special opinions advanced as to the origin and significance of certain objects are the following: many objects called drills are rather "hair-pins", "cloak-fasteners", and the like (I. 210); there seems to have been no real purpose for certain stone objects (*c. g.*, huge axes, swords, etc.), which could only have been connected in some way with sacred mysteries, etc. (II. 365); "among our American aborigines the finest art existed previous to contact with European civilization", and "the finest sculptures on exhibition in our museums come from sites which appear to be prehistoric" (II. 67); pottery is a sort of "barometer



of culture", and "there is no real potter's art north of the Ohio River or east of the Wabash" (II. 248); some of the shell-mounds of Florida are so old that they may well have been in use "before the discovery and utilization of pottery by the aborigines", etc.

Professor Moorehead seems too credulous toward some of the finds in certain mounds and "prehistoric" sites—at least his citation of the Piqua tablets (I. 350) would tend to give that impression. An interesting and suggestive section of the work is that part of volume II. devoted to the consideration of ancient culture-groups, etc., and the development of local cultures, although the author is, perhaps, too generous in his recognition of these, his criteria of distinction being in some cases rather indefensible. The Iroquoian culture he considers "plainly different from anything else on the American continent" (II. 358), and he detects in it signs of European influence, believing, moreover, that "as to antiquity it is not in the same class with other objects found in America", five or six centuries being a period sufficient to account for its production. An exotic origin for certain features of Iroquoian culture has been argued by Boyle, Boas, etc., on ethnological grounds.

An antiquity of man in America as great as that in Europe or Asia is thought possible (I. 34), and the author believes that, "all considered, the population in North America . . . must have been considerable during two or three thousand years" (II. 348), while the investigations made in the Trenton gravels show that "man lived in the Delaware Valley three or four thousands of years ago" (p. 359). A bibliography (arranged alphabetically by subjects), occupying pages 369-408 of volume II., a list of the publications of Professor Moorehead (pp. 408-410), and a good index (pp. 411-417, two columns to the page) complete the work.

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

*Guide to the Manuscript Materials relating to American History in the German State Archives.* By MARION DEXTER LEARNED. (Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1912. Pp. vii, 352.)

SIMILAR guides to the archives of England, Spain, and Italy have preceded; the present volume surveys the manuscript sources for American history accessible in Germany. The problem before the investigator was, within limited time, to calendar the documents throughout the German Empire which would most abundantly provide material relating to American history. He therefore confined his search to the archives best organized and administered, *viz.*, the German state archives, some fifty or more in number, and certain municipal and local archives known to contain important materials, *viz.*, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Cologne, Mannheim, Karlsruhe, Herrnhut, and Neuwied. The archives of each of the states composing the German Empire were carefully examined, including the imperial domain of Alsace-Lorraine and the Hansa cities,

Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck. Prussia has eighteen depositories for her state archives and Bavaria ten, distributed widely over as many cities in those kingdoms.

Professor Learned's search shows positive results in three directions: first, materials casting light upon the early emigrations, their causes and extent, the struggles for confessional liberty, and the efforts of governments to prevent extensive emigration. The archives of the Palatinate are strangely deficient in historical materials relating to the large emigrations from that district; some of the other South German archives, however, fill the gap and provide a record of the conditions in the Rhineland. Thus for instance, the General Landesarchiv in Karlsruhe contains material on the sectarians of the Palatinate—the Mennonites, Baptists, and Quakers. The Bavarian archives in Munich, those of Hesse-Nassau in Wiesbaden, and of Baden in Karlsruhe, furnish records of state policies on emigration, from the dictatorial edict to the more complicated diplomatic agreements between neighboring states and later with the United States. The troubles arising from emigrant traffic, the profits of the trade, the punishment of grafting emigrant agents, the expulsion of "Neulanders", the regulation of passports and emigration taxes, can be studied in the archives of middle and south German states. Documents relating to Moravian settlements are found in Herrnhut and in the Grand Ducal Archives at Weimar, while Breslau contains important papers on the Schwenkfelders who emigrated to America in 1734. Professor Learned also records the finding of documents relating to immigration societies and individual settlements which are for the most part new and unpublished sources.

Secondly, the German state archives, notably at Marburg, Wolfenbüttel, Bamberg, Würzburg, and Hannover, furnish abundant records concerning the auxiliary German troops of the Revolutionary War. These include contracts between George III. and German princes, regulations and instructions for the recruiting, organizing, and transportation of the auxiliary troops, monthly reports, records of payments, maps and plans of battles, correspondence, diaries, and journals kept by the German officers in the British service.

Thirdly, the diplomatic and commercial relations between German states and the new republic, and the later immigrations of the nineteenth century are treated fully in the German state archives. A fascinating chapter in the history of diplomacy is contained in the correspondence between the American agents abroad, notably Arthur Lee in Paris, and Schulenburg, Frederick the Great's minister of state in Berlin. Most significant marginal comments in the handwriting of Frederick the Great appear in Schulenburg's official despatches. The king betrays sincere interest in the success of the colonists and shrewdly plans to secure a first advantage for the interests of Prussian trade, without violating his relations with neighboring powers. Subsequently other German states entered into trade relations and the business of settling

the estates of Germans in America and of German Americans in Germany gave rise to extensive transactions. A great mass of state papers record the twenty years of German emigration which followed the reactionary measures of 1819, and every subsequent wave of immigration, to Missouri and then to Texas, and the greater migrations after the revolutionary period of 1848, are reflected in the archives. In the cities of Hamburg and Bremen, which about the middle of the nineteenth century became the great gateways of emigration, records were made of the emigrants shipping from these points. In Hamburg there is the "Protocoll der Aufenthalts-Karten" (1834-1867), continued as "Das Melde-Register", giving lists of emigrants down to the present time. A similar record kept in Bremen was destroyed down to within ten years of the present time, a loss only partially made good by the Lloyd's complete lists of its cabin passengers. The Prussian Privy State Archives in Berlin contain under the rubric "Auswanderungen, Generalia", etc., the best continuous account of the German emigration during the second half of the nineteenth century, including not only ministerial acts but a comprehensive printed literature of shipping circulars and pamphlets bearing on the various phases of emigration.

Professor Learned furnishes in an introductory chapter a very lucid account of the organization, administration, and equipment of the German state archives, which cannot fail to be of practical value to any one engaged in historical researches in Germany. No one recognizes more clearly than the author of the *Guide* the limitations of his search, *viz.*, its having been confined to the state archives merely, leaving out of account two main sources for the study if not of political history at least of social conditions. These are the municipal archives and ecclesiastical archives, a guide to which would undoubtedly prove of very great service. Attention is also called to the collections of historical societies and to village and parish records specially valuable for genealogies, and to private archives (*e. g.*, those of the Welser and the Fugger families, so prominent in the Spanish colonization of South America in the second quarter of the sixteenth century). A plan of gathering letters (including the correspondence of business houses and private family papers) has been proposed in many German provinces, and in some such manuscript materials have found their way into more central depositories.

In cataloguing the manuscript materials in the German state archives the author of the *Guide* emphasized what seemed to him important and characteristic. In the case of the first three volumes of diplomatic papers in the Privy State Archives of Prussia in Berlin he has given a brief inventory of all the materials contained therein, a plan which would not have been practicable throughout. By means of the *Guide* and with the help of the adequate index the investigator in American history is enabled to find what documents there are in the German

state archives relating to a given subject, and to locate them for his own use or for the pen of the copyist.

A. B. FAUST.

*The Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government, 1696-1765.* By WINFRED TREXLER ROOT, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, University of Wisconsin. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. 1912. Pp. iv, 422.)

THIS book, like that by Professor Dickerson on *American Colonial Government*, reviewed in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for July, 1912, deals primarily not with Pennsylvania, but with the British organs of imperial control, especially the Board of Trade. Within its limited field it is a model of accuracy and scholarly research. Dr. Root backs up every statement with references to manuscript sources in Great Britain and the United States, to all the chief collections of printed documents, so rapidly increasing in number, and to a wide array of secondary literature. His conclusions are cautious, and his freedom from patriotic or religious bias almost inhuman.

The volume is divided into twelve chapters, of which the first and last are an introduction and a conclusion. The others deal with: Central Institutions of Colonial Control; Administration of the Acts of Trade; the Court of Vice-Admiralty; the Royal Disallowance; the Judicial System and the Royal Disallowance; Finance and Politics; the Quaker and Anglican; Imperial Defense, 1689-1748; the French and Indian War; and Imperial Centralization. Such a division obviously involves a certain amount of repetition, but probably any other treatment except the strictly chronological would have involved at least as much, and the strictly chronological would have caused an excessive interweaving of strands. Mr. Root's general conclusion is that "the charters answered neither the purposes of the central government, nor met the demands of the colonists" (p. 381). Almost perpetual appeals to the king to take Pennsylvania under royal control were made, now by the officials of the Board of Trade or the Customs in the interest of commercial regularity, now by those of the Admiralty or of the various military departments in the interests of defense against the French and Indians, now by the Church of England against the Quakers, now by the colonists themselves against the proprietors. Dr. Root's study of British colonial administration in the eighteenth century confirms the view of Dr. Dickerson that the Board of Trade itself was at times not without vigor, and if supported would have had the charters rescinded and a system of imperial centralization introduced; but that neither Parliament nor the Privy Council would give it the necessary support. Probably in this they showed their wisdom; the fate of the experiment in centralization tried from 1765 onward would almost certainly have befallen any earlier attempt. The kindly negligence of the eighteenth-century Parliament allowed the colonies to attain a healthy, if irregular

vitality, so that when the time came, they were able to form a great nation. We must all deplore the manner of the breach, and the attendant bitterness; but no policy of imperial consolidation practicable in the eighteenth century would have afforded a happier solution.

It is a pity that Dr. Root's admirable erudition and scientific detachment are not joined to a better style. His writing is not only unformed, but frequently ungrammatical. Such a sentence as, "The frequent and voluminous letters of these royal appointees to the home government fail to reveal but little sympathy with the colonists" (p. 367), really expresses the exact opposite of his meaning.

A few unimportant mistakes in proof-reading have been noticed. The index is fairly adequate, but might with advantage be somewhat enlarged.

W. L. GRANT.

*Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers, 1778-1883.*

By CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN, Lecturer on Naval History in the George Washington University. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1911.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1912. Pp. 380.)

At a time when naval programmes are occupying the attention of the public it is desirable to point out that the naval officer serves often most efficiently as an agent of peace. This book in which Dr. Paullin has described diplomatic negotiations in which naval officers have been concerned will enable the reader to form a judgment on the proposition recently made that naval officers who are no longer in active naval service be sent on diplomatic missions. It is to be remembered, however, that the negotiations of which the record is given were with few exceptions carried on while the officer was still in active service and had at command a force which might emphasize the demands he urged. Such evidences of power were more convincing than the oral or written arguments, particularly after the arguments had filtered through interpreters who were anxious in the less advanced states to make the requests agreeable to their sovereigns. With his fleet behind him, as Dr. Paullin says, "the sailor diplomat is preeminently a 'shirt-sleeve' diplomatist". One has merely to recall such names as John Paul Jones, Edward Preble, John Rodgers, Stephen Decatur, mentioned in the early chapters, to imagine that their policy would be direct and positive.

It might be questioned whether the career of John Paul Jones as a diplomatic agent entitles him to the attention which he receives from the author, but the chapter relating to his career well serves to point out the close relation of the diplomatic and naval service during the period of the American Revolution. As a diplomatist Jones displays another of the many sides of his character. He presses the claims for indemnity which arose in consequence of the war, yet seems eager for new activities.

The chapters on negotiations during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century with the states of northern Africa show the advantages of naval diplomacy in striking manner. The Barbary States of that period were not to be influenced simply by tactful phrasing of the demand when the United States was offering as ransom three thousand dollars per man to redeem those who had been taken by Mediterranean pirates. "That the United States led all other nations in resisting the exactions of the Barbary corsairs, and that American naval officers, in the use of both warlike and peaceful means, were important factors in establishing the policy of resistance, will always be a source of gratification to patriotic Americans" (p. 121). As an evidence of the fairness of some of the treaties negotiated at this time and under such circumstances, it may be said they are still binding.

The early relations with Turkey were usually in the hands of naval officers, often because the officers were in the neighborhood and knew the conditions. Commodore Porter, who had resigned from the navy, was appointed the first permanent diplomatic representative of the United States to Turkey.

As trade usually preceded any other relations with remote regions, the agent for protecting the trade—the navy—was naturally the first representative of the government to appear in these regions. Thus the representatives of the United States came to China and the navy, especially under Commodore Kearny, prepared the way for the negotiations resulting in the treaty of 1844.

The opening of Japan and the diplomacy of Commodore Perry is vividly described. The treaty opening Korea to the commerce of the United States was concluded after many tribulations by Commodore Shufeldt as commissioner plenipotentiary, and remained in force till Korea became a part of Japan.

Many of the islands of the Pacific and portions of Western Africa have been the field of negotiations of the "sailor diplomats".

The book affords a view of events in the foreign relations of the United States between the years 1778 and 1883 of which the significance might easily escape notice except in striking instances such as the negotiations of Commodore Perry with Japan. There would naturally be differences of opinion as to the value of the services rendered by the naval officers mentioned by Dr. Paullin. The narrative style makes the book easy reading. The index furnishes convenient references. Numerous foot-notes show the range of the author's preparation for his work.

GEORGE G. WILSON.

*Lee the American.* By GAMALIEL BRADFORD, JR. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1912. Pp. xiv, 324.)

THIS book, from a scion of the oldest family in New England, is a singular tribute to the character of General Lee and its influence upon American life and history. Mr. Bradford closes his studies with the

following remark: "I have loved him, and I may say that his influence upon my own life, though I came to him late, has been as deep and as inspiring as any I have ever known." And how many others now living, both in the South and in the North, could say the same!

The author's purpose is to give a series of studies of Lee, of his motives and purposes, his "psychography" as it is explained in an interesting appendix. We have, therefore, no biography, but a succession of illuminating pictures. And like Mr. Thomas Nelson Page, the Massachusetts admirer finds no dark places, no serious faults or errors in the character or career of the great general, and thus adds to the "Lee legend" while lamenting this tendency in others.

Lee has been unfortunate thus far in finding no biographer—for there is no life of Lee worthy of his great character and tragic career; this is doubtless due to the difficulty of such a task, the necessity of a combination on the part of the author of both military and historical training and of rare self-control in the use of evidence.

The most interesting chapters of the book—most of which appeared last year in the *Atlantic Monthly*—are those which treat of Lee's relations with Jefferson Davis, with Stonewall Jackson, and with the Confederate government. In these the point is made again and again that the general was so unlike other great men in similar positions that his career becomes unique in history. He could "manage" Jefferson Davis and tame Stonewall Jackson; he could fire the hearts of soldiers and participate heartily in camp-fire prayer-meetings; he maintained discipline and yet was never harsh; and at the head of a great army himself he looked with satisfaction upon his son as a private in an artillery company. Many, many unique traits are brought out in these studies, which the reader must peruse for himself if he loves that which is noble in human conduct.

At one point this fascinating book is not quite satisfying: the nature of the decision in April, 1861, when, in spite of the most alluring prospects, Lee resigned from the United States Army and took up the cause of the South. The author assumes that Lee was, like so many others in Virginia, indoctrinated with states'-rights ideas. The fact is that Lee's father was never a states'-rights man, notwithstanding the letter to Madison quoted by Bradford. "Light Horse" Harry Lee suffered at the hands of a Jeffersonian mob in Baltimore in 1813; Lee's mother was the daughter of a genuine aristocrat of Tidewater Virginia who paid slight attention to the Jeffersonian or states'-rights view of national politics; and Lee himself had been reared in the Washington tradition of Federalist thinking and dislike of Virginian politics. If there was a Southerner who was wholly out of the range of the states'-rights appeal in 1860-1861 it was Robert E. Lee. He did not believe in slavery as an institution, as Mr. Bradford brings out strongly, and he repudiated secession as sheer revolution.

Lee's decision, the "great decision" as the author states it, remains

an enigma, for Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the other authoritative student of the subject, has not found a better answer than has Mr. Bradford, though no one inclines as the years go by to renew the old charge of ambition and treason.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

*History of Reconstruction in Louisiana (through 1868).* By JOHN ROSE FICKLEN. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, series XXVIII., no. 1.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1910. Pp. ix, 234.)

THE period of reconstruction has long been regarded by students as one of the most complicated, if not the most complicated period in our history; difficult in that so many adverse elements enter—elements as varied as the activities and motives of humanity. Whether on account of the inherent problems to be dealt with or whether our students are slow in taking up the threads of this complex period, the fact remains that it is only during the last decade that any studies of importance have been issued dealing with this particular phase of our history. A number of successful books, painstaking in detail, have been published, but hardly one with better claim of merit than that of Professor Ficklen's.

It is one of the distressing facts of life, met with almost daily, that those best fitted to begin and end a thing are cut down in the prime of their powers—and so it was with Professor Ficklen, whose life was taken before he had finished his labors.

In this connection, however, we have only applause for the work of Professor Pierce Butler, who served as editor in bringing out the volume. It was a work of love on his part to complete what his master had proposed.

Very rightly, of course, Professor Ficklen began his study with an excellent chapter devoted to the ante-bellum history of Louisiana. However, in our view, he did not go quite far enough, beginning his discussion with the period prior to the admission of Texas. He shows indeed the complexity of elements making up the political life of Louisiana, although he devotes no space to the Louisiana of the purchase nor to the formative period prior to the forties. The threads of Louisiana's political life were, from the very first, much tangled, and this undoubtedly accounts in large part for the perturbed course leading up to the Civil War, and through it and reconstruction; and even to this day we find some anomalous conditions in that commonwealth.

He handles Butler's administration in New Orleans without gloves, as it deserves to be. His high-handed course there, in many cases, outraged not only all the canons of accepted belligerency, but those of the finer canons in the code of decency as well. Quite a little new information has been brought to light through the professor's researches.

As for Banks, he bears very much better the light, and indeed, whatever his failings and weaknesses, he showed himself to have a much



clearer head in the matter of administration. He attempted, quite honestly, to enforce the President's scheme for reconstruction, and administered his office skilfully and with some concern for the right. It was not an easy undertaking, and it may be said that he disposed of complex problems with considerable success. Banks showed his foresight when he took the opposite side as against universal negro suffrage.

The convention of 1864, which resulted in the election of Hahn as governor, marked a long step in advance in the progress of Louisiana towards a reconstructed Union; but, after all, the question of the government of Louisiana during the war and immediately after, is about as intricate and unsatisfactory a question as can be approached. In truth, there existed hardly anything more than the semblance of government, so distracted and so cut up in sections were the people. With the limits of the Union's authority reaching scarcely beyond the bayonet and with the Confederate interests divided by the Mississippi River, the people could act for themselves only in very restricted communities. Thus the matter hung until the end of the war.

Immediately after the cessation of hostilities the problem of reconstruction under President Johnson was presented to the people. Satisfactory progress was being made when the Congressional strife was started; before very long everything was in a state of turmoil. It was at this time that Butler again appeared, winning notoriety for himself and his brother in further exploitations. The culmination was finally reached in the riot of July, 1866, which was seized upon by the radicals in Congress as sufficient reason to invoke a more strenuous procedure in the process of reconstruction. The programme was crystallized in the Reconstruction Acts of 1866-1867.

It was no small matter for the real rulers of Louisiana to recover the reins of power. With a voting population of 120,000, we find 80,000 negroes and Republicans with ballots in their hands, who could not have been defeated but for the action of the White Camelia and the Ku Klux. The so-called massacre of 1868, preceding the presidential election, was most confusing in character; and even Professor Ficklen is obliged to say that with the sworn statements of the participants on both sides before him it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to obtain an accurate account of these conflicts. Thus matters went until after the election. The Seymour and Blair electors received 80,000 votes; the Grant and Colfax electors only 33,000 votes. The final result is too well known to warrant comment; and here the volume ends.

Several more strenuous years were destined to pass before equilibrium was restored, and it is regrettable that Professor Ficklen was not able to bring his work to a final conclusion. The general character of his discussion is scholarly and unbiased, in spite of the fact that he himself came out of a hotbed of Southern aristocracy. In a word, while the materials for the period in which he labored are complicated, confusing, and contradictory, the volume on reconstruction is a decided addition to

the literature of the time, giving us a clearer view of those years of turmoil and blood.

W. F. McCaleb.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*The Hindu-Arabic Numerals.* By David Eugene Smith and Louis Charles Karpinski. (Boston and London, Ginn and Company, 1911, pp. vi, 160.) The scope of this little work is well indicated by the titles of its eight chapters which are, respectively, as follows: Early Ideas of their Origin; Early Hindu Forms with no Place Value; Later Hindu Forms with a Place Value; the Symbol Zero; the Question of the Introduction of the Numerals into Europe by Boethius; the Development of the Numerals among the Arabs; the Definite Introduction of the Numerals into Europe; the Spread of the Numerals in Europe. A page is devoted to the pronunciation of Oriental names, and there is an index of eight pages consisting, for the most part, of the names of writers, ancient and modern, to whose books or articles reference is made in the body of the work. Various cuts illustrative of different forms of the numerals in different parts of the world and at different periods add both interest and value to the book.

In a subject like the history of the origin and development of our numerals where much is, and possibly always will be, obscure, it is very easy to accept as certain what is at best only more or less probable and to build theories on insufficient foundations. Our authors, however, have been careful to distinguish clearly between fact and opinion, and they have given a large number of references both to the older and to the more recent literature of the subject, thus enabling the careful student to weigh their conclusions, and also affording him much material for continuing his own researches.

The authors deserve the thanks of students for their valuable little book.

*Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien.* Von Harry Bresslau. Erster Band, zweite Auflage. (Leipzig, Veit und Comp., 1912, pp. xviii, 748.) Since its publication in 1889 made generally available for the first time the results of two generations of diplomatic studies, Professor Bresslau's *Handbuch* has held an assured place among scholars. It is true that it no longer monopolizes the field, for Giry's excellent *Manuel—vortrcfflich*, Bresslau himself calls it—appeared in 1894, and more recently the subject of diplomatics has been well treated in Meister's *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft* and in the *Handbuch* of von Below and Meinecke; but none of these has superseded it. Giry's book, with all its convenience, follows the Benedictine tradition in giving a large part of its space to ancillary matters to the exclusion of important phases of diplomatics proper, and the last-named works are too brief to be adequate even within the German and Italian field, so that a new

edition of Bresslau meets a real demand. The abundant special studies of the past twenty years have been utilized with the judgment and discrimination which were to be expected, and in fields where investigation has been most active, as in the case of the papal and imperial chanceries, the treatment has been considerably expanded. Such indeed has been the necessary enlargement that the present volume includes only the first nine chapters of the work, dealing with the history and definitions of diplomatics, the conditions under which documents were issued and preserved, and the history of the chanceries, where the detailed lists of officers are of special value. Other topics are reserved for elaboration in the long-expected second volume. In the continuation of his work it is to be hoped that Professor Bresslau will show himself more catholic than his predecessors by giving greater attention to the less formal types of chancery documents, such as *mandata*, and to documents issued by other bureaus than the chancery. Diplomats has long been dominated by the study of the formal charters with which it began, and has neglected other types which are often of greater interest to the historical student because of the light they throw on the workings of administration. A department like the papal penitentiary, for example, is quite as susceptible of diplomatic study as the chancery, and within its sphere quite as interesting, and the acts of royal officers are often as important as those issued under the king's seal.

Effort has been made in the addenda to keep the work abreast of the literature which appeared while it was passing through the press. We note, however, that the value of what Hugo Falcandus has to say about the Sicilian chancery (p. 167, n. 2) is increased by the arguments which Besta has brought forward to show that he was a member of the *curia* and probably a notary. It has also been shown that the south-Italian list of military tenants (p. 168, n. 1) is, in its original form, clearly earlier than William II.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

*The Religions of Modern Syria and Palæstine.* Lectures delivered before Lake Forest College on the Foundation of the late William Bross. By Frederick Jones Bliss, Ph.D. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912, pp. xiv, 354.) Anything like a complete and uniform treatment of Dr. Bliss's subject would call for three or four such volumes as this and a writer who combined a knowledge of the history of the Greek and the Oriental churches, of Oriental Judaism, of Moslem theology and law, and of primitive nature-worship. Dr. Bliss is, in the first instance, a field archaeologist, yet in spite of limitations of both space and knowledge he has turned out a very interesting and fairly satisfactory book.

To this rather remarkable achievement he has been aided principally by three things. Syria was his birthplace and he has been resident there for a large part of his life; in consequence he knows all sects and

classes of the population at first hand, though, of course, not necessarily as a scholar. Secondly, he has by nature a most catholic religious sympathy. In the queerest developments and jumbles of theological history he can find the working of the one Spirit. And, thirdly, he has been generally, but not uniformly, fortunate in his choice of books of reference.

After a picturesque introductory historical chapter he deals with the eastern Christian churches in details of history and ritual. This is by far the best part of his book (pp. 35-170) and is to be heartily commended. On one point he has labored at length as it has been much misunderstood even by professed students of church polity. The Patriarch of Constantinople has no supremacy over his fellow-patriarchs. He is only *primus inter pares*; on that point Dr. Bliss secured formal official statements. Also his account of recent nationalist movements in the Syrian churches covers history not easily to be found elsewhere. Worthy of especially careful reading, too, are the pages (4-7) on the value for the West of the Oriental religious attitude.

The next large section of the book (pp. 171-294) is given to Sunnite Islam. Here Dr. Bliss has certain grievous handicaps. The origins of the institutions of the Christian East are open to every student of the early Christian church. He goes through, as a matter of course, the Christological controversies of the first four centuries. The preceding Greek world must also be known to him. But the Moslem Orientalist must go to school again and slowly learn a new world and civilization from its beginnings. Familiar contact with modern conditions may help to this knowledge but cannot take the place of specific training. Such training Dr. Bliss plainly has not had. Yet, though he stumbles, his account is wonderfully good. He is not misled by the one-sided denunciations of Palgrave and Zwemer, because he has actually known the people and seen the religion that is in them. On the dervishes, those common butts of ignorant ridicule, he is especially and sympathetically strong. They are emphatically the vehicle, though sometimes corrupt and often inadequate, of the religious life in Islam.

On pages 294-312 there is a hasty, but suggestive, scramble over all the other religions and sects. This is very unsatisfactory, but there is a half promise in the preface of another volume to cover the Jews (here three pages!), the Druses, the Nusairiya, and the Ismā'īliya. A final chapter (pp. 313-335) on the influence of the West puts mission-work freshly and well.

D. B. MACDONALD.

*The Early Chronicles relating to Scotland.* Being the Rhind Lectures in Archaeology for 1912 in connection with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. By Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell, Bart., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.G.S., Pres. Soc. Ant. Scot. (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1912, pp. xiii, 261.) In these lectures Sir Herbert Maxwell

discusses the sources of Scottish history from Tacitus's *Agricola* to Wynthoun's last entry in the *Orygynale Cronykil* (1406). As the discussion is limited to such chronicles as are contemporary or nearly so, the author finds little to say about native Scottish writings: excepting Adamnan's *Life of Columba* and the two twelfth-century chronicles of Melrose and Holy Rood, all the Scottish annals written before 1300 have perished. The great chronicles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were built chiefly from the notices of Scottish affairs that appear in the English sources. Sir Herbert's work is therefore almost exclusively devoted to an examination of the great medieval annalists and historians of England, though some attention is also given to Irish annals and Norse sagas. His particular task is to determine how far these writers may be regarded as trustworthy, and "to determine the most probable line of truth among conflicting statements". The author's conclusions on disputed points are interesting, though not always convincing. He believes with Dr. Skene that King Arthur was a North Briton from Strathclyde. He locates the battle of Brunanburh at Barnbrough in Yorkshire, thus disagreeing with Hodgkin and Oman who favor Brunswark on the Solway. The supreme problem, however, is the old question of feudal dependence upon England. As a patriotic Scotchman, the author finds it easy to reject every suggestion of vassalage, except for a short period (1175-1189) when William the Lion was the reluctant vassal of the English king. All other references to homage are explained as concerned with land outside the ancient limits of Scotland, either in England or on the border. The author's arguments are usually sound and always stated in a friendly and genial spirit. His work will be found both interesting and useful. However, a preliminary study of recent historical writings in England would have improved the lectures on many minor points. Alfred probably had not expelled the Danes "from the whole of England south of the Humber in 897", and he did not die in 901 (p. 105). Archbishop Thurstan did not "support" King David in his invasion of 1138 (p. 150); his attitude was quite the contrary.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

*Franciscan Essays.* By Paul Sabatier and others. [British Society of Franciscan Studies, extra series, vol. I.] (Aberdeen, The University Press, 1912, pp. vii, 123.) This volume is the first of an "extra series" issued by the British Society of Franciscan Studies in the sense that they are outside the editions of texts which form the principal work of the society. It comprises seven essays on different questions of considerable interest to students of early Franciscan history, written by scholars who have come to be recognized as "specialists" in this particular field. Paul Sabatier opens the volume with a contribution in French entitled "L'Originalité de Saint François d'Assise" (pp. 1-17), in which he tells us that "the great originality of St. Francis was his Catholicism". Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C., follows, and his article on St. Francis and

Poverty (pp. 18-30) is full of suggestiveness for the right understanding of the difficult question of Franciscan poverty. Father Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., next deals with St. Clare (pp. 31-49) whose life-story, so full of beauty and pathetic interest, is most intimately associated with that of St. Francis. In Joachim of Flora and the Everlasting Gospel, Professor Edmund G. Gardner writes most informingly (pp. 50-70) of the Calabrian visionary who was in some sort the precursor of the religious revival wrought by St. Francis. Franciscans at Oxford are then dealt with (pp. 71-87) by Professor A. G. Little, who is singularly well fitted to discuss this topic of perennial interest. Under the title of "A Franciscan Mystic of the Thirteenth Century" Evelyn Underhill treats (pp. 88-107) of the Blessed Angela of Foligno, a Franciscan Tertiary, who from a disorderly life came to earn the title of "Mistress of Theologians". The concluding essay (pp. 108-123) by Miss E. Gurney Salter is on Ubertino da Casale, who in the early fourteenth century was renowned alike as a mystical writer and as a champion of the "Spiritual Franciscans". Altogether the present volume is a thoroughly good piece of work for which the hearty thanks of all scholars are due to the British Society of Franciscan Studies.

*The English Provincial Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders to 1557.* By E. Gordon Duff, M.A. [The Sandars Lectures, 1911.] (Cambridge, University Press, 1912, pp. ix, 153.) Mr. Duff's latest bibliographical volume will be read with interest by all lovers of early printed books. His present subject, if somewhat difficult, is also very fascinating—a subject in which further study may be rewarded with fruitful discoveries. The work is composed of four lectures delivered at the University of Cambridge. At the close are two appendixes, the first giving a list of all the books at present known, printed by the English provincial printers or for English provincial stationers before 1557; the second, presenting a list of authorities to be consulted. Four carefully chosen plates, representing the title-pages of as many scarce early English printed books, serve as illustrations. Though intended only as a "brief survey", this volume is a real addition to the literature of the subject, since it contains valuable observations, criticisms, and information accumulated by Mr. Duff at first hand in England's best libraries, as well as many facts which otherwise would have to be sought for in various scattered publications, but which have here been gathered together, co-ordinated, and made easily accessible.

In closing we may note that on pages 113 and 114 Mr. Duff seems to suspect some confusion in the date assigned by Herbert to a book entitled by him *The Dialogue between the Seditious Anabaptist and the Truc Christian*. We feel certain that Herbert has not only made a mistake in the date, but that, as often is the case with the early bibliographers, he has also given the title of the book inaccurately. Mr. Duff would have done well, we think, to have made only secondary reference

to Herbert, to have given the title and date of the work as they occur in the Bodleian copy, and to have omitted in Appendix I. all reference to the mythical edition of 1549.

CHAMPLIN BURRAGE.

*Étude sur Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, Abbé de Saint-Cyran, 1581-1643.* Par J. Laferrière, Docteur en Philosophie, Docteur en Sciences Morales et Historiques, Professeur au Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe (Canada). [Université de Louvain, Recueil de Travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et Philologie.] (Louvain, Bureaux du Recueil; Brussels, A. Dewit; Paris, A. Picard et Fils, 1912, pp. viii, 239.) One has learned to expect excellent work from the historical group at the university of Louvain when the subject is one of a secular nature. Unfortunately numbers of the volumes of this admirable series pertain to subjects of religious controversy and are strongly tinged with that interpretation of history peculiar to a Jesuit environment. The present book is of the latter class. The main thesis—that Jansenius owed much to Michel de Bay, or Baius, and more to the Abbé de St. Cyran (pp. 18-22) is well sustained. Hauranne, who was a man of intellectually adventurous type like Servetus and Giordano Bruno, undertook to expound certain passages of St. Augustine upon which the Church had reserved judgment (p. 32). This presumption stirred the wrath of the Jesuits of his time and M. Laferrière echoes their condemnation (pp. 32-33). He has a piteous scorn for this man who had "une tendance naturelle à dédaigner l'opinion des autres" (p. 41), i. e., for one who rebelled against the doctrine of authority.

It must be admitted that St. Cyran, like other radicals, had a genius for getting into hot water. The record of his controversies is interesting. He sustained the right of suicide in a controversy which had a most eccentric origin; ridiculed the Church's horror of the effusion of blood in a curious essay upon the fighting bishops of the Middle Ages; and defended the satirical poet Théophile de Viau against the charge of skepticism for writing a hymn to nature, for which the reactionary party that ruled after the death of Henry IV. had him condemned to be burnt! The author seems to have omitted to examine Frédéric Lachèvre's *Le Libertinage devant le Parlement de Paris: le Procès du Poète Théophile de Viau*, published in 1910. Jansenism, which most historians regard as a manifestation of the spirit of free inquiry, is represented in these pages as aiding "le flot de libertinage qui menaçait d'entraîner toute la jeunesse de l'époque" (p. 70); its maxims are "néfastes" (p. 202).

"Mais, réactionnaire contre l'esprit de son siècle, il [St. Cyran] a dépassé les justes limites, et au lieu de faire le bien qu'il visait, il a fait le mal que l'on sait. Son intervention a eu pour résultat d'entraver le magnifique élan de réforme religieuse qui, dans la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, faisait jailler partout des sources nouvelles de vie chrétienne" (p. 206).

The author's ultra-Catholic point of view comes out clearly in his judgment of men and events under Richelieu. The great cardinal is an ingrate for his treatment of Marie de Medici—an opinion which, perhaps, may be passed; Marie de Medici is an abominably wronged woman; France is reduced to “une servitude générale”; Richelieu's alliance with Gustavus Adolphus is an “alliance impie”, and Queen Elizabeth is portrayed in the language of Father Parsons and others of his sort. To the average reader probably the account of the influence of Jansenist educational ideas will prove of greatest interest. Their chief reform was in the method of teaching Latin and Greek. Latin was completely abandoned for French as a language of communication; instruction was oral and only limited space was given to theme and composition. The Jesuits vigorously opposed the new pedagogy. But Bossuet, Fénelon, and Fleury advocated it and in 1716 the university adopted it.

*A Biography of Thomas Deacon, the Manchester Non-Juror.* By Henry Broxap, M.A. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XI.] (Manchester, University Press, 1911, pp. xix, 215.) Mr. Broxap remarks in his preface that, “It would be strange indeed if nothing of interest could be written on the life of a man who was closely associated with both the '15 and '45: who lived on terms of great intimacy with the first medical men of the day, and was himself a practitioner of no mean order: who enjoyed the friendship of John Byrom and William Law: who actively engaged, and certainly not without knowledge, in the controversy concerning the ‘Usages’ and who may be said, in a word, to embody in his own person the latest developments of the non-juring movement.” At the risk of seeming ungracious the reviewer is bound to remark that the author has achieved the marvel. After recognizing his diligence in collecting facts and his painstaking accuracy in minutiae, which Bardo di Bardi defined as “the very soul of scholarship”, no more can be said in commendation of his work. He has written a life of Thomas Deacon more complete than that which appears in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, he has contributed some new facts regarding Deacon's birth and parentage, he has added somewhat to our knowledge of the controversy between the “Usagers” and “Non-usagers”, and has given us more or less brief biographical notices of every man, however obscure, who appears in his pages, but to embody all this in a volume of the *Historical Series* of the University of Manchester is very like burning the house to roast the pig. Here is a sample of what Mr. Broxap regards as important and amusing. It is an extract cited from *Manchester Politics*, a dialogue between Mr. Trew-Blue and Mr. Whig-Love.

“Mr. W. Sir, pray, where do you come from?

Mr. T. Manchester.

Mr. W. What are you?

Mr. T. A Tory.

Mr. W. Pray speak out, be free.



Mr. T. Sir, all I can say is I am a Tory and a Manchester Tory, and if that won't satisfy you I don't know what to say to you."

He assures us that "the whole dialogue", of which this is apparently the cream, "is well worth reading". Another valuable bit is reproduced from "Leaves in a Note Book" made in 1842 by Mr. G. P. Kerr: "Mr. Sudlow informed me that a Mr. Walton married a daughter of Dr. E. E. Deacon, who had been educated in a convent on the Continent: he remembered that she had long yellow hair." We have to take the author's word for it that Deacon might have become "a famous theologian, a distinguished physician or a great bishop"; but the fact is certain that he passed "his time in a little backwater of the stream of life". Such being the case, one concludes the perusal of this fine specimen of the printer's and binder's art with the query *cui bono*?

A. L. C.

*La Fin des Parlements, 1788-1790.* Par Henri Carré, Professeur d'Histoire à l'Université de Poitiers. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1912, pp. xxi, 382.) The opposition of the French parlements to the government precipitated the revolutionary crisis of 1789. To understand the rôle played by these judicial-political bodies in the last years of the monarchy is a *sine qua non* to an understanding of the early Revolution. No writer has contributed more to the solution of this problem than M. Carré. For the last twenty-five years he has been a regular contributor to French reviews and publications of learned societies and as a rule his contributions have dealt with some phase of the relation of the parlements to the Revolution. Much of this material was utilized in his volume on Louis XVI. in Lavis's *Histoire de France*. The present volume is not a synthesis of his previous articles but an additional monograph. After a description, in the first chapter, of the character, fortunes, social rank, and political rôle of the magistrates on the eve of the Revolution, M. Carré deals with the attitude of the parlements toward the States-General in the fall of 1788, their part in the elections of 1789, and in the estates of that year. In the following chapters, he describes the treatment of the parlements by the National Assembly, the *mise en vacances*, the formation of the new judicial system and the abolition of the parlements, the liquidation of offices, the counter-revolutionary tactics of some of the magistrates, the emigration of a third of the twelve hundred members of the old courts, the executions and, with the establishment of the empire, the entrance into office of a large part of the survivors of the old courts. It is a sober, carefully written narrative, one for which all of those concerned with the Revolution will feel grateful and of which they will make frequent use. The bibliography is very full, M. Carré having used both manuscript and printed sources. One noticeable omission from the secondary works is that of Wahl's *Vorgeschichte*. Among the sources, the division devoted to correspondence might be materially strengthened by the addition of the despatches

of the English, Venetian, and Parmesan ambassadors, and the letters of Duquesnoy, Biauzy, and a number of others, all accessible when M. Carré wrote. A very effective use has been made of a large collection of contemporary pamphlets. Here and there the critical work is not all that could be desired: as in the use of insufficient proof or in choosing a poorer source when a better was at hand; in using the *Moniteur* for 1789 instead of the sources from which the editors drew; in repeating without control Brette's unsound criticism upon the bulletins of a secret agent found in the French Archives of Foreign Affairs; and in the failure in the bibliography to arrange the titles in alphabetical order. The same period has already been twice treated; in a superficial way by Glasson, whose account rested almost wholly upon Bachaumont, and by Seligman, who approached the subject from a different point of view. Carré's volume forms an excellent supplement to Seligman's work.

*Le Gouvernement Révolutionnaire, 10 Août 1792-4 Brumaire an IV.* Par Paul Mautouchet, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur à l'École Lavoisier. [Collection de Textes sur l'Histoire des Institutions et des Services Publics de la France Moderne et Contemporaine, publiée sous la direction de M. Camille Bloch, Inspecteur Général des Bibliothèques et des Archives.] (Paris, Édouard Cornely et Cie., 1912, pp. 406.) This is the second volume of the collection, the first being M. Marion's *Les Impôts Directs sous l'Ancien Régime*. The texts which it contains are designed to explain primarily the structure of the revolutionary government during its three stages: from the overthrow of the monarchy, August 10, 1792, to the passage of the law of the 14 Frimaire an II, December 4, 1793; from that time to the fall of Robespierre on the 9 Thermidor an II, July 27, 1794; and from the 9 Thermidor until the establishment of the Directory on the 4 Brumaire an IV, October 26, 1795. Other texts explain the measures of repression which were adopted to reduce the opponents of the government to submission or to destroy them, while still others illustrate the actual operation of the régime. To make clear the influences which resulted in decrees especially important, like those of October 10 and 14 Frimaire, a few reports presented in the Convention are inserted. In each part of the collection is also a division of "pièces annexes", which show the practical application of the decrees in different localities. One of these is a "questionnaire" containing the replies of officials in a district of the Department of the Sarthe. There is a marked contrast between the tone of the questions, in the inflated style of the mid-revolutionary period, and the common sense and sobriety of the responses. These, brief as they are, reveal interesting features of the situation, particularly as regards the enforcement of the Maximum laws and the attempt to "extinguish fanaticism". The documents are chosen judiciously and well edited. Of course, questions of judgment arise as to what should be included in such a collection and as to what articles of particular decrees may be omitted. In printing the decree of March

28, 1793, upon the "Émigrés" M. Mantouchet has omitted sections 2, 7, and 8, which embody the principal aim of the decree, namely, confiscation of the property of the emigrants, and without which the decree leaves the impression of being conceived in the spirit of righteous vengeance upon traitors. M. Mautouchet has prefaced the collection of texts with an introduction of one hundred and thirty-nine pages, containing a clear and well-balanced exposition of the revolutionary régime. Especially illuminating are the passages on the manner in which the decrees were carried into effect. It is too often assumed that when a decree is adopted, it is obeyed as promptly as an order on the parade ground, but M. Mautouchet points out that in many places a decree so important as that of the 14th Frimaire did not become effective for weeks, either because the local authorities were not informed or because they could not overcome the difficulties arising from the local situation. At the close of the volume is a carefully selected bibliography.

H. E. BOURNE.

*La Censure en 1820 et 1821: Étude sur la Presse Politique et la Résistance Libérale.* Par Albert Crémieux, Agrégé d'Histoire et Géographie, Docteur ès Lettres. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne.] (Paris, Édonard Cornély et Cie., 1912, pp. iii, 195.) The assassination of the Duke of Berry in 1820 terminated brusquely a political crisis which had been developing since 1816 and terminated it in favor of the Ultra-Royalists and against the Moderate Liberals who until then had had the upper hand and who appeared likely to be able to impose their doctrines definitively upon France. Enough Moderates were, by that crime, thrown into the camp of the Ultras to give them the final victory and then began that hazardous line of conduct which led to the Revolution of 1830 and the final overthrow of the legitimate monarchy. One of the first and most significant acts of the new party was the passage of a press law on March 31 and the issuance, on the day following, of a royal ordinance completing it. It is the application of this new law, which aimed to suppress all liberal propaganda, and which, to that end, re-established a preliminary censorship for all newspapers and periodicals, that forms the subject of this monograph. There was immediately established in Paris a general Board of Censors and, in most of the departments, special boards were appointed, whose duty it was to censor the contents of every newspaper before its publication.

M. Crémieux's work is based upon documents preserved in the Archives Nationales, namely, upon the minutes of the meetings of the supervisory board in Paris and, particularly, upon the reports sent up to it by the departmental boards. The latter are of great interest and enable the author to present a reasonably full and a very precise account of the agitation aroused in France by the return of the Ultras to power. The first describes the application of the law in Paris and then its application in a large number of departments and does it largely by letting the

documents tell their own story, quoting from them so liberally that the book is practically a source-book.

This monograph is admirably constructed, treats an important aspect of the history of France at a significant period, and is both instructive and entertaining. The harassing vigilance and preternatural fearfulness of the censors, their marvellous sense of what might prove dangerous to throne and altar, which apparently did not include a sense of the ridiculous, were matched by the resolution and Protean ingenuity of many of the editors, while others were entirely docile. The vicissitudes of the sorry fray are amply shown. The spirit in which this system of obscurantist *tracasserie* was administered may be seen in brief in the reports of the censors of Isère (pp. 126-144).

The result of the system was the retardation of the very promising development of the French press and the driving of all liberal propaganda into the subterranean and tortuous channels of secret societies and conspiracies.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*La France sous la Monarchie Constitutionnelle, 1814-1848.* Par Georges Weill, Professeur à l'Université de Caen. Nouvelle édition revue et corrigée. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1912, pp. 311.) This little volume, a revision of one which appeared in 1902, is the work of a scholar who has won high repute by a number of substantial contributions upon important phases of French nineteenth-century history, most of them dealing with social and intellectual matters. The author aptly describes the book as a "tableau général, destiné à fournir une vue d'ensemble sur la vie de la nation française entre 1814 et 1848". As such it is mainly devoted to description and interpretation. Familiarity with the course of events being assumed, the narrative element is in general very slight and for some portions of the period almost entirely lacking. The descriptions, though sometimes deficient by reason of their brevity, are in general admirably done. But it is especially as a work of interpretation that the volume challenges attention.

The period from 1814 to 1848 is a singularly difficult one to interpret. Its real significance is apt to be lost sight of and partizanship is not easily avoided. M. Weill overcomes both difficulties in remarkably large measure. He depicts the period in its economic aspect as marked by the inauguration of profound changes, which, however, until later did not proceed far enough to alter fundamentally the general character of French society from the form which it assumed through the changes effected by the Revolution; while in the domain of ideas it was distinguished in its earlier years by the final conflict between the *ancien régime* and the Revolution and in its later years by the development of the conflicting conceptions of French conservatives and progressives over the larger and more important questions which still divide them. A large knowledge of the men and the writings which best represent

the two schools of thought in their many subdivisions, together with an unusual ability to enter into sympathetic understanding of their aims and environment, enables the author to make his treatment of the social philosophy of the period of exceptional value.

The method of treatment is topical. Two chapters are devoted to politics and one each, covering the entire period, to society, religion, literature and art, economics, and social philosophy. This arrangement, though doubtless convenient for the topics taken separately, seems unfortunate in two particulars. There was then, as the author shows, an exceptionally close connection between several of these subjects, while 1830 constituted for a surprisingly large number of matters the dividing line between sharply contrasted periods. There is a short but judiciously selected bibliography. A very large proportion of the foot-notes are citations to works which have appeared since the date of the first edition, but unfortunately there are few page references. An occasional acceptance of doubtful *mémoire* authority is the only serious defect in method of investigation which the reviewer has noted.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

*Three-Quarters of a Century (1807 to 1882): a Retrospect written from Documents and Memory in 1877-1882.* By Rev. Augustus J. Thébaud, S.J., edited by Charles G. Herbermann, LL.D. [United States Catholic Historical Society Monograph Series.] Volume I., *Political, Social, and Ecclesiastical Events in France.* (New York, The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1912, pp. 334.) The author of this book of recollections "written from documents and memory" was a French Jesuit father who came to America in the third decade of his life and spent here the rest of his career, first as a teacher of sciences, and, later, as a rector in various Catholic colleges. He died in 1885. Between 1877 and 1885 he wrote a *retrospect* covering his early education in France, his life in Rome, and his forty years in America. After his death these recollections were published in the reverse order of their composition. Thus we get last the first volume dealing with "political, social and ecclesiastical events in France" during the declining days of the empire, the restoration and the reign of Louis Philippe.

Father Thébaud was born in Nantes, in 1807, of humble parents, whose profession he forgets to mention. He was brought up by ecclesiastical teachers, entered a seminary, was ordained a priest, and was, for a short time, at the head of one of the poorer parishes of his native city. He lived thus exclusively in the atmosphere of legitimist and Catholic Brittany.

It is doubtful whether the early impressions and pseudo-recollections of an unsophisticated boy, shut up in schools and churches, can be of great value to the historian. Except for some personal observations on Breton public opinion, as he witnessed it at critical moments, for instance in 1815, 1825, and 1830, this book contains only second-hand and

hearsay information on the great events of which Brittany was the theatre, and these are all colored by the narrow and uncritical prepossessions of an immature priest surrounded by the survivors of the Vendean party. The only historical event in which the author seems to have played even a secondary and indirect part relates to the flight of the Duchess of Berry to Nantes, in 1832.

Valueless and inaccurate as they often are, in dealing with historical events, these memoirs however may not be without interest for the study of conditions in one of the provinces of France where legitimate monarchy had its strongest hold. They are especially curious in revealing the kind of education given then in Catholic seminaries, the mentality of the priesthood and the nobility, with their pious horror of liberalism, Gallicanism, Jansenism, and the opposition, so deeply marked at that time as well as to-day, between what a recent writer called "the two Frances", the France of the *ancien régime* and the France of the Revolution. Misprints in proper names are much too numerous, and French words are often misspelled. As a sample of the untrustworthiness of the historical statements, one need but refer to the paragraph on Fouché (p. 247), and the curious blunder on the meaning of the word Institut de France, which the author seems to take for a school, founded by the Directoire.

OTHON GUERLAC.

*La Politique de l'Équilibre, 1907-1911.* Par Gabriel Hanotaux. [Études Diplomatiques.] (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1912, pp. v, 449.) This is a collection of studies in grand politics, by M. Hanotaux, once Minister of Foreign Affairs under the tricolor. All the articles are reprinted without change from the *Revue Hebdomadaire*, where they appeared between 1907 and 1912. They cover a wide range of topics, from the Hague Conference to France in America, with an occasional chapter upon British politics and policy thrown in for good measure. But the main interest of the book centres in the working of the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, in their Turkish and Persian relations on the one hand, in Morocco and the Congo, on the other. Thus the Agadir incident, the negotiation between France and Germany resulting, and the territorial barter of November 4, 1911, which settled the matter, are in the nature of a climax. Against this settlement (a free hand in Morocco so far as Germany could give it as against a considerable extension of the German Cameroon colony at French cost) M. Hanotaux enters an almost impassioned protest. Moreover, he ascribes it to the ineptitude of the Triple Entente and in fact to British indifference to French interests and inclination to make her own bargain. This is the most interesting part of the book, though not the most convincing. It is natural for an *ancien ministre* to criticize the altered policy of his successors. It is easy to preach the value to France of holding the balance of power between the allied central European states and a make-

weight. The weakness of the argument lies—in the writer's opinion—in M. Hanotaux's failure to realize how completely the military breakdown of Russia in the Japanese War, her added debt, and the wiping out of her navy, have changed the old balance. Is it not a reasonable conclusion that France without an English backing would be far from holding a balance of power? And should not M. Hanotaux criticize not the Triple Entente but the French ministry for not relying sufficiently upon it, and for yielding so much when Germany rattled her sword?

However this may be, M. Hanotaux, with much charm of style and felicity of illustration, stimulates the student. Some of his ideas are most suggestive; as where he says that special privilege disappeared in England during the Victorian era, as it had done in France during the Revolution. He asks how it will affect the racial balance under the Austrian crown, to add two to three millions to the Slav element, apropos of Bosnia. He sees in Austrian aggressiveness in the matter of Bosnia, a revival of the Triple Alliance in a changed, more active form. Then Austria having had her mouthful, Germany comes again to the trencher.

M. Hanotaux's appreciation of King Edward VII. should be set alongside of Sidney Lee's biography. It has a curious and fanciful comparison between Edward and Louis XIV., and much more to attract the reader. The disadvantage of reprinted political essays is that, being originally opportunist, they lack a sense of proportion, and that, involving a certain amount of prophecy, they inevitably involve also a certain amount of prophetic discredit. For politics is not an exact science.

T. S. WOOLSEY.

*List of the Revolutionary Soldiers of Virginia.* Special Report of the Department of Archives and History for 1911. By H. J. Eckenrode, Archivist. (Richmond, Virginia State Library, 1912, pp. 488.) This is the fullest list yet compiled of the Revolutionary soldiers of Virginia, but it does not profess to be complete. The archives of the War Department in Washington, completely closed, until a few months ago, to historical investigators, yet remain to be examined, and it is likely that other material will turn up from time to time in unusual and out-of-the-way places. This list is therefore "the first stage of a work to be continued for many years and brought to a conclusion only when the sources of Virginia Revolutionary history shall have been completely explored". That the "first stage" of this work is well advanced is evidenced by the fact that the present list contains somewhat over 35,000 names. The introduction by Mr. Eckenrode is a valuable contribution to the discussion as to the number of soldiers furnished by Virginia. While "unwilling to risk a guess", at the present time as to the number of soldiers, Mr. Eckenrode points out that the number was very large in proportion to the white male population, and he believes that it will eventually be shown to have been larger than the estimates hitherto made. Such a work as the Department of Archives and History has here produced is

of far more than mere genealogical interest and both the library and the State of Virginia are to be congratulated upon it.

*From Freedom to Despotism: a Rational Prediction and Forewarning.* By Charles M. Hollingsworth. (Washington, the author, 1910, pp. vii, 238.) The author of this book concurs in the belief which is said to have been expressed by the late Professor William Graham Sumner, that the American republic will not last longer than 1950. For this gloomy prophecy he advances not primarily the moral failings which are almost universally assigned as the causes of the downfall of republics in the past, but rather "the transformation of the national character and the demands for arbitrary methods of government that are resulting from changes that are already under way and will soon become much more pronounced, in the national economic conditions of life".

The gist of his argument is as follows. Forms of government are determined ultimately by economic causes. Free, or constitutional, systems of government have had as their basis of origin and maintenance a state of active economic development, and have only endured so long as such development continued; under economic fixity, which follows the completion of such development, government has always assumed an autocratic or despotic form. Economic concentration develops on the one hand an economically dominant class, and on the other hand an economically subordinate class: each of these classes is inimical to democratic government. American economic development is now approaching completion. Hence American democracy tends to give place to a modernized Caesarism. The same tendency toward despotism as the consequence of growing economic fixity is to be observed in other free governments, and presages an era "in which despotic government will be practically universal". In illustrating this tendency toward Caesarism, stress is laid upon the augmentation—on popular demand and through popular support—of the powers of executives at the expense of those of law-making bodies, for example, in Ex-Governor Hughes's achievement in forcing the enactment of law creating the Public Utilities Commission.

The thesis that popular government finds its economic basis in "the prevalence of economic conditions which are favorable to independent or independently-associative modes of livelihood" is ably set forth. In the face of the revolutionary industrial changes of even the past score of years the evidence that "American economic development is now approaching completion" is thoroughly inconclusive, and prophecy based on that assumption is peculiarly hazardous. In contrast with the development of "free governments" of earlier centuries, the destiny of twentieth-century republics is being conditioned by a higher standard of living, a broader suffrage, vastly enlarged educational opportunities, and new processes by which the voter takes part directly both in electing (and "recalling") officers and in enacting laws. To these influences the author has given too scant consideration.



*George Wallace Jones.* By John Carl Parish. [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1912, pp. xii, 354.) This is the seventh number in the *Iowa Biographical* series, and the third one of which Mr. Parish is the author. It very appropriately presents a character representing the minority pro-southern element and sentiment of the period of early Iowa history (1838-1860). This particular volume departs from the general run of the series in devoting only about one-fifth of its three hundred and fifty pages to a biography by Mr. Parish, and nearly three-fifths to the autobiography and personal recollections of Senator Jones himself. The autobiography will be found of considerable value to the student of detailed Iowa history, and to the historian of the national "spoils system" and its practical workings. But the general student of history will be disappointed in finding in the entire two hundred and more pages of autobiography and recollections only one half-line mention of the great slavery controversy of the years 1844 to 1860, and still less consideration of the other great public questions of this "middle period" of our history. In fact, the autobiography amounts to little more than a very naïve and at times fairly fascinating exposé of the inner operations of the pre-war system of federal patronage, with occasional illuminating glimpses of the less-known personal characteristics of leading public men from Clay to Lincoln. One regrets to find the introductory biographical sketch adding little beyond a few connecting details, and rather detracting from the reader's impression of the strength and influence of Senator Jones as gained from the autobiography itself. On the other hand, the original materials have been most carefully edited, and the numerous errors of memory on the part of the autobiographer have been most satisfactorily checked up from other and more reliable contemporary sources. In typography, absence of textual error, and excellence of indexing, the volume fully measures up to the high standard already set by the earlier numbers of the series.

CLARK E. PERSINGER.

*Edward Fitzgerald Beale: a Pioneer in the Path of Empire, 1822-1903.* By Stephen Bonsal. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912, pp. xii, 312.) The name of Edward Fitzgerald Beale will suggest little to most of the readers of this book. His public career was ended forty-odd years ago, and was run generally among that crowd of subordinates who work under direction, and write the reports which others sign. It was, however, a life full of interest in its associations with the forces of the far west from the Mexican War to the completion of the Pacific railways. As surveyor, Indian official, and traveller, Beale acquired an intimate knowledge of the west, particularly that part of it south of the Platte trail. He crossed it repeatedly, on business, or in charge of parties of survey and exploration.

Among the episodes which this biography chronicles are the Mexican War, the discovery of gold in California, and the organization of the California Indians. Beale saw fighting in the first of these as a part of Kearny's Army of the West. In 1848 he brought an early sample of California gold to Washington. He became Indian superintendent for California and Nevada in the administration of Fillmore, with the patronage of Benton. As pathfinder, he made surveys along the thirty-fifth and thirty-eighth parallels, and reached conclusions respecting railway routes. It was he who suggested to Jefferson Davis the possibility of acclimating the camel in the southwest, that it might become the beast of burden of the American Desert, and he directed the resulting experiments with the herd that David Porter brought from the Levant in the *Supply* in 1856. During the French intervention in Mexico he interested himself in the acquisition of Lower California by the United States, and aided in sending arms to the Juarez government. In his later life he worked his extensive ranches in California, spent a year in the diplomatic service, and lived an affluent and honorable old age.

This biography, compiled by Stephen Bonsal, and copyrighted by Truxton Beale, appears to be the work of filial piety. It runs along in a tone of unwavering laudation. It collects from the government documents, the letters and reports that Beale wrote in the course of business, and prints from them excerpts that stretch to more than half its length. There is no evidence that Mr. Bonsal has any more knowledge of the subject, or of the stage upon which his hero moved, than his immediate documents forced upon him. He does not mention any considerable collection of manuscripts as having been made available for his use. He does not know that the Beale journals, interesting though they are, are matched by numerous others of the same period that may be read beside them in the great "sheep set". He might have assembled around his subject the picturesque life of the southwestern plains and made of Beale a truly national type. But he has been content to reprint, with tolerable accuracy, documents that are easily accessible in print, and to piece them together with a commonplace text.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

## TEXT-BOOK

*A History of the United States for Schools.* By Andrew C. McLaughlin, A.M., LL.B., Head of the Department of History, University of Chicago; and Claude Halstead Van Tyne, Ph.D., Head of the Department of American History, University of Michigan. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1911, pp. 430, lxviii.) The demand for better text-books for the teaching of American history in the grammar schools is shown unmistakably by the publication during the past year or two of seven or eight new volumes in this field. Nearly all these show certain well-marked tendencies: increased attention to the national period, to the significance of the westward movement, to social and economic factors, to geographical influences, to European "backgrounds", to securing adaptability to the actual conditions of school work without sacrifice of scholarly accuracy. The new books have each attained more or less success in several of these respects, but they have represented efforts to perfect an established kind of educational apparatus rather than the evolution of a new one.

The volume by Professors McLaughlin and Van Tyne belongs to this group, and on the whole none of its predecessors has met the problem more successfully. To write a good epitome is always a difficult task; to accomplish it successfully and at the same time to adapt the material to the understanding of children, in content and treatment as well as in style, is an undertaking whose seriousness can be fully realized only by those who have attempted it. In the present case the results are uneven. In the chapters dealing with the colonies and the Revolution remarkable success has been achieved; nothing better has been done, probably nothing as good, in any other text. The national period (perhaps because it is more complex and difficult) has been handled with noticeably less success; the chapter on the Making of the Constitution is particularly abstract and generalized. But at many points the topics of the second part have been treated in a concrete and interesting manner, and this portion of the book will bear comparison with the corresponding part of similar books. It is, in fact, remarkable that university men without experience in grade teaching should be able, even with the advice of elementary-school teachers, to produce a book which is on the whole so admirably adapted to its purpose as this.

A high level is maintained as to accuracy, a result to be expected, since the equipment of two such competent scholars is, unhappily, seldom applied to the problem of preparing a text-book for the elementary school. But probably no volume covering so much ground can escape a few minor inaccuracies at least, and there are in this case more than a score of errors, questionable assertions, and general statements that are

misleading because of over-brevity. There is space for the citation of only a few: the search for a fountain of youth was an incidental rather than a primary object of Ponce de Leon's search (p. 16); Cartier spent the winter of 1535-1536 at the site of Quebec, not Montreal (p. 21); the treaty of Tordesillas, 1494, of course did not mention either "Brazil" or "the rest of America" (p. 28); the legislative power of the Virginia House of Burgesses was not limited to assenting to laws made by the company in England (p. 47); Penn should be given full credit for his philanthropic motives, as he is (p. 86), but he was also a very shrewd business man; in the account of colonial government (p. 130) the old classification with the misleading term "charter colony" is adopted, rather than the much better one suggested by Professor Osgood; fear of the French fleet had at least as much to do with Clinton's evacuation of Philadelphia in 1778 as did the discovery that there was "nothing to be gained" by holding it (p. 179); on page 190 appears the most surprising slip in the book, the statement that Cowpens (tactically the most brilliant American victory of the war, for Morgan surrounded and captured the superior force of Tarleton) was "lost by Greene"! Perry's force in the battle of Lake Erie was superior to that of the British in tonnage, men, and weight of broadside; it is hardly correct to say that Clay "was not decided either way" about the annexation of Texas (p. 305), in view of the Raleigh letter; the authors state that Lincoln did not carry Massachusetts in 1860 (p. 330).

It is, unfortunately, exceptional for any school text, of either Northern or Southern authorship, to be free from sectional bias. In spite of very obvious efforts to be fair, the authors have not concealed strong Northern sympathies on virtually every point. "Our" and "us" are used of things Northern, and "rebels" and "rebellion" are terms freely used in referring to the South. In treating the military events of the Civil War, generous tribute is paid to Lee and to the valor of the Southern soldier; yet when it comes to details the authors find space for twelve lines of enthusiasm over the charge of Thomas's men at Missionary Ridge while hardly the same number of words are given to Pickett's men at Gettysburg and the impression is left that the latter were repulsed because the Federal troops opposing them were better soldiers; Sheridan's exploits in riding around Lee's diminished army are chronicled, while no mention is made of "Jeb" Stuart whose attentions to McClellan are said to have caused Lincoln to remark that "three times round are out"; Thomas at Chickamauga gets fourteen lines, Jackson at Chancellorsville not one word. Such features will not promote the use of the book in Southern schools.

Fanciful pictures are almost wholly excluded, and nearly all of those included are of real value in illustrating the text. The picture on page 120 does not show the heights that Wolfe scaled. The maps and plans are also good as a rule, being clear and unencumbered by useless detail. Some of them, however, are too small or too much broken up; for

instance, the two maps for the French and Indian War (pp. 118-119) would be much more effective if combined and enlarged. Most of the section topics have been happily phrased, but it is a mistake to use the "run-in", black-type heads instead of a less conspicuous "cut-in" head which would serve the same purpose without interrupting the narrative. Foot-notes have been effectively used for much that is interesting and useful. Quotations from what is commonly called "source material" are inserted to good advantage, but the child's legitimate and laudable curiosity will not be satisfied by such terms as: "wrote one of their leaders", "England's greatest general declared", etc. (pp. 43, 140, 160, 208, 285). Although in some details the arrangement may be criticised, the book strikes a fair average between topical and chronological demands and its organization of material may be commended.

J. MONTGOMERY GAMBRILL.

## COMMUNICATION

BUFFALO, N. Y., July 27, 1912.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Dear Sir,

The July issue of the REVIEW contains a notice of my *Studies of the Niagara Frontier*, in which the reviewer undertakes to correct my spelling of "Dallion". Permit me to state that in using that spelling I have followed the priest's own signature as found in a letter to a friend in Paris dated at "Tonachain, Huron village, this 18th July, 1627", and signed, "Joseph de la Roche Dallion".

FRANK H. SEVERANCE.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in Boston and Cambridge on December 27-31. The American Political Science Association, the American Economic Association, the American Sociological Society, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the New England History Teachers' Association will hold their meetings at the same time and place. The programme has as yet been arranged only tentatively and any announcement of plans is subject to alteration. At present however it is expected that the headquarters of the associations will be at the Hotel Copley-Plaza and that the various meetings will be held in the buildings surrounding Copley Square. The presidential address of the Historical Association will be delivered by Theodore Roosevelt, probably on Saturday evening. It has been planned to hold conferences of archivists and of historical societies, and special sessions, as usual, on the various fields of historical work. A conference of history teachers will be the occasion for a joint session with the New England History Teachers' Association. It is proposed to hold the sessions of Monday at Cambridge, and the headquarters for that day will be transferred to the Harvard Union. Most of the railroad associations have promised to accord the usual reduction in rates, by the certificate system.

The *Annual Report* for 1910 is through the press and will be distributed during the present month to those members who have signified their desire to receive it.

The Adams Prize essay for 1911, Miss Louise F. Brown's *Political Activities of Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men during the Interregnum*, is nearly off the press and will be distributed to subscribers about October 15.

Attention is called to the fact that the permanent address of the secretary's office is now 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

### PERSONAL

Dr. Samuel Macauley Jackson, professor of church history in New York University and one of the most active of American church historians, died in Washington, Connecticut, on August 2. He was secretary of the American Church History Society throughout the whole period of its existence, 1888-1896 and 1906-1912, and had published an excellent book on Zwingli, and edited a valuable series of ecclesiastical

biographies, *Heroes of the Reformation*, and various bibliographies and other works of reference.

Armand Brette died on April 19 at the age of sixty-three. As one of the most prominent of the historians who have co-operated with M. Aulard in the study of the French Revolution, his name was seldom missing from a number of *La Révolution Française* or the *Revue Historique*. The best known of his publications are *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume*, and *Recueil de Documents relatifs à la Convocation des États Généraux de 1789*, of which he was preparing the fourth and fifth volumes at the time of his death.

Albert Poncelet of the Bollandist society died at Montpellier, January 19, 1912, at the age of fifty-one. He was among the principal contributors to the *Analecta Bollandiana*, and to the three volumes for November of the *Acta Sanctorum*. He also edited the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, of which he published a supplement a few weeks before his death. At the time of his death he was travelling to investigate documentary sources for a volume of the *Acta Sanctorum Belgii* which he was preparing.

Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo died on May 19 at the age of fifty-six. In addition to his numerous writings on the history of Spanish literature and thought he was the author of *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*. For twenty years he was professor of the history of Spanish literature in the University of Madrid, and later director of the National Library. He was also the founder and editor of the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos*.

Volume CIX., Heft 1, of the *Historische Zeitschrift* is dedicated to Moritz Ritter in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of his doctorate. The contributions are mainly by his former pupils. The second number of the volume contains as its only important article the third of Professor Ritter's *Studien über die Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft* covering the period of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Counter-Reformation.

Mr. Alfred F. Pollard of the British Museum gives next spring at Cornell University, on the Goldwin Smith Foundation, a course of lectures on the Place of Parliamentary Institutions in the Development of Civilization.

Dr. Arthur I. Andrews has been advanced to the rank of professor of history in Tufts College.

Mr. Stewart L. Mims has been appointed assistant professor of history at Yale.

Professor William E. Lunt has gone from Bowdoin to Cornell as professor of history. His successor at Bowdoin as Reed professor of history and politics is Dr. Herbert C. Bell, from the University of Wisconsin.

Ex-Mayor George B. McClellan has been made professor of economic history at Princeton University.

Mr. Robert P. Blake, of the University of California and Harvard, more recently a student at Berlin and St. Petersburg, has been called to the University of Pennsylvania to teach ancient and Byzantine history.

Professor William R. Manning of the University of Texas will deliver the Albert Shaw lectures on diplomatic history at Johns Hopkins University next spring. Professor Manning spent a part of the summer gathering materials from the Mexican archives for these lectures.

At the University of Texas, Dr. C. W. Ramsdell has been advanced to the rank of adjunct professor of American history, and Dr. Frederic Duncalf to the same rank in medieval history.

Professor H. Morse Stephens has resigned the directorship of university extension at the University of California, a position which he has held for ten years, and will hereafter devote his entire time to his duties as head of the department of history and secretary of the Academy of Pacific Coast History. Professor Stephens has been appointed to the Sather professorship of history, a chair recently endowed at the University of California by Mrs. Jane K. Sather. Dr. L. J. Paetow, formerly assistant professor of English history in the same university, has become assistant professor of medieval history in place of Dr. J. N. Bowman, who goes to the University of Washington, while Dr. W. A. Morris from the University of Washington takes Dr. Paetow's former position. Assistant Professor Don E. Smith has resigned.

James F. Kenney, lately professor of history in St. Michael's College of the University of Toronto, has been appointed an assistant in the office of the Dominion Archivist, Ottawa, Canada.

#### GENERAL

Definite arrangements have now been made for the Third International Congress of Historical Studies, which will be held in London from April 3 to April 8 or 9, 1913. It is expected that there will be nine sections, as follows: Oriental History; Greek and Roman and Byzantine History; Medieval History; Modern History and the History of Colonies and Dependencies, including naval and military history; Religious and Ecclesiastical History; Legal and Economic History; the History of Medieval and Modern Civilization; Archaeology, with Pre-historic Studies and Ancient Art; and the Related and Auxiliary Sciences, such as ethnology, historical geography, the philosophy of history, historical methodology, the teaching of history, bibliography, palaeography, diplomatics, etc. Everyone wishing to become a member of the congress is requested to send his name, title, office, and postal address, as soon as possible, to the Secretary of the Congress, Professor I. Gollancz, Secretary of the British Academy, Burlington House,



London. Communications respecting the reading of papers should, however, be addressed to the Secretary for Papers, the Reverend Professor J. P. Whitney, 9 Well Walk, Hampstead Heath, London. Every member of the congress, whether attending as a delegate or upon invitation or in a personal capacity, subscribes the sum of £1. Ladies accompanying members can become associate members on payment of half the subscription.

On October 15 and 16 the American Antiquarian Society will celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of its foundation, with important public addresses by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin.

The July-August number of the *Revue Historique* contains surveys of the recent literature for the Frankish and early Capetian period by Louis Halphen; of the sciences auxiliary to history for the medieval and modern periods by Philippe Lauer; and of Christian antiquities by Charles Guignebert. In addition to the discussion of the recent controversial literature concerning Jesus, contained in the last of these articles, reference should also be made to the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April, 1912, page 385.

The first volume of the *Kleine Schriften* of Professor A. Furtwängler has been published by J. Sieveking and L. Curtius (Munich, Beck, 1912, pp. viii, 516).

Volume XIII. of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, extending from "Revelation" to "Simon Stock", has come from the Caxton Publishing Company. The subject-matter of this, as of previous volumes of the series, offers much of historical interest.

*The Britannica Year-Book*, a new annual with Mr. Hugh Chisholm as editor, is intended to bring to date information contained in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

The World Peace Foundation has published the *Syllabus of Lectures on International Conciliation*, given at Leland Stanford Junior University by David Starr Jordan and Edward B. Krehbiel.

Twelve parts have appeared of an *Encyclopédie de l' Islam, Dictionnaire Géographique, Ethnologique, et Biographique des Peuples Musulmans*, edited by T. Houtsma and R. Basset with the assistance of leading Orientalists (Paris, Picard).

There is in course of publication a three-volume *Histoire des Patriarchats Melkites, Alexandrie, Antioche, Jérusalem, depuis le Schisme Monophysite du Sixième Siècle jusqu'à nos Jours* (Rome, Bretschneider). The first volume, which is yet to appear, will cover the history to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The second and third volumes, which have already been published, deal respectively with the history during the nineteenth century and with the existing insti-

tutions and practices of the church. The work is by a priest of the Greco-Slavic rite, Cyrille Charon. The Melkites, that is royalists, were those Eastern Christians who adhered to the imperial decrees as opposed to those who adopted some form of Monophysitism, now represented by the Armenian, Coptic, and other Eastern sects.

Among the recent accessions of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress are: 131 letters and drafts of Thomas Jefferson, 1798-1822; the papers of James H. Hammond, senator from South Carolina, 1820-1864; the papers of Agustín de Iturbide, emperor of Mexico, 1799-1824; the papers, scientific and political, of Captain Matthew Fontaine Maury, 1825-1874; letter-books of General William Tecumseh Sherman; the papers of James Murray Mason, Confederate envoy in London; twenty-eight log-books of Admiral Sir George Cockburn, 1813-1815.

A chronological list with notes of bipartite arbitration treaties, compiled by Dennys P. Myers, has been published by the World Peace Foundation, Boston.

Little, Brown, and Company announce for autumn the *Continental Legal History* series, consisting of translations of important modern works on the history of the civil, criminal, commercial, procedural, and public law of continental Europe. The works, selected by a committee appointed in 1909 by the Association of American Law Schools, were translated by competent scholars appointed by the committee. The first three volumes to appear in the autumn are as follows: *A General Survey of Events, Sources, Persons and Movements in Continental Legal History*, translated from works by eminent European authors; *Great Jurists of the World, from Papinian to Von Ihering*, by various authors; and *History of French Private Law*, by J. Brissaud, late professor of legal history in the University of Toulouse, translated by Rapelje Howell, of the New York Bar.

The Hakluyt Society has published a *Book of the Knowledge of all the Kingdoms, Lands, and Lordships that are in the World*, by an anonymous Franciscan friar who wrote about 1350, giving the names of most of the Canary Islands, the Madeiras, and the Azores, and an account of Africa south of the Atlas. The work was first published in 1877 by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada.

At the 1912 meeting of the Congrès des Sociétés Savantes, in the section on historical and descriptive geography, a paper was read by Dr. Loir describing a prospectus prepared in 1816 by Charles Alexandre Lesueur to attract colonists to Louisiana. In the same section the Abbé Anthiaume presented a paper on the portolan charts which he traced to a Catalan origin at the end of the twelfth century. He also found the so-called Mercator projection used long before Mercator's time. In discussing the paper M. de La Roncière claimed a Genoese rather than a Catalan origin for the portolans.

Dr. Gustave Loisel has prepared a *Histoire des Ménageries de l'Antiquité à nos Jours* in three volumes (Paris, Doin). The famous zoological gardens of the various epochs, their importance in the development of science, and their relation to society are described. The work is based on documentary sources.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Esther B. Van Deman, *Methods of Determining the Date of Concrete Monuments*, I. (Archaeological Institute of America, April-June); E. Rodocanachi, *Les Courriers Pontifiques du Quatorzième au Dix-Septième Siècle* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, July).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

*Südwesteuropäische Megalithkultur und ihre Beziehungen zum Orient*, by G. Wilke, is the seventh number of the *Mannusbibliothek* (Würzburg, Kabitsch, 1912, pp. 181). The author concludes from his investigations that the builders of the megalithic remains were a European race, but he is unable to decide further their ethnic kinship or the locality of their origin, whether Iberian, Scandinavian, or otherwise. A. de Paniagua of the International Ethnographic Institute of Paris sets forth some novel ideas on the same subject in *Les Monuments Megalithiques, Destination, Signification* (Paris, Catin, 1912, pp. xii, 92).

The second fascicle of volume V, completing *Découvertes en Chaldée* by Ernest de Sarzec, edited by Léon Heuzey, has been published by Leroux of Paris.

Messrs. Scribner's Sons announce for early publication *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, by Professor James H. Breasted of Chicago University.

R. Weil's *Les Hyksôs et la Restauration dans la Tradition Égyptienne et dans l'Histoire* (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1911, pp. 218) is of interest to students of Egyptian history.

The first volume of a new and thoroughly revised edition of R. Kittel's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* has been issued by Messrs. Perthes (Gotha, 1912, pp. xii, 667). The volume carries the account to the death of Joshua.

Professor H. Blümner of Zürich has prepared a *Karte von Griechenland zur Zeit des Pausanias sowie in der Gegenwart* (Bern, Geographisches Kartenverlag), showing all places named by Pausanias.

The third publication to appear in the series of *Jenacr Historische Arbeiten* (Bonn) is Dr. F. W. Robinson's thesis, *Marius, Saturninus und Glaucia: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Jahre 106-100 v. Chr.*

The thesis of M. Jean Juster for his doctorate in law is a critical examination of the sources relating to the judicial position of the Jews under the Roman Empire (Paris, Geuthner, 1911, pp. viii, 141).

## EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The third series of E. Vacandard's *Études de Critique et d'Histoire Religieuse* (Paris, Lecoffre, 1912, pp. 377) contains studies on the origin, celebration, and liturgy of Christmas and the Epiphany, on the origin of the veneration of the saints, and of the festival and dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

In the series *Textes et Documents pour l'Étude Historique du Christianisme*, A. Lucot has edited *Histoire Lausique*, and A. Lelong, *Le Pasteur d' Hermas* (Paris, Picard).

Professor Aimé Puech of the Sorbonne in *Les Apologues Grecs du Deuxième Siècle de Notre Ère* (Paris, Hachette) endeavors to determine the teachings of the Church in the age of the Antonines and the nature and extent of the influence of Stoic and Platonic philosophy on both the method and the thought of the apologists.

In the "Alleged Persecution of the Christians at Lyon in 177", reprinted from the July number of the *American Journal of Theology*, Professor James W. Thompson endeavors to demonstrate that if the story of this persecution is not a "Christian fabrication" it must be put a century later, in the reign of Aurelian, and Marcus Aurelius must, therefore, be acquitted of the charge of ordering it.

Hans von Schubert's *Staat und Kirche in den Arianischen Königreichen und im Reiche Chlodwigs* (Munich, Oldenbourg, pp. 199) supplements the studies of Ulrich Stutz in the same field.

The period of the Donatist schism is studied in the fourth volume of P. Monceaux, *Histoire Littéraire de l'Afrique Chrétienne depuis les Origines jusqu'à l'Invasion Arabe* (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. 517). M. Monceaux has also published recently a pamphlet on *Timéad Chrétien* (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1911, pp. 78).

A biography of the famous Gallic bishop St. Germain l'Auxerrois has been published by G. M. Des Noyers (Paris, Desclée, de Brouwer, 1911). It will be recalled that the two visits of St. Germain to Britain furnish one of the few important contemporary sources of information regarding Britain during the first half of the fifth century.

A valuable addition to the series *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Religieuse* from Messrs. Picard is volume I. of *L'Église Wisigothique au VII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, by M. E. Magnin.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. P. Galtier, S. J., *La Consignation dans les Églises d'Occident* (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April); W. Levison, *Die Iren und die Fränkische Kirche* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CIX. 1); K. Praechter, *Christlich-Neuplatonische Beziehungen* (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXI. 1).

## MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Volumes 65 to 68 of the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* contain the Arabic text of the *Historia Universalis* of Agapius,

a tenth-century bishop of Mabboug in Syria; a French translation of the Ethiopian *Annales Regum Iyâsu II. et Iyo'as*, of which the text has already been published; the second installment of the Arabic text of the *Synaxarium Alexandrinum*, containing the lives of the saints for the last six months of the year; and the text of the lives of the two latest Ethiopian saints, Walatta-Petros and Zara-Buruk (Paris, de Gigord).

The Academy of Mâcon has published the first of two volumes containing the papers relating to the history of the abbey and order of Cluny read at the millenary celebration in 1910 (Mâcon, Protat, 1912, pp. cxxxii, 427).

The Abbé A. Clergeac has contributed an important study to the history of the papal financial system, in *La Curie et les Bénéfices Consistoriaux: Étude sur les Communs et Menus Services* (Paris, Picard, pp. x, 316).

A life of Maimonides by J. Münz has issued from the press of J. Kauffmann (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1912, pp. vii, 335).

The thirty-second number of the *Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neuern Geschichte* is a study by Ernst Brem of the career of Pope Gregory IX. before his pontificate. He was created cardinal by Innocent III. in 1198 and thenceforth took an active part in the political and diplomatic activities of the papal court.

For the students of the life of Frederick II. Mr. Lionel Allshorn has in his very interesting and well-written *Stupor Mundi: the Life and Times of Frederick II., Emperor of the Romans, King of Sicily and Jerusalem, 1194-1250* (Martin Secker) added nothing new, but to the general reader he has given a vivid and accurate account of an interesting figure and has used judiciously the existing secondary works on the subject.

Five volumes have been published by A. Tralin (Paris, 1911-1912) of the *Oeuvres Complètes de Jean Tauler, Religieux Dominicain du Quatorzième Siècle, Traduction Littérale de la Version Latine du Chartreux Surin*.

A most detailed and careful study of the relations between England and Savoy is M. Jean Cordey's *Les Comtes de Savoie et les Rois de France pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans (1320-1391)* published in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* (Paris, Champion).

*Die Anfänge der Beginen* by J. Greven (Münster, Aschendorff, 1912, pp. xv, 227) is a study of the sisterhood of the Beguines and of the piety of the lower classes in the pre-Reformation period.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: N. H. Baynes, *The Date of the Avar Surprise* [determined as June 5, 617] (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXI., 1); J. B. Bury, *The Great Palace* [of Constantinople] (*ibid.*); J. H. Mordtmann, *Die Kapitulation von Konstantinopel im Jahre 1453*

(*ibid.*); Count Durrieu, *La Délivrance de la Grèce projetée en France à la Fin du Quinzième Siècle* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, July).

### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*A Short History of Europe from the Fall of the Eastern Empire to the Dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire*, by Charles Sanford Terry (London, Routledge and Sons, pp. viii, 318) proves to be an excellent condensation of useful knowledge.

Materials drawn from the archives of Mantua by their director, A. Luzio, in *I Preliminari della Lega di Cambray concordati a Milano ed a Mantova* show especially the part played by Niccolò Frisio (Milan, Cogliati, 1912).

The two latest numbers of the *Historische Bibliothek* (Munich, Oldenbourg) deal with sixteenth-century subjects. Dr. Walter Sohm writes *Die Schule Johann Sturms und die Kirche Strassburgs in ihrem Gegenseitigen Verhältnis, 1530-1581*; and Dr. Walter Platzhoff, *Frankreich und die Deutschen Protestanten in den Jahren 1570-1573*. The latter volume is important for the development of the international significance of the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The number for July, 1912, of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* is the first fascicle of "Lainii Monumenta". Earlier numbers for the year continue the "Monumenta Ignätiana" and "Monumenta Xaveriana".

M. Baguenault de Puchesse recently read before the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences a paper, based upon a letter written to Bongars by a German agent, describing the schemes of Henry IV. of France to replace Rudolph II. as Holy Roman Emperor. He believes that the scheme might have succeeded if it had not been for the assassination of the king.

The Société de l'Histoire de France has recently published *Correspondance du Chevalier de Sévigné et de Christine de France, duchesse de Savoie*. These letters by the uncle of the famous Madame de Sévigné were written from Paris to the sister of Louis XIII. during the Fronde, especially in the year 1652. The same society has also published a third volume of the *Mémoires de Martin et Guillaume du Bellay* covering 1536-1540, and dealing with the war between Charles V. and Francis I. which was concluded by the truce of Nice.

The publication by E. de Heeckeren entitled *Correspondance de Benoît XIV.* (Paris, Plon, 1912, two vols.) contains only the letters of Benedict XIV. to Cardinal de Tencin, archbishop of Lyons. The relations between Benedict XIV. and Cardinal de Tencin are the subject of the first of a series of articles, "Le Secret du Pape: un Légat Apostolique en France, 1742-1756", by Abbé Richard, begun in the July number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques*. The correspondence of Benedict XIV. with Cardinal Querini was published in the *Nuovo*

*Archivio Veneto* in 1909 and 1910; and with Cardinal Tamburini, in the *Archivio della R. Società Romana*, volume 34.

Among the books which have been brought into existence by the bicentenary of the birth of Rousseau, celebrated at the end of June in Geneva and in Paris, especial value attaches to the following: Gaspard Vallette, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau Genevois* (Geneva, A. Jullien, 1912, pp. xxx, 454), a book as much historical as literary, dealing largely with the influence of Genevese history on the mind of Rousseau; *Jean Jacques Rousseau, Conférences prononcées dans l'Aula de l'Université de Genève*, by Bernard Bouvier, professor of French literature (*ibid.*); P.-P. Plan, *J.-J. Rousseau raconté par les Gazettes de son Temps*, containing much curious information; Albert Meynier, *J.-J. Rousseau et les Hommes de la Révolution*, chiefly concerning the relations of Rousseau to Camille Desmoulins; Harald Höffding, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau et sa Philosophie*; and *J.-J. Rousseau, Conférences faites à l'École des Hautes-Études Sociales en 1912*, by Cahen, Mornet, Gastinel, Delbos, Benrubi, Baldensperger, Dwelshauvers, Vial, Beaulavon, Belot, Bouglé, and Parodi. The same publisher will bring out in the autumn the eighth volume of the *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, containing commemorative essays by MM. Lanson and Mornet of Paris, Benrubi of Germany, Edmund Gosse of London, and Höffding of Denmark, chiefly upon the influence of Rousseau upon other countries, de Reynold of Fribourg, Seippel of Geneva, on the religion of Rousseau, and Léopold Favre of Geneva, who offers a critical examination of the first draft or original manuscript of *Émile*, which is in his possession. The volume contains the usual annual bibliography and *chronique*.

Dr. Charles Schmidt has published a collection of documents from the National Archives relating to the annexation of Mulhouse (Mülhausen) to France under the title, *Une Conquête Douanière, Mulhouse, 1785-1798* (Paris, Berger-Levrault). On a similar subject is Usinger, *Das Bistum Mainz unter Französischer Herrschaft, 1798-1814* (Mainz, Kirchheim).

In a volume carefully annotated by M. Jacques Rambaud, Plon-Nourrit have issued Count Roger de Damas's *Mémoires: Russie, Volmy et Armée de Condé, Naples, 1787-1806*, which presents a picturesque account of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period.

The centenary of 1812 has brought forth a remarkable amount of literature. The *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* in successive numbers has a review of the events of the year by M. Éd. Driault, under the title *Souvenirs du Centenaire*. M. A. Chuquet has published *1812, la Guerre de Russie: Notes et Documents* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1912, pp. 352) and *La Campagne de 1812: Mémoires du Margrave de Bade* (Paris, Fontemoing, pp. 268). Among the other books are Baron de Baye's *Smolensk* (Paris, Perrin, 1912, pp. 796). Volumes 128 and 133 of the *Sbornik* (collections) of the Historical Society of St. Petersburg are devoted to a documentary history of the year 1812.

The position of Austria in 1812 and 1813 and the question of Austrian intervention in the Napoleonic conflict is treated by the Vicomte d'Ussel in a recent volume, *Études sur l'Année 1813: l'Intervention de l'Autriche* (Paris, Plon). A life of Prince Joseph Poniatowski, who fell at Leipzig in 1813, by S. Askenazy, comes from the press of F. A. Perthes of Gotha.

Though in Germany Professor R. Fester of the University of Halle is publishing *Briefe, Aktenstücke und Regesten zur Geschichte der Hohenzollerischen Thronkandidatur in Spanien* (Leipzig, Teubner), and in France the Department of Foreign Affairs is publishing a collection of documents entitled *Les Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870*, M. P. Lehautcourt has ventured to publish an elaborate study of the Hohenzollern candidature (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1912, pp. xv, 665).

Several excellent volumes on Alsace have appeared almost synchronously. The second volume in the new series, *Les Vieilles Provinces de France*, is a comprehensive *Histoire d'Alsace* by Rodolphe Reuss, who is already known for his studies in Alsatian history (Paris, Boivin, 1912, pp. viii, 372). Paul Müller is the author of a monograph on the Revolution of 1848 in Alsace (Paris, Fischbacher, 1912, pp. 247), which also contains a biography of the Alsatian deputies in the various national legislatures from 1789 to 1871. *L'Alsace-Lorraine et l'Empire Allemand, 1871-1911*, is the work of an *avocat*, M. Robert Baldy (Paris, Berger-Levrault).

Count Soderini has near completion a history of the papacy under Pius IX., in three volumes, the work of some ten years of labor on the part of one occupying an independent position as respects the Vatican and Quirinal, and who during the papacy of Leo XIII. was by the favor of that pontiff granted special favors in the use of the archives of the Church.

Both from the point of view of international law and of the domestic politics of France, Dr. J. P. Nibojet has written *L'Ambassade de France au Vatican, 1870-1904* (Paris, Larose and Tenin, 1912). Another interesting chapter of recent papal diplomacy is narrated by Crispolti and Aureli, *La Politica di Leone XIII. da Luigi Galimberti a Mariano Ram-polla* (Rome, Bontempelli and Invernizzi).

Oscar Browning's *History of the Modern World, 1815-1910*, in two volumes published by Cassell, is a readable historical narrative displaying much knowledge but marred by an occasional lack of proper proportion.

Messrs. Plon have published *L'Europe et la Politique Orientale, 1878-1912*, by the Count of Landemont (Paris, 1912, pp. 380).

Among the recent volumes on industrial history may be noted *La Manufacture Royale de Porcelaine de Saxe, Meissen, 1710-1910*, an



elaborately illustrated folio volume (Paris, Hessling, pp. 194); a life of Camille Pernon, a silk manufacturer at Lyons under Louis XVI. and Napoleon, by Alexandre Poidefard and Jacques Chatel (Lyons, Brun); a *Traité de la Fabrication du Sucre de Betteraves et de Cannes*, a two-volume work, published by a group of experts, in commemoration of the centenary of sugar manufacture in France (Paris, Rousset, 1912); and *La Toile Peinte en France, la Manufacture de Jouy, 1760-1843*, by Henri Clouzot, also richly illustrated (Versailles, Bourdier).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Calmette, *La Politique Espagnole dans l'Affaire des Barons Napolitains, 1485-1492* (Revue Historique, CX. 2); M. R. Vernitch, *Le Cardinal Alberoni Pacifiste* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, July); E. Dejean, *La Duchesse de Berry et le Comité Carlisle de La Haye, Juin-Novembre, 1832* (Revue Historique, CX. 1, 2).

### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

In *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, published by Messrs. Scribner, J. A. MacCulloch has presented an excellent treatise on the whole field of Celtic religion.

Of interest for the reign of Henry III. is a small brochure by N. Mengozzi, entitled *Papa Onorio III. e le sue Relazioni col Regno d'Inghilterra* (Siena, 1911, pp. 96).

During the coming year the Canterbury and York Society expects to print part of the registers of Bishops Halton of Carlisle, Grosseteste of Lincoln, and T. Charlton of Hereford.

M. Morel-Fatio has recently discovered the letter, dated April 25, 1495, written by Margaret of York, widow of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, supporting the claims of Perkin Warbeck.

The University of Minnesota expects before long to inaugurate a series of historical volumes by publishing a collection of the original sources for the history of the Parliamentary session of 1629, the debates being carefully edited from various manuscripts and printed speeches by Professor Wallace Notestein.

In *John Pym*, published by Messrs. Pitman, Mr. C. E. Wade has brought to his subject some valuable contributions, but his interpretation of his material tends to overestimate Pym as conspirator and wire-puller and to underestimate his real statesmanship.

*La Cour des Stuarts à Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1689-1718*, by G. du Boscq de Beaumont and M. Bernos, is an interesting foot-note to English history (Paris, Paul).

*British Radicalism, 1701-1707*, vol. XLIX., no. 1, of the *Columbia University Studies*, by Mr. Walter Phelps Hall, is of particular interest at this time, dealing as it does with the relation between the demands for political reform and the economic conditions of the period.

*L'Angleterre en 1815* is the title of the first volume of a *Histoire du Peuple Anglais au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* by Élie Halévy, professor at the École Libre des Sciences Politiques. The purpose of the author is not to write a political history of England during the last century, but rather to study the parliamentary history of England as a political phenomenon—the "English miracle" of combining the maintenance of public order with the free discussion of public questions.

Volume III., the final volume of G. W. Forrest's *History of the Indian Mutiny, reviewed and illustrated from Original Documents*, has come from the press of Messrs. Blackwood and Sons. While the work as a whole is full and accurate, the style is unsatisfactory and the construction not all that could be desired.

*Robert Gregory, 1819-1911: being the Autobiography of Robert Gregory, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's*, with notes by W. H. Hutton, B.D. (Longmans), is of some historic interest because of the author's account of the Oxford Movement.

A series of volumes entitled *Die Kultur des Modernen England in Einzeldarstellungen* is announced to appear under the editorship of Dr. Ernest Sieper, professor of English philology in the University of Munich (Munich, Oldenbourg). The series is intended to furnish a view of English contemporary life in its political, economic, philosophical, literary, and artistic aspects.

To provide a short but fairly complete account of Scottish history has been the object of a number of authors in recent years. Dr. Donald MacMillan has in his *Short History of the Scottish People* accomplished this task with much success.

A volume of interest alike to students of literature and history is Professor John Hepburn Millar's *Scottish Prose of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, a course of lectures delivered in the University of Glasgow in 1912 (MacLehose, pp. 273). Much space is given to writers of history as well as to the sermonizers of the day and both the literary merit and the historical value of most of the Scottish historians of the period are considered.

British government publications: *A Calendar of the Stuart Papers belonging to His Majesty the King and preserved at Windsor Castle* [relating to the life in exile of James III.]; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, ed. P. Hume Brown, third series, vol. IV., 1673-1676.

Other documentary publications: *Registers of Bishop Trilleck of Hereford*, II., ed. J. H. Parry; *Register of Archbishop Parker*, III., ed. Rev. Dr. Frere (Canterbury and York Society); *Proceedings in the Court of the Star Chamber in the Reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.*, ed. Miss G. Bradford (Somerset Record Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. L. Kingsford, *The First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle* (English Historical Review, July); J.

Martin, *Jacques I<sup>er</sup> et le Saint-Siège jusqu'à la Mort de Clément VIII., 1603-1605* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, July); J. D. Mackie, *A Secret Agent of James V.* (Scottish Historical Review, July); W. Foster, *John Bruce, Historiographer* (*ibid.*).

## FRANCE

A little pamphlet by MM. Busquet and Crémieux, entitled *Les Archives Communales et les Monographies des Communes*, is a valuable guide to the use of local archives and to the writing of local history (Paris, 1912, pp. 62).

Two important studies for the early history of France have recently appeared. P. Lauer contributes the volume on Robert I. and Rudolph of Burgundy to the series *Annales de l'Histoire de France à l'Époque Carolingienne* (Paris, Champion, pp. iv, 117). *Le Règne de Philippe I<sup>er</sup>, Roi de France* (Paris, Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, pp. xxiii, 600) is the subject of the thesis of Dr. A. Fliche. These volumes add considerably to the earlier works of M. Lippert on Rudolph and M. M. Prou on Philip I. The reign of Henry I. alone in this period now awaits an adequate monograph. Louis Halphen has published the first volume of *Paris sous les Premiers Capétiens: Étude de Topographie Historique, 987-1223* (Paris, Leroux).

The thousandth anniversary of the duchy of Normandy has been made notable by many researches and publications relating to the history of the duchy. A group of these studies is reviewed in the January-April number of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*.

Dr. Lucien Perrichet is the author of *La Grande Chancellerie de France des Origines à 1328* (Paris, Larose and Tenin). The same house publishes another monograph relating to national institutions, *Les Sous-Secrétaires d'État en France*, by Joseph Berthier.

The second part of *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France* by Henri Hauser covers the period of the Wars of Religion (Paris, Picard, 1912, pp. xiii, 327).

The latest volume, the nineteenth, of the *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France* covers Florence, Modena, and Genoa. It is edited by M. Éd. Driault.

The Parlement of Toulouse is the subject of a fascicle of the second volume of a series undertaken by F. Vindry on *Les Parlementaires Français au Seizième Siècle* (Paris, Champion).

Those interested in the study of witchcraft will find of value and interest M. Jean Lorédan's *Un Grand Procès de Sorcellerie au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle: l'Abbé Gaufridy et Madeleine de Demandolx, 1600-1670*, published by Messrs. Perrin of Paris (pp. xiv, 436).

The Société Française de Bibliographie has published an index of the *Mémoires* of the Marquis de Souches (Chartres, Garnier, pp. 259),

which will make this voluminous work properly accessible for research. The index is prepared by M. Léon Lecestre.

Dr. Michael Strich has produced some new materials for the biography of Madame Palatine by his volume *Lisclotte und Ludwig XIV.* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1912, pp. viii, 154).

M. Paul Viollet has added to his studies in the history of the political and administrative institutions of France, *Le Roi et ses Ministres pendant les Trois Derniers Siècles de la Monarchie* (Paris, Librairie de la Société du Recueil Sirey, 1912, pp. x, 616).

*La Lorraine, le Barrois, et les Trois-Évêchés* by Chr. Pfister is the eighth number of *Les Régions de la France*, published by the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* (Paris, Cerf, 1912, pp. 137). Like its predecessors it furnishes an excellent descriptive and bibliographical introduction to the history of the provinces concerned.

A bibliography of books published in Franche-Comté prior to 1790 has been prepared by Maurice Perrod (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 384).

Three monographs have appeared almost simultaneously on the Declaration of Rights of 1789: V. Marcaggi, *Les Origines de la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme de 1789* (Paris, Fontemoing); Redslob, *Die Staatstheorien der Französischen Nationalversammlung von 1789, ihre Grundlagen in der Staatslehre der Aufklärungszeit und in den Englischen und Amerikanischen Verfassungsgedanken* (Leipzig, Veit); Rees, *Die Erklärung der Menschen- und Bürgerrechte von 1789* (Leipzig, Voigtländer).

M. Louis Madelin has been awarded the first Gobert prize of nine thousand francs by the French Academy for his recently published history, *La Révolution*.

The second volume of the *Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française*, by Pierre de la Gorce, member of the Institute, has appeared from the press of Messrs. Plon (Paris, 1912, pp. 544). The Abbé Augustin Sicard has published a thoroughly revised edition of the first volume of *Le Clergé de France pendant la Révolution* (Paris, Lecoffre, 1912, pp. 604).

M. Claude Perroud has published a volume of the correspondence and papers of Brissot (Paris, Picard, 1912, pp. lxi, 492); and H. A. Goetz-Bernstein, a German student at the Sorbonne, has published as his thesis *La Politique Extérieure de Brissot et des Girondins* (Paris, Hachette, 1912, pp. xx, 451), for which he has examined the correspondence of Glotz, Prussian minister at Paris from 1789 to 1792, and much other hitherto unused material from the archives. These new materials however effect no particular change from the accepted view of the Girondist policies.

A. Godard has published a monograph on *Le Procès du Neuf Thermidor* (Paris, Bloud, 1912, xxxii, 326). Another contribution to the

history of the great days of the Revolution consists of the reports of the Marquis of Circello, ambassador of the Two Sicilies at Paris in 1789, on the capture of the Bastille, and on the 5th and 6th of October, published in *La Revue de Paris* (July 15 and August 1).

Otto Karmin, privat docent at the University of Geneva, handles a question of great financial and economic importance in the revolutionary history in *La Question du Sel pendant la Révolution* (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 184, lxxxviii). Some new documentary materials are used by Major Eugène Cruyplants in *Dumouriez dans les ci-devant Pays-Bas Autrichiens* (two vols., Paris, Petit, 1912).

Dr. Gustave Le Bon, who is known as a writer on philosophy and biology, has written *La Révolution Française et la Psychologie des Révolutions* (Paris, Flammarion). He points out the slight part played by the people at large in revolutionary movements, and the contradiction between the individual opinion of members of legislatures and their collective opinion. Dr. Le Bon seems to base his work on secondary authorities and almost ignores the scholarly output of the last quarter-century.

The publisher H. Daragon, of Paris, has issued several of the recent controversial pamphlets concerning Louis XVII. and now prints a comprehensive list of the various writings on the subject, which he offers for sale.

Several volumes have recently appeared supplementing the published correspondence of Napoleon I. Dr. A. von Schlossberger has edited two volumes entitled *Politische und Militärische Korrespondenz König Friedrichs von Württemberg mit Napoleon I., 1805-1813*, and *Briefwechsel der Königin Katharina und des Königs Jérôme von Westfalen sowie des Kaisers Napoleon I. mit dem König Friedrich von Württemberg* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer). Professor A. Chuquet has edited *Ordres et Apostilles de Napoléon, 1799-1815* (Paris, Champion, 1911, three vols., pp. 600, 668, 656); and Lieutenant Colonel E. Picard and M. L. Tuetey, *Correspondance inédite de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>, conservée aux Archives de la Guerre* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1912, vol. I., 1804-1807, pp. 724).

The first volume of F. M. Kircheisen's *Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>, sa Vie et son Temps* has appeared. Gertrude Kircheisen has also published *Les Femmes autour de Napoléon*. Both books come from the press of Müller of Munich. Two other notable recent publications on the Napoleonic period are Édouard Driault's *Austerlitz: la Fin du Saint-Empire, 1804-1808* (Paris, Alcan, 1912, pp. vi, 492); and the posthumous volume of Henry Houssaye on *Jéna et la Campagne de 1806*, which is published with an introduction by Louis Madelin (Paris, Perrin, 1912, pp. lxii, 274).

Under the title *Paris sous le Premier Empire*, Professor A. Aulard continues the publication of documents relative to the history of public

opinion in Paris, which he has completed for the period of the Consulate (vol. I., to June 1805, Paris, Cerf, 1912, pp. 850). Professor Aulard has just published the twenty-second volume of his *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public*.

M. P. Gonnard contributes to the July number of the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* an exhaustive review of the literature relating to Napoleon at St. Helena.

Among the recent works on the Restoration are: E. Daudet, *La Police Politique, Chronique de Temps de la Restauration, d'après les Rapports des Agents Secrets et les Papiers du Cabinet Noir, 1815-1820* (Paris, Plon, 1912, pp. xxvii, 393); Abbé Feret, *La France et le Saint-Siège sous le Premier Empire, la Restauration et la Monarchie de Juillet*, Tome II., *La Restauration* (Paris, Savaète, 1911, pp. 526).

The first volume of the correspondence of Châteaubriand edited by Louis Thomas has been issued by Messrs. Champion of Paris. There has appeared from the press of Perrin of Paris, *Châteaubriand Ambassadeur à Londres, 1822, d'après ses Dépêches inédites*, by the Count of Antioche.

Commandant J. de la Tour has written a biography of Marshal Niel (Paris, Chapelot, 1912, pp. vii, 293).

The Société d'Histoire Contemporaine is publishing a series of three volumes of documents, edited by Georges and Hubert Bourgin, on *Les Patrons, les Ouvriers et l'État: le Régime de l'Industrie en France de 1814 à 1830* (vol. I., Paris, Picard, 1912, pp. xxi, 383).

Among the books announced for early publication by Messrs. Little, Brown, and Company are *The Intimate Memoirs of Napoleon III.*, translated from the diary of Baron D'Ambes and *The Franco-Prussian War and its Hidden Causes*, by M. Émile Ollivier, a translation of a portion of his voluminous memoirs.

The former tutor of the ill-fated son of Napoleon III., Augustin Filon, has written *Le Prince Impérial, Souvenirs et Documents, 1856-1879*. The volume is fully illustrated, and is published by Hachette of Paris. The same house has issued lives of Jules Favre and Ernest Picard by Maurice Reclus.

The fifth section of Pierre Caron's *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de la France depuis 1789* has appeared, containing the economic, social, colonial, and local history, the biography, a supplement, and a part of the indexes. The sixth section, which will contain the remainder of the indexes, will appear in October (Paris, Cornély).

An excellent account of the French campaigns in North Africa is furnished by Captain V. Picquet, *Campagnes d'Afrique, 1830-1910, Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, pp. 370). The

same author has also published *La Colonisation Française dans l'Afrique du Nord, Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc* (Paris, Colin, 1912, pp. x, 538).

M. Georges Perrot, perpetual secretary of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, contributes to the January-April number of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* an appreciative account of the life and works of Léopold Victor Delisle. An excellent portrait of Delisle is the frontispiece of the number.

The chair of historical geography of France at the Collège de France formerly held by the late Professor Longnon has been transformed into a chair of history of North Africa, to which M. Stéphane Gsell has been appointed.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. H. Haskins, *Normandy under Geoffrey Plantagenet* (English Historical Review, July); H. F. Delaborde, *Le Texte Primitif des Enseignements de Saint-Louis à son Fils* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXIII. 1); C. Stryienski, *Le Ministère du Duc de Bourbon, 1723-1726* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, July); A. Mathiez, *La Fortune de Danton* (Annales Révolutionnaires, July-September); A. Mathiez, *Danton sous la Législative* (ibid., May-June); L. de Lanza de Laborie, *Les Petits Théâtres de Paris sous le Consulat et l'Empire, 1799-1814* (Le Correspondant, March 10, April 10); J. S. Schapiro, *A New Electoral System for France* (Independent, August 29).

#### ITALY AND SPAIN

In *The Life and Times of Rodrigo Borgia, Pope Alexander VI.* (London, Stanley Paul) Right Rev. Arnold H. Mathew deals in an interesting way with a subject concerning which he has already published several volumes.

Another study of this period is *Caesar Borgia: a Study of the Renaissance*, by Mr. John Leslie Garner, which comes from the press of Fisher Unwin. This gives an excellent account of the life of Caesar Borgia but falls into the error common to historians of the period, that is, of expressing judgments which are the result of present-day moral standards far removed from those of the fifteenth century.

Professor V. Simoncelli has edited a volume of twenty monographs, *Per Cesare Baronio, Scritti Vari nel Terzo Centenario della sua Morte*. The essays are related to Baronius and his work and to the history of the sixteenth century, and are all by Italian scholars (Perugia, Bartelli, 1911, pp. viii, 663).

The thesis of M. Tortonese, *La Politica Ecclesiastica di Carlo Emanuele III.* (Florence, Libreria della Voce, 1912) covers the pontificates of Benedict XIV., Clement XIII., and Clement XIV., and contains valuable materials on the suppression of the Jesuits.

M. G. Bourgin has published *Les Études relatives à la Période du Risorgimento en Italie, 1789-1870* (Paris, Cerf).

In the multitude of recent Italian publications relative to North Africa, a single one is of genuine historical value instead of temporary political interest. *Tripoli nella Storia Marinara d'Italia*, by Camillo Manfroni (Padua, Drucker, 1912) contains accounts of the various Italian expeditions to the coast of Tripoli in medieval and modern times.

A life of St. Charles Borromeo by M. Léonce Celier (Paris, Lecoffre-Gabalda, 1912, pp. xii, 205) appears in the series *Les Saints*. Another volume in the same series by Mgr. Demimuid is a life of Marguerite-Marie Alacoque, the founder of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus (1912, pp. 235).

Mr. M. W. Collier, minister of the United States to Spain, 1905-1909, has brought out through the firm of McClurg *At the Court of His Catholic Majesty*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. De Boüard, *Il Partito Popolare e il Governo di Roma nel Medio Evo* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXIV. 3-4); P. Fedele, *L'Elezione di Giovanni X.* (*ibid.*); G. Falco, *La Deposizione di Luigi di Savoia, Senatore di Roma, 1311* (*ibid.*); F. M. Angel, *La Vie Franciscaine en Espagne entre les Deux Couronnements de Charles-Quint, ou le Premier Commissaire Général des Provinces Franciscaines des Indes Occidentales, l'Oeuvre du Général Quiñones* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, March-April, 1912); J. F. Bouvier, *La Révolte de Paris, 23-26 Mai, 1706* (Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, October, 1911-July, 1912).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The seventh edition of Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte*, appeared six years ago. The eighth has just appeared (Leipzig, Koehler, 1912, pp. xx, 1290).

The story of the Wives of Weinsberg has been the subject of recent controversy regarding its authenticity. Articles have appeared in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (CVIII, 658) by R. Holtzmann; in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (1912, no. 10) by W. Norden; and in *Preussische Jahrbücher* (June, 1912) by L. Riess. The last writer believes that the mention in the Cologne chronicle was written within twenty years of the event, and that the Archbishop of Cologne was one of the officials accompanying Conrad III.

An admirable new edition of the *Chronicle* of Otto von Freising has been prepared by A. Hofmeister, with introduction, notes, and indexes. This edition will supplant that of R. Wilmans published over forty years ago (Hanover, Hahn, 1912, pp. cxiv, 577).

The second volume of the correspondence of Cardinal Pázmány, edited by F. Hanuy, has appeared from the press of the University of Budapest. Nearly six hundred letters addressed by the cardinal to



Ferdinand II., Bethlen Gabor, Count Trautmansdorff, and other dignitaries during the last eight years of his life (1629-1637) are thus added to the published documents for the period of the Thirty Years' War.

Volume 35 of *Politische Correspondenz Friedrichs des Grossen* has just appeared covering January-August, 1774. The letters to the ambassador in London contain a few interesting references to affairs in America. On June 27, he writes: "Je suis curieux de voir la fin de l'héroïsme bostonien, et vous y prêterez votre attention."

Two studies of Clausewitz come from French writers, Colonel Camon (Paris, Chapelot, 1911, pp. x, 267) and Roques (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1912).

A series of sketches of slight substance though agreeable reading is Sigmund Münz's *Von Bismarck bis Bülow*, published by Stilke of Berlin.

A monument to Francis Palacky, the historian of Bohemia, was unveiled in Prague on July 1, 1912. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* (pp. 422-432) of July 15 contains an appreciation of Palacky by Henry Hantich.

There was issued in January by the house of Duncker and Humblot of Leipzig the first number of *Ungarische Rundschau für Historische und Soziale Wissenschaften*, edited by Professor G. Heinrich, general secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, assisted by V. Coucha, J. Hampel, and L. v. Thallóczy. This review should perform a useful service in making available to a larger public the work of Hungarian scholars, which has heretofore been almost a closed book to those outside the Magyar kingdom.

One of the latest additions to Teubner's (Leipzig) series *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*, is the first part of *Geschichte der Auswärtigen Politik Oesterreichs im 19. Jahrhundert*, by Richard Charnatz.

*L'Annexion de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine en 1908* is the title of a volume by Dr. Bernard Krinsky (Paris, Rousseau).

The third and last volume (1549-1567) of *Briefwechsel der Brüder Ambrosius und Thomas Blaurer, 1500-1567*, edited by Traugott Schiess, under the auspices of the Zwingli-Verein in Zurich and the Historical Commission of Baden, has recently appeared (Freiburg i. Br., Fehsenfeld).

Albert Kündig of Geneva announces the publication of a two-volume work by Lucien Cramer on *La Seigneurie de Genève et la Maison de Savoie de 1550 à 1603*. The volumes will contain a large number of documents drawn from the archives not only of various Swiss cantons but also of Italy, Spain, and France. The importance of the publication for the history of Geneva and of its efforts to maintain its independence during the generation following the death of Calvin is obvious.

There has recently appeared the third and concluding volume of Dändliker, *Geschichte der Stadt und des Kantons Zürich* (Zürich, Schulthess).

Upon occasion of the quatercentenary of Pierre Viret the reformer, two important books have been published: Dr. Jean Barnaud, pastor and professor of theology, has published a substantial and valuable biography, *Pierre Viret: sa Vie et son Oeuvre* (Saint Omans, G. Carayol, 1911, pp. 703), with a supplement, *Quelques Lettres inédites de Pierre Viret* (*ibid.*, pp. 156); and under the auspices of the Theological Society of the canton of Vaud a selection of Viret's writings has been issued, *Pierre Viret, d'après lui-même: Pages extraites des Oeuvres du Réformateur à l'Occasion du Quatrecentenaire de sa Naissance* (Lausanne, Georges Bridel, 1911, pp. 341).

The Council of State of Neuchâtel has commissioned the cantonal archivist to publish in 1914 a volume of documents commemorative of the one-hundredth anniversary of the entrance of Neuchâtel into the Swiss Confederation.

William E. Rappard is the author of a recent work, *Le Facteur Économique dans l'Avènement de la Démocratie Moderne en Suisse*, vol. I., *L'Agriculture à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime* (Geneva, Georg and Company, 1912, pp. 235), the first volume of an extended economic history of Switzerland.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Pirchegger, *Karintien und Unterpannonien zur Karolingerzeit* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXXIII. 2); K. Hampe, *Heinrichs des Löwen Sturz in Politisch-Historischer Beleuchtung* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIX. 1); G. v. Below, *Die Motive der Zunftbildung im Deutschen Mittelalter* (*ibid.*); A. Walther, *Die Neuere Beurteilung Kaiser Maximilians I.* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXXIII. 2); W. Busch, *Württemberg und Bayern in den Einheitserhandlungen, 1870* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIX. 1); H. Joachim, *Zur Gründungsgeschichte des Erzbistums Hamburg* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXXIII. 2); M. Lair, *Georges V. de Hanovre, la Fin d'un Royaume* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, May-June).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

On May 19 a group of scholars gathered in Rupelmonde to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of the astronomer and geographer, Gerard Mercator, and to place a tablet on the house where Mercator was born on March 5, 1512. Papers concerning Mercator and his work were read.

The *Moniteur Belge* of April 19 contains the report of the committee to make the quinquennial award for the best contribution by a Belgian to Belgian history in the years 1906 to 1910. After reviewing critically the publications which have appeared the committee awarded the honor to Professor Paul Fredericq of the University of Ghent for his edition of the *Corpus Inquisitionis Netherlandicae* of which five volumes have been published, extending to 1528.

Recent numbers of the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* contain a consecutive account of the Dutch attempts at colonization in Brazil in the seventeenth century.

The Historisch Genootschap of Utrecht has published, under the editorship of Dr. H. T. Colenbrander, the despatches sent from the Hague to Berlin in 1762-1788 by the Prussian ambassador Thulemeier. They had been left partly prepared for publication by Professor Fruin. The present editor has added many despatches, procured from the Prussian archives, which were not in the deciphers used by Fruin. Dr. N. Japikse will shortly publish through the same society the third volume of the correspondence of John de Witt.

The commission of the national bibliographical exposition which was held at Amsterdam in 1910 has recently published *Catalogus van Boeken in Noord-Nederland verschenen van den Vroegsten Tijd tot op Heden* (the Hague, Nijhoff, pp. 900). The scope of the work includes all printed books except translations, text-books, and mere pamphlets. It is divided into ten sections which may be purchased separately; the second section contains ecclesiastical history, and the sixth, history and geography. The arrangement is chronological.

The historical section of the Maatschappij van Nederlandsche Letterkunde is preparing, through the hands of various scholars, four volumes of monographs on the rising of November, 1813, in the various Dutch towns, and on the securing of independence from France—*Historisch Gedenkboek van Nederlands Onafhankelijkheid in 1813* (Haarlem, F. Bohn). The general editor is Lieut.-Gen. G. J. W. Koolemans Beijnen. The same uprising is covered by the documents in deel VI., stuk 3, of Dr. Colenbrander's *Gedenkstukken voor Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland*, just published.

Plans are being made in Ghent for a proper commemoration, in December, 1914, of the one-hundredth anniversary of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain. A volume respecting the local history of the negotiations is being prepared by Mr. A. Van Werveke of the city archives and the American consul, Mr. Johnson. It is hoped that sufficient funds may be obtained to make it possible to restore to its original condition the *salle* at the Chartreuse where the treaty was signed and to constitute in it a memorial museum.

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The April number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* is devoted exclusively to articles relating to Russia contributed by French and Russian scholars. The constitutional and economic development, the relation of the church and the Revolution, the position of the subject nationalities, and even the contemporary novel are discussed. The article on tendencies of Russian philosophical thought deals almost

exclusively with the ideas of Vladimir Solovieff. Of special value is a review by André Mazon of the works by Russian historians relating to the campaign of 1812; and an article by Louis Réau on Russian art, followed by a careful topical bibliography. A special insert in the advertising pages lists the important works on Russia now carried by the various Parisian publishers.

Élie Barbulesco, professor of Slavic at the University of Jassy, combines much historical material to support the theories which he advocates concerning the relation of Roumania to the various peoples of the Balkans, in *Relations des Roumains avec les Serbes, les Bulgares, les Grecs, et la Croatie en Liaison avec la Question Macédo-Romaine* (Jassy, 1912, pp. 366). The volume is admirably summarized and reviewed by Profesor Xénopol in the July number of the *Revue Historique*.

Volume V. of *Islandica*, an annual issued by Cornell University Library under the editorship of Mr. George William Harris, the librarian, is a Bibliography of the Mythical-Heroic Sagas by Halldór Hermannsson.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. Olszewicz, *L'Évolution de la Constitution Polonaise* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, May-June); J. F. Chance, *Northern Affairs in 1724* (*English Historical Review*, July).

### THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

M. Gaston-Samuel Cahen has recently presented as his thesis at the Sorbonne a *Histoire des Relations de la Russie avec la Chine sous Pierre le Grand, 1689-1730*.

Professor Joseph Dautremet of the École des Langues Orientales has written an account of Burmah under British rule entitled, *Une Colonie Modèle* (Paris, Guilmoto).

### AMERICA

#### GENERAL ITEMS

The Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington spent the summer in Europe, occupied with researches in Swiss archives and in England. Professor Charles M. Andrews completed in London the manuscript of volume II. of his *Guide to the Materials for American History, to 1783, in the Public Record Office*. Volume I. will soon be published. Professor Bolton's *Guide to the Materials for United States History in the Mexican Archives* is in page-proof; Mr. David W. Parker's Canadian guide in galley-proof.

The danger to which the archives of the federal government are exposed through the operation of the act of February 16, 1889, relating to the destruction of "useless papers", has been minimized by a recent

executive order which requires heads of departments to submit all lists of "useless papers" to the Librarian of Congress, before reporting them to Congress.

Students will be interested to learn that by an executive order of July 19, 1912, the heads of the executive departments are instructed to secure reports showing the condition, extent, and character of the archives in the respective offices under their control outside the District of Columbia. The information thus secured should form the basis of more extended reports on the archives of the federal offices not located at the seat of government, which would constitute the natural complement of Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide*.

The Abbé D. M. A. Magnan has written a *Histoire de la Race Française aux États-Unis* (Paris, Amat, 1912, pp. xvi, 361).

The Macmillan Company announces a new pocket edition of the works of Francis Parkman in twelve volumes.

The Department of Archaeology of Phillips Academy of Andover, Massachusetts, has issued as *Bulletin VI, Hematite Implements of the United States, together with Chemical Analysis of various Hematites*, by Warren K. Moorehead, curator. The monograph contains numerous good illustrations of hematite implements and also a map of the hematite area of the United States (Andover, Andover Press, pp. 99).

The *Magazine of History* for February, 1912, contains a further installment of extracts from the *Providence Gazette* (1778-1780); articles on William Brewster, the Pilgrim Printer, by George W. Chamberlain; and the Fort Dearborn Massacre, by Clarence M. Burton; and documents relating to the appointment of W. L. Marcy as Secretary of State.

The Houghton Mifflin Company has issued a volume of *Readings in American Constitutional History*, edited by Professor Allen Johnson of Yale University, composed of documents so selected that the student can deduce from them the leading principles of American constitutional development.

It is announced that Mr. H. Addington Bruce is engaged upon a book to be entitled *Woman in the Making of America*, which Little, Brown, and Company will publish.

In the May-August issue of the *German American Annals* the paper by Charles F. Brede on the German Drama in English on the Philadelphia Stage, and that by John C. Andressohn entitled "Die Literarische Geschichte des Milwaukeeer Deutschen Bühnenwesens, 1850-1911", are continued.

*Early Chapters in the Development of the Patomac Route to the West*, by Mrs. Cora Bacon-Foster, has been published at Washington by the Columbia Historical Society.

The New England History Teachers' Association has brought out an enlarged and revised edition of its *Catalogue of the Collection of Historical Material at Simmons College, Boston* (pp. 33), prepared by the committee on historical material (Houghton Mifflin Company).

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Mr. Filson Young has brought out through Henry Holt and Company a third edition of his *Christopher Columbus and the New World of his Discovery*, the first edition of which was published in 1906. The book has been carefully revised and partly rewritten, the first part of the narrative being considerably condensed. Mr. Henry Vignaud writes for the book an appreciative introduction.

*The Black Watch at Ticonderoga*, by F. B. Richards (Glens Falls, New York) is an account of the 42d Regiment of Foot, the Royal Highlanders, in 1756-1759. It is mainly based upon researches in English archives.

The Naval Historical Society has brought out at the De Vinne press a complete edition of the earliest known autobiography of a man who served with John Paul Jones, *Fanning's Narrative: being the Memoirs of Nathaniel Fanning, an Officer of the Revolutionary Navy, 1778-1783*, edited by J. S. Barnes.

Henry Holt and Company announce for autumn publication *Village Life in America, 1852-1872*, by Caroline Cowles Richards.

George W. Jacobs and Company have included in their series *American Crisis Biographies* a volume on *Robert Toombs*, by Professor Ulrich B. Phillips, and one on *Ulysses S. Grant*, by Dr. Franklin S. Edmonds.

*A Prisoner of War in Virginia, 1864-1865*, by George Haven Putnam (Putnam's Sons) is an interesting and vivid account of one phase of the Civil War.

*Reconstruction and Union, 1865-1912* (pp. 255), by Paul Leland Haworth, Ph.D., is one of the latest issues in Messrs. Henry Holt and Company's *Home University Library* series. The author has been successful upon the whole in seizing upon the essential forces in our political history since the Civil War and has presented the facts in an attractive manner. He seems to have little hesitancy in reaching his conclusions or in expressing them. His estimates of men and events are generally fair, although he will be thought by many to show considerable bias at times. This criticism will apply more particularly to his chapters on reconstruction and to the last chapter in the book, the Revolt against Plutocracy.

The issues of the political campaign now being waged have called forth a number of books, which, while dealing primarily with subjects within the field of political science, are nevertheless not without interest

for the student of contemporary history. Among them may be mentioned: *Government by all the People, or the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall* (new edition), by Delos F. Wilcox (Macmillan); *The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall*, edited by W. B. Munro (Appleton's); *Direct Elections and Law Making by Popular Vote*, by E. M. Bacon and Morrill Wyman (Houghton); *The Supreme Court and the Constitution*, by Charles A. Beard (Macmillan); *Power of Federal Judiciary over Legislation*, by J. Hampden Dougherty (Putnam's); and *The Courts, the Constitution, and Parties*, by A. C. McLaughlin (University of Chicago Press).

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for May-June contain, among other contributions, an article by Justin H. Smith on the Biglow Papers as an argument against the Mexican War, and a paper by Frank Sanborn on Edward Gove and his Confiscated Estate, being an account of the trial and sentence of a colonial for high treason. Numerous documents are also printed in this number relating to Morton of Merry Mount, the London partners in New Plymouth, 1641, the Massachusetts patent, 1677, the Massachusetts agency, 1690, and the "Case of Sims", 1851.

The monumental edition of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, which the Massachusetts Historical Society has for some years been preparing under the editorial care of Mr. Worthington C. Ford, is now expected to be issued from the press of the Houghton Mifflin Company, in two volumes, in the present November. The volumes will be handsomely made, with elaborate illustrations as well as with great fullness of annotation.

The *Bulletin*, for July, of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities contains the second annual report of the society. The admirable work that this society is attempting, especially in the acquisition of historic houses, should make a strong appeal to all who are interested in New England history.

The Lexington Historical Society is preparing a *History of Lexington, Massachusetts*, in commemoration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town (March 31, 1913). The work is to consist of two volumes, volume I. being Hudson's *History of Lexington* brought down to date by revision, annotations, and additions, and volume II. a genealogy of Lexington based on the work of Hudson but brought to date in its materials and put in more approved form. The work will be issued in a limited edition (Houghton Mifflin Company).

*A History of Needham, Massachusetts, 1711-1911*, by G. K. Clarke, has been brought out by G. E. Littlefield. The history includes West Needham, now Wellesley, to its separation from Needham in 1881.

The New London County Historical Society publishes part 2, vol. III, of its *Records and Papers*, containing the proceedings of the society since 1905. A number of papers of historical importance are here given: Fisher's Island, its History and Development, by F. E. Hine; the Study of Genealogy, by C. D. Parkhurst; and a Forgotten Son of Liberty, Major John Durkee, by Amos A. Browning.

The federal Bureau of Education has published as *Bulletin* 483, *Dutch Schools of New Netherland and Colonial New York*, by William J. Kilpatrick.

The *Year Book* of the Schenectady County (N. Y.) Historical Society for 1912 marks the beginning of a period of increased activity on the part of the society. Two brief articles of historical interest are: the van Curler Tablet at Nijkerk, by W. E. Griffiths, and the Battle of the Beukendal, by Charles C. Duryee. A list of the society's acquisitions since 1909 includes a number of manuscripts, especially church records.

Among recent acquisitions by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are manuscripts of Sir William Penn and Samuel Pepys, and the military and scientific papers of Major-General Andrew A. Humphreys, U. S. A.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September opens with a paper read before the Maryland Historical Society on May 9, 1844, by Robert Gilmore, entitled *Recollections of Baltimore*. The study of Maryland's Share in the last Intercolonial War by Arthur M. Schlesinger is continued, the present installment dealing with Governor Sharpe and the Braddock Campaign. In the same number Bernard C. Steiner prints a useful list of the chief executive officers of Maryland during the provincial period, commencing with William Claiborne, 1631, and ending with Richard Lee, 1776. Documentary contributions are: the Vestry Proceedings of St. Ann's Parish, Annapolis (continued), 1724-1727; letters of Rev. Jonathan Boucher (continued), to his fellow-clergymen, Mr. James and Mr. Tickell, of 1764-1766; notes from the Land Office records (continued), 1648-1649; and a few letters and papers from the executive archives of 1781, 1783, and 1788.

The Virginia State Library has issued as vol. V., no. 2, of its bulletins *A Finding List of Books relating to Printing, Book Industries, Libraries, and Bibliography in the Virginia State Library* (pp. 155-233).

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for July prints (from the Randolph Manuscript) the commission of Governor Nicholson, August 4, 1702, and the recall of Nicholson in 1705. Under the caption "Virginia in 1673-1676" appear a letter from Governor Berkeley to Secretary Williams, April 1, 1676, one from Berkeley to Thomas Ludwell of the same date, and a communication to Berkeley from the Board of Trade and Plantations, dated April 6, 1676. This issue of the *Magazine* contains also an interesting series of letters from G. W. P.



Custis to General Washington, 1797-1798. The originals are in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* prints in the July issue two letters of General William F. Gordon to Thomas W. Gilmer (1832, 1834), two of William C. Rives to Gilmer (1832), and four from John Tyler to Governor John Floyd (1831-1833). These letters are principally concerned with politics. There are also several letters of Landon Carter to General Washington (1796) concerning agricultural matters.

Volume III, number 4 (July, 1912) of the *John P. Branch Historical Papers* of Randolph-Macon College is chiefly made up of two biographical articles: George Wythe by L. S. Herrink, and John Letcher by E. B. Prettyman.

A contribution to the recent history of North Carolina is *The Life and Speeches of Charles Brantley Aycock*, edited by R. D. W. Connor and Clarence Poe (Doubleday, Page, and Company).

In Mr. Henry A. M. Smith's series of articles on the Baronies of South Carolina, running in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, the article in the April issue concerns Boone's Barony. The other articles in this issue are continuations. The July number continues Mr. Smith's series, and contains a first installment of the Diary of Timothy Ford, 1785-1786 with notes by Joseph W. Barnwell. Other contributions are the Order Book of John Faucheraud Grinké, 1778-1780, continued, Stock Marks Recorded in South Carolina, 1695-1721, and the Register of St. Andrew's Parish.

The Mississippi Historical Society has endeavored for over a decade to show what can be accomplished in the systematic and scholarly exploitation of state history by a society, and its annual volumes of *Publications* bear evidence to the success of its efforts. Volume XII., which now comes to us, is no exception. Among the more important contributions are: First Marriage of Jefferson Davis, by W. L. Fleming; Nullification in Mississippi, by Miss Cleo Hearon; Reconstruction in Marshall County, by Miss Ruth Watkins; Reconstruction in Yalobusha and Grenada Counties, by Miss J. C. Brown; Climax and Collapse of Reconstruction in Mississippi, 1784-1896, by Capt. J. S. McNeilly; and a Boy's Recollection of the Civil War, by W. O. Hart. Mention should also be made of an outline for a county history of reconstruction offered by Professor F. L. Riley.

The General Land Office has published a small pamphlet, with maps, by Frank Bond, entitled *Historical Sketch of Louisiana and the Louisiana Purchase*.

Beginning with the issue of July the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Society* became the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. This

first issue under the new title contains three papers of especial value: the Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519-1690, by Professor Herbert E. Bolton; Kentucky and the Independence of Texas, by Mr. James E. Winston; and the Approaches to California, by Mr. Frederick J. Teggart. The third installment of the correspondence from the British archives concerning Texas, 1837-1846, edited by Professor E. D. Adams, includes principally letters of Elliot to Aberdeen and to Addington, November and December, 1842, but also one from Houston to Elliot, November, 1842.

*State Banking in Indiana, 1844-1873* (pp. 90), by Logan Esarey, is issued as no. 15 of *Indiana University Studies*. The monograph forms a useful chapter in the history of banking in the United States before the inauguration of the national banking system. Professor James A. Woodburn furnishes a prefatory note.

Mr. George S. Cottman writes for the June issue of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* an account of the pioneer Fourth of July in Indiana.

*The Politics of Michigan, 1865-1878*, by Harriette M. Dilla, is a recent issue of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

The Henry Eddy manuscripts consisting of something like five thousand separate letters and papers are now open to students. The collection may be divided into two classes: (1) about one thousand political letters from the leading public men of the Middle West, especially Illinois, between the years 1820 and 1845; (2) letters and papers of a business and legal nature, which throw considerable light on economic and legal conditions in Illinois at an early day, manuscript notes of conventions, public meetings, and legislative bodies, together with a miscellaneous lot of observations and accounts that cover a multitude of subjects. The most valuable of the papers are being copied by the Illinois State Historical Library and the University of Illinois.

On August 15, the Chicago Historical Society, the United States Daughters of 1812, Illinois, and the Society of the War of 1812, Illinois, commemorated the one-hundredth anniversary of the Fort Dearborn massacre by an address by Colonel Nathan W. MacChesney in the rooms of the Chicago Historical Society.

*The Story of Old Fort Dearborn*, by J. Seymour Currey (McClurg) deals with the period from 1803 to 1812, and especially, in a detailed way, with the capture of the fort in 1812.

The Illinois State Historical Library has just brought out as *Publication* no. 15, the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1910*. Among the papers included may be mentioned: the West and the Growth of the National Ideal, by F. L. Paxson; Illinois and the Revolution in the West, by J. A. James; the Ken-

sington Rune Stone, by G. T. Flom; and La Salle a Victim to his Error in Longitude, by John F. Seward. The documentary contribution by S. J. Buck, Pioneer Letters of Gershom Flagg, has already received notice, as a reprint, in these columns.

Among the contents of the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society for September we note: the Famous Duel between John Rowan and Dr. James Chambers, by J. Stoddard Johnston; and Kentucky Troops in the War of 1812, by A. C. Quisenberry.

*Notable Men of Tennessee from 1833 to 1875: their Times and their Contemporaries* (pp. 467), by Oliver P. Temple, compiled and arranged by his daughter, Mary B. Temple, has been published by the Cosmopolitan Press.

Separate no. 145 from the *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1911 (pp. 97-148) is *Genesis of Steamboating on Western Rivers; with a Register of Officers on the Upper Mississippi, 1823-1870*, by George B. Merrick and William R. Tibbals. Separate no. 146 comprises *Four Chapters in Wisconsin Indian History*: "An Episode of the War of 1812", by Joseph Ducharme; "Recollections of Oneida Indians, 1840-1845", by Henry Colman; "Indians of Manitowoc County", by J. S. Anderson; and "Oshkosh, Menominee Sachem", by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Separate no. 147 includes *Four Episodes in Wisconsin Pioneering*: "A Visit to Fort Howard in 1836", by Elizabeth Smith Martin; "A Wagon Journey from Ohio to Wisconsin in 1846", by Sarah Foote; "Recollections of a Pioneer Woman of La Crosse", by Augusta Levy, edited by Albert H. Sanford; and "Another La Crosse Pioneer's Statement", by J. S. Harris.

*Bulletin of Information* no. 59 of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin includes lists of the accessions of manuscripts, maps, and illustrative material during the year 1911. Among the manuscripts acquired are letters to Mrs. Lucy Bartlett Blair, a Wisconsin pioneer, 1839-1857. These are from the estate of Miss Emma H. Blair and include letters from Thomas Bartlett bearing upon the Aroostook boundary dispute. Another group of manuscripts, the gift of Misses Sarah G. and Deborah B. Martin of Green Bay, comprises letters, diaries, accounts, etc., relating to the lower Fox River valley, the settlement of Milwaukee, and the Northwestern fur-trade, 1800-1845.

Mr. Johnson Brigham, state librarian of Iowa, writes for the July, 1911, issue of the *Annals of Iowa* an account of John A. Kasson's efforts for the location of the Iowa capitol at Des Moines, Mrs. Virginia J. Berryhill furnishes an appreciative sketch of the late Professor Amos Noyes Currier of the University of Iowa, including Professor Currier's Civil War experiences, Colonel George W. Crosley writes "Some Reminiscences of an Iowa Soldier", and Marcellus Pugsley recounts "A Plains Adventure of an Iowa Man".

Mr. Jacob Van der Zee translates and edits for the July issue of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* the diary left by John Hospers of a journey from the Netherlands to Pella, Iowa, in 1849; Mr. T. J. Bryant gives an account of a War Time Militia Company, including the story of a guerrilla raid; and Mr. Paul R. Abrams relates the history of the assault at the capitol in Washington in June, 1866, by Lovell H. Rousseau upon Josiah B. Grinnell, representatives in Congress from Kentucky and Iowa, respectively. Under the caption Emigration from Iowa to Oregon in 1843 are reprinted from Iowa papers of 1843 some records of emigrant organizations. Mr. Clifford Powell presents the third of his papers on the history of the codes of Iowa law, dealing in this paper with the revision of 1860.

Historical research along several lines was conducted during the past summer by the State Historical Society of Iowa through a number of research associates and assistants under the direction of the superintendent, Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh. In addition to the completion or continuation of work on monographs which have hitherto received mention in these pages some new researches have been prosecuted. Mr. Jacob Van der Zee has been engaged upon phases of the early history of Iowa, Dr. Louis Pelzer upon the early history of the Mississippi Valley, Dr. C. R. Aurner upon the history of education in Iowa, Professor L. B. Schmidt upon the history of Congressional elections in Iowa, while Mr. Louis T. Jones is making a study of the Quakers in Iowa, Professor F. E. Haynes is investigating third party movements in the state, Dr. Frank E. Horack is working on the history of municipal government in Iowa, and Dr. Dan E. Clark has begun a history of the settlement of Iowa. These several monographs will eventually be published by the society.

Captain George S. Grover writes for the July issue of the *Missouri Historical Review* an account, from personal recollection, of the Price campaign of 1864 and Mr. J. S. Botsford sketches the history of the administration of Governor Joseph McClurg. In the same issue is printed a brief description of the manuscript collection of General Thomas A. Smith. The collection, which is in the possession of the society, contains many letters from General Smith written during his service in the War of 1812.

The State Historical Society of North Dakota has undertaken a systematic preservation of the native Indian songs. This is a new phase of its work and is probably the first of its kind to be undertaken by a state organization. The songs are recorded by the phonograph and are transcribed in musical notation, the collection of phonograms forming an interesting and valuable addition to the state museum at Bismarck. The principal songs already collected are those of the fast vanishing Mandan tribe, and include ceremonial songs, as well as those of the tribal societies, games, and dances. Songs of the old Hidotsa have also

been recorded. This work has been done by Miss Frances Densmore of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The municipality of Rouen recently gave to the Norse race in America a replica of a noted statue of Rollo, the Northman. This was erected in Fargo, North Dakota. At the time of its unveiling a Norman-American organization was formed having for its purpose the study of North European and North American history and literature. At the first meeting papers were read by Professors Julius E. Olson, J. O. Hall, Dana C. Munro, O. G. Libby, and others.

The first part of volume XVI. of the Nebraska State Historical Society's *Collections* is devoted to the proceedings of the dedication of the Astorian monument at Bellevue, on June 23, 1910. Among the other contributions may be mentioned: *Early Days in and about Bellevue* (including some documentary material), by Edward L. Sayre; two articles on the boundary between Kansas and Nebraska, by George W. Martin and Albert Watkins; the *Territorial Evolution of Nebraska*, by Albert Watkins; the *Early Settlements of the Platte Valley*, by David Anderson; and several papers relating to troubles with the Indians. While many of the articles here printed are based on the recollection of personal experiences, the general editor, Mr. Watkins, has greatly added to their value by supplying historical and critical foot-notes. The form of the volume as regards binding, paper, and press work is all that could be desired, which cannot be said of the publications of all historical societies.

The second volume of R. E. Twitchell's *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 1821 to the present time, has been issued by the Torch Press.

In addition to the fifth of Mr. W. C. Woodward's papers on the Rise and Early History of Political Parties in Oregon the December, 1911, issue of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* contains an Echo of the Campaign of Sixty, by L. B. Shippee, and the Gun Powder Story of Archibald McKinlay, chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company. The March number opens with "A Glimpse into Pre-historic Oregon", by Ellen C. McCornach. This is "the initial paper of a series designed to give a synthetic view of Oregon's past . . . for the purpose of inspiring the liveliest and most enlightened sentiment". The same number contains the sixth installment—the Issues of War—of Mr. Woodward's papers, together with an article by T. C. Elliott on the Earliest Travellers on the Oregon Trail.

A. C. McClurg and Company have published *The Oregon System: the Story of Direct Legislation in Oregon*, by A. H. Eaton.

The archives of the federal land office at Redding, California, have been transferred, together with the business of the office, to the land office at Sacramento.

*Father Kino's Lost History, its Discovery and its Value*, by Professor H. E. Bolton, is reprinted for private circulation from the papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, vol. VI.

The Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department has published a compilation of the acts of Congress, treaties, proclamations, decisions of the Supreme Court, and opinions of the Attorney-General relating to non-contiguous territory, 1909-1911.

*The American Occupation of the Philippines, 1898-1912*, by James H. Blount (Putnam's Sons) is a personal narrative as well as an historical study, the author having served in the islands as officer of United States volunteers and later as district judge.

We have just received volumes XIV. and XV. (1910, 1911) of the *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*. Among their contents we notice especially: the Fisheries of British North America and United States Fishermen, by Wallace Graham, judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia; Memoir of Governor John Parr, by James S. Macdonald; and Halifax and the Capture of St. Pierre in 1793, by T. Watson Smith in vol. XIV.; and in vol. XV.: Life of Alexander Stewart, C. B., by C. J. Townshend; Records of Chignecto, by W. C. Milner; and a list of the papers read before the society since 1878.

Under the editorship of Dr. Arthur Doughty and Col. William Wood two volumes of some historical interest, *The King's Book of Quebec*, have been issued by the Mortimer Company of Ottawa, the objects of the volumes being to stir public opinion to care for the battlefields of Quebec and to "unite more closely Canadians of French and of British descent".

*Bulletin* no. 4 of the Departments of Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, is *Sir Charles Bagot: an Incident in Canadian Parliamentary History*, by J. L. Morrison. Mr. Morrison is inclined to rank Bagot, whose work in Canada scarcely extended through a single year from the spring of 1842, as "one of the four nineteenth century Englishmen who best served Canada in politics before the Confederation".

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society was held at Napanee, Ontario, on June 5-7. About one hundred delegates were present and the public interest in the meetings was very great. Perhaps the most important action taken was the appointment of a committee to report to the council on plans for the erection of a building for the society in Toronto. The historical papers were devoted mainly to various phases of the War of 1812. The officers elected were: president, John Dearness; first vice-president, Clarence M. Warner; second vice-president, Sir Edmund Walker; treasurer, Clarkson W. James; and members of the council, John S. Carstairs, Alexander Fraser, Andrew F. Hunter, W. L. Grant, and W. S. Wallace.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library continues in the June and July issues the list of works relating to the West Indies (parts V. and VI.).

The *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Havana) for May-June contains, in the section devoted to documents, the Denuncia del Obispo de la Habana, contra los Presbíteros Cubanos Dr. Ricardo Arteaga, Emilio de los Santos Fuentes, Miguel Santos, Manuel de Jesús Doval, Francisco de P. Barnada, y Pedro Almanza, por hacer Propaganda Separatista desde el Púlpito, y Deportación de los cuatro primeros. Catalogues of the archives are continued by installments of the Índice de Protocolos de las Escribanías de la Isla de Cuba, 1842-1890, and the Índice de las Documentos sobre Realengos, 1748-1939.

A little brochure by Charles Trébos recounts the share of Normandy in the colonization of the French Antilles (Paris, Challamel).

*Bolívar et l'Émancipation des Colonies Espagnoles des Origines à 1815* comes from the pen of Jules Mancini and the press of Perrin (Paris, 1912, pp. 610). Robert Levillier has written *Les Origines Argentines* for the *Bibliothèque Charpentier*.

Friedrich Weber's *Beiträge zur Charakteristik der Aelteren Geschichtsschreiber über Spanisch-Amerika* (AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVII. 189) is reviewed in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (1912, no. 7). The review presents serious criticisms of the work and suggests numerous corrections and insertions, which make it a valuable supplement to the book.

A new volume in Messrs. Scribner's South American series is *Venezuela*, by Leonard V. Dalton.

Two volumes on the history of Brazil have just appeared. *Ensaio de Historia Diplomática do Brasil no Régimen Republicano*, by A. G. de Arango Jorge (Rio de Janeiro, Silva, 1912) is devoted to the period from 1889 to 1902, containing chapters on the recognition of the republic, the provincial government, the military presidencies, and the presidencies of Moraes and Salles, respectively; all these deal primarily with foreign relations. *De Monroe a Rio-Branco*, by Helio Lobo (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional), deals with the following "Paginas de Diplomacia Americana": Entre George Canning e James Monroe; a Assembléa do Isthmo; a Primeira Conferencia de Lima; a Assembléa de Buenos Aires; Tentativas de uma Codificação; and a America Latina e a Diplomacia do Imperio.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: John Finley, *The French in the Heart of America*, I. (Scribner's Magazine, September); J. J. Jusserand, *Rochambeau in America*, I. (Harvard Graduate's Magazine, September); H. C. Lodge, *The Constitution and its Makers* (North American Review, July); Rayner W. Kelsey, *The Originator of the Federal Idea*

(The Nation, June 6); L. Didier, *Le Citoyen Genet*, I. (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); A. B. Coover, *Ohio Banking Institutions, 1803-1866* (Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, April-July); D. J. Ryan, *Ohio in the Mexican War* (*ibid.*); Farrar Newberry, *The Nashville Convention and Southern Sentiment of 1850* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); Gaillard Hunt, *The History of the Department of State*, IX. (American Journal of International Law, July); Margaret Van Horn Dwight, *A Trip to Ohio in 1810* [diary], (Atlantic, September); *Letters of Samuel F. B. Morse* (North American Review, June, July); G. A. King, *The French Spoliation Claims* (American Journal of International Law, April, July); T. W. Page, *The Distribution of Immigrants in the United States from 1870* (Journal of Political Economy, July); Morris Schaff, *The Sunset of the Confederacy: a History* (Atlantic, July-September); Helen Nicolay, *Characteristic Anecdotes of Lincoln* (Century, September); Admiral George Dewey, *Autobiography* (Hearst's Magazine, July); H. C. Lodge, *Some Early Memories*, I. (Scribner's, September); P. Groussac, *Un Français Vice-Roi de la Platte: Jacques de Liniers, Comte de Buenos-Ayres* (Revue des Deux-Mondes, May 1).



The  
American Historical Review

CHANGES OF CLIMATE AND HISTORY

IT is not by accident that the most universal subject of conversation is the weather. The New Englander says hard things of the east wind, the Chinese patiently wonders when the first rains will fall in the spring and start the growth of the seed that he has planted, and the Arab who meets a stranger inquires where rain has fallen. So, too, the Egyptian talks of the rise of the Nile, and probably the Eskimo converses with his friends about the terrible heat when the thermometer rises above freezing for several days. All these things are merely the expression of the fact that among the phenomena of nature none affect mankind so directly and vitally as those which pertain to climate. If man is so deeply influenced by the climatic conditions which now prevail, it is manifest that any changes of climate which have taken place in the past or may take place in the future are of the highest importance. The realization of this fact has led historians, geographers, and others to discuss the question of changes of climate ever since the days of the Greeks. Plato and other writers say that formerly the climate of Greece was moister and the forests more abundant than in their day. Aristotle declares that the flood of Deukalion was due to a periodical cycle in atmospheric phenomena. He states that just as winter returns regularly each year, so great cold and heavy precipitation return in the course of long periods. In other words he announces the theory of pulsatory changes of climate. For two thousand years that theory lay in abeyance. Many people discussed the possibility of a gradual drying up of the earth, a gradual cooling off, or a gradual increase in warmth, but all the discussions were based on the idea of slow and comparatively regular changes. It was left to the present writer to propose the theory of pulsatory changes once more, quite uncon-

scious that in so doing he was following in the steps of the Greeks.<sup>1</sup>

The modern historian realizes the importance of physical factors, especially of climate, in influencing some of the great facts of history, but he does not usually admit more than a slow and general effect as opposed to the rapid and marked effects which the adoption of the theory of pulsatory changes would naturally demand. This attitude is well illustrated in a recent article in the *Journal of Geography*, by Professor A. T. Olmstead of the University of Missouri.<sup>2</sup> Speaking of the relation of climate to the people of a country, he says:

It has long been recognized that it has important effects upon the inhabitants, but also that the most important effects result only when those inhabitants have long occupied the country. Egypt affords an excellent example of the value of climatic study in this connection and also of its dangers if not used in the light of history. Here we have a hot, dry climate where the main dependence for the crops is not on the rains but on the rise of the Nile. This rise, regular as the seasons, the comparatively small change in temperature among the seasons themselves, the almost complete absence of rainfall, taken in connection with the fertility of the soil and the small number of staple crops, has produced a condition of affairs in which all that is demanded is a steady carrying out of a routine which never changes and requires rather brawn than brain. This we find admirably reflected in the character of the peasantry, now, as in antiquity, interested only in the securing of enough food to live and to marry upon. But this did not seriously modify the character of the ruling class for, from pre-dynastic times, they have always been foreigners. Accordingly, their character has always been that formed in other countries. Only one effect should be noted. Just because they did not adjust themselves to the climate, they became enervated and finally were killed off. In other words, the climate had only a negative effect on the men who have made Egyptian culture worthy of our study. And, since history means evolution, the unchanging peasantry, who show most strikingly the effect of climate, need be mentioned once only by the historian, after which their existence may be assumed for the further historical relation.

If, for the moment, it be granted that all the important contributions of Egypt to human history have been due to invaders, and that the peasantry have from time immemorial preserved exactly the same character, the historian and the geographer agree just as

<sup>1</sup> The first full statement of the theory appeared in *The Pulse of Asia* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1907). It has since been amplified in *Palestine and its Transformation* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), and in several magazine articles, especially "The Burial of Olympia", *Geographical Journal*, XXXVI. 657-686 (1910), and "Physical Environment as a Factor in the Present Condition of Turkey", *Journal of Race Development*, I. 460-481 (1910-1911). A cognate subject is treated in an article entitled "Geographical Environment and Japanese Character", *Journal of Race Development*, II. 256-281 (1911-1912).

<sup>2</sup> A. T. Olmstead, "Climate and History", *Journal of Geography*, X. 163-168 (1912).

far as the historian goes. They part company, however, when it comes to the question of why the invaders came into Egypt and were thus given the necessary wealth, leisure, and other opportunities which enabled them to develop their talents and become great. The geographer who believes in pulsatory changes of climate can scarcely avoid the conclusion that great movements of peoples have been induced by such changes, and that these movements have given rise to periods of invasion and anarchy. Furthermore, he is led to conclude that when the stress due to unfavorable climatic conditions has been removed by reason of another change, this time in the direction of more favorable climatic conditions, prosperity and progress have been the rule. This by no means implies that all invasions and all prosperity are supposed to be due to climatic causes, but merely that climate has been one of the important factors in producing such results. I do not propose to discuss this question here, as I have already considered it in the publications referred to above, especially in the later chapters of *The Pulse of Asia* and *Palestine and its Transformation*. I wish, however, to concentrate attention upon the question which, at the present stage of investigations, is the crux of the whole matter. If Professor Olmstead is a fair representative of the younger school of modern historians, the views of that school would coincide with those of the geographers, provided there were certainty upon one point, namely, the verity of our conclusions as to climatic pulsations. After devoting some pages to a statement of reasons for not believing that such pulsations have taken place, Professor Olmstead concludes:

We have not the space to further test by historical facts the theory that the Arabian desert with its surrounding lands [was once] more occupied, more fertile, and easier of access than it is at the present day. Further examples would only prove that it was not well grounded. And this brings us to our conclusion as regards the question of the relation of climate to history. That climate, working through the ages, has a highly important effect on the permanent population of a country is admitted by every historian. That it has effects, mostly negative, on the transient population has also been seen. At present, the theory of a more immediate influence on the details of history seems to be bound up with the theory of cyclic [pulsatory] climate changes and we have seen that the facts of history tend to disprove this. Accordingly, the historian is not justified in utilizing climate for more than the study of the background of his history. For influence on particular events, there are many geographical facts of far more significance.

The question before us divides itself into two parts. In the first place, was the climate of the past, let us say at the time of Christ, different from that of the present? In the second place,

assuming that there has been a change, did it take place gradually or was it characterized by pulsations whereby certain periods were exceptionally dry while others were moist? The type of evidence to be employed is the same in both cases, and consists first of physiographic phenomena among which river terraces, lake strands, denuded mountain slopes, desiccated springs, and rivers whose salinity has increased, are of special importance. A second highly important type of evidence consists of archaeological phenomena, such as the location of ruins like those of Palmyra or Ilandarin. Here, in the past, great cities grew up in places whose supply of water is now not one-tenth large enough for the support of such a population as once existed. Still a third line of evidence is based upon plant life, forests, areas of cultivation where crops cannot now be grown, and the like. Finally, with all this must be joined direct historic evidence, such as accounts of famines, recorded facts as to the supply of water in places now dry, old roads across deserts which to-day are impassable, and a vast number of other matters which have never been properly scrutinized because historians have not investigated the subject.

In all these cases it is far easier to find and interpret evidence in reference to the first of our questions than to the second; for the discovery that regions which once were well populated are now uninhabitable is a comparatively simple matter, while only the most careful research reveals the reasons for believing that while the past as a whole was distinctly moister than the present, certain periods were notably drier. This would seem to indicate that if some new method of investigation is to be tried, the study of possible fluctuations is more important than that of possible differences between the past and the present. If the fluctuations should prove to have taken place as inferred from the other lines of evidence, there would be little question that the climate of the past, as inferred from those same lines of evidence, was in general different from that of the present. Hence in this article I wish to present a new type of evidence which seems to go far toward proving conclusively that the pulsatory theory of climatic changes is correct. By this I do not mean to imply that all the details of the climatic curves which are shortly to be presented are as yet established beyond question. I merely mean that the evidence seems to indicate that pulsations of climate lasting through periods having a length of centuries have actually taken place. This, it will be seen, is in direct opposition to the statement of Professor Olmstead. "At present", to repeat a sentence already quoted, "the theory of a more immedi-

ate influence on the details of history seems to be bound up with the theory of cyclic [pulsatory] climate changes and we have seen that the facts of history tend to disprove this."

The question cannot be settled offhand by a reference to "the facts of history". Long research in the realms of physiography, climatology, archaeology, and, as I shall shortly point out, botany, can alone determine it. In other words the problem is primarily geographical, in the modern sense of that term, and the final decision of geographers must be accepted by historians. When it comes to the study of the effect of any possible climatic changes upon the course of history, however, the case is reversed; the geographer may offer suggestions, but the final decision rests with the historian. Hence the purpose of this article is to show the grounds upon which an increasing number of geographers are becoming convinced that changes of climate have actually taken place, and then to suggest certain ways in which these changes may have been of historic importance. I realize fully that in making these suggestions a geographer is liable to error, for his view of history must of necessity be limited. Therefore in no case would I be understood as asserting categorically that such and such results have occurred because of climatic changes, but merely that certain results appear probable from the point of view of the geographer. If the changes here discussed have actually taken place, they must have had some effect upon history, and it is only by discussion of the question from both the historical and geographical sides that the truth can be learned.

Lack of space forbids any discussion of the evidence of changes of climate in Asia, and I must once more refer the reader to *The Pulse of Asia* and the other publications already named for a statement of the results of three expeditions to Asia during which about three years were spent in the Turkish Empire, Persia, India, the southern portion of Asiatic Russia, and the western part of China. These expeditions, extending over the period from 1903 to 1909, led me to formulate the theory of pulsatory climatic changes. The evidence which was first found indicated only the greatest pulsations, but as time went on the number was seen to be larger, or rather the details of minor pulsations became more clear. At best, however, the resultant climatic curve was no more than an approximation to the truth. Some definite, mathematical method of measuring rainfall or other climatic factors was necessary. In order to test the theory as widely as possible I accepted the invitation of Dr. D. T. MacDougal of the Department of Botanical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington to co-operate with the Desert

Botanical Laboratory at Tucson, Arizona, in a study of the climate of the arid portions of the United States. Two seasons of field work among the dry lakes, terraced valleys, and innumerable ruins of Arizona, New Mexico, and the neighboring parts of Mexico, supplemented by a journey to southern Mexico and Yucatan, led to the conclusion that the climate of America has been subject to pulsations similar to those which appear to have taken place in Asia. I have discussed the matter in articles appearing in *Harper's Magazine* during the years 1911 and 1912, and in a series of articles in the *Geographical Journal* of London, and shall not here attempt to say more about it. The lines of evidence were similar to those followed in Asia and Greece, that is, they were primarily physiographic and archaeological, with the addition of historic evidence wherever possible. They will be fully discussed in a volume shortly to be published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington under the title, "The Climatic Factor".

Leaving, now, these more purely geographical lines of research, let us turn to another type of evidence which seems to add to the conclusions already reached the final touch of mathematical accuracy which alone can lead to certainty. Realizing that my work in America was liable to error because of the danger of being influenced by a preconceived theory, I made use of a method suggested by Professor A. E. Douglass of the University of Arizona.<sup>3</sup> Professor Douglass found that the thickness of the rings of annual growth in the old trees of the forests on the plateaus of Arizona is proportional to the amount of rainfall. If the average growth in diameter of a large number of trees be plotted for year after year, the ups and downs of the curve thus formed agree in general with the ups and downs of the curve of annual rainfall plotted in the same way.

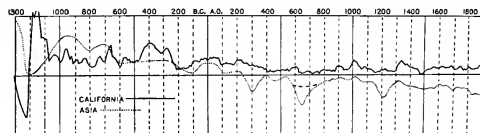
Evidently, then, the annual rings of old trees preserve a record of the rainfall in past times, and it is only necessary to read this record to answer the question of the reality of climatic pulsations extending over hundreds of years. Before great accuracy can be obtained it is necessary to eliminate the effects of variations in the growth of trees because of differences in age. Young trees grow faster than old, but there is a regular law for this, as is well known to foresters, and it is purely a matter of mathematics to apply the necessary corrections. Accidents such as fires or storms also affect the rate of growth, but, as I have shown in the articles already mentioned and in another which will soon be published in the *American Journal of Science*, these become negligible when a large

<sup>3</sup> A. E. Douglass, "Weather Cycles in the Growth of Big Trees", *Weather Review*, XXXVII. 225-237 (1909).

number of trees from different localities are employed. Thus, after all corrections and allowances have been made, we are able to secure a curve which represents with considerable accuracy the fluctuations of climate in past times. The process by which this is obtained is purely mathematical, and no amount of theorizing on the part of the investigator can affect the results.

During the years of 1911 and 1912 I measured the rings of four hundred and fifty of the Big Trees, or *sequoia gigantea*, of California, which, fortunately for the purposes of historical research, had been cut in order to make fence posts and shingles. These trees grow in the Sierra Nevada Mountains under climatic conditions closely similar to those of the high plateaus of Arizona. The winter is snowy and rain falls during the spring until May or June, but the rest of the summer is absolutely dry. The forests need more rain than they commonly get. In years when the amount of winter snow is larger than normal, or when the storms of spring persist well into the summer, the trees grow much faster than usual. The trees which I measured ranged from 230 to 3200 years of age. Eighty began to grow more than two thousand years ago, and three were more than three thousand years of age.

From these four hundred and fifty trees I have constructed the curve shown by the solid line in the accompanying diagram. The



course of time is represented by horizontal distance, the left end indicating the date 1300 B. C., and the right end 1900 A. D. High portions of the curve denote moist conditions, which would be highly favorable in countries like Syria, Egypt, and Greece, but detrimental in such countries as Germany or England. Low places, on the contrary, indicate relative aridity, which would be disastrous in lands such as Palestine. The details of the curve will be modified somewhat when a larger body of data is available. For instance the violent zigzags of the earlier portions, where the number of trees is small, will undoubtedly be reduced. The general form of the curve, however, will in all probability remain as here indicated, although previous to about 200 B. C. the fluctuations will be less sharp and the extremes of the peaks and depressions will not rise so high nor fall so low as is here indicated.

No matter in what minor respects the curve may be changed by further investigation, one feature can scarcely be eradicated, namely the sinuosity. It appears impossible to interpret this in any way except as conclusive evidence of pulsations of climate extending over hundreds of years. Omitting the earlier and less certain parts of the curve, we see that at the time of Christ the average *sequoia* tree grew at least thirty per cent. faster than in 1500 A. D. This does not mean that the rainfall was exactly thirty per cent. greater. It may have been twice as great, but as to that we cannot yet speak with any certainty. Thus much, however, seems evident: if the huge *sequoia* trees high among the relatively moist mountains fell off thirty per cent. in their average growth in spite of their favorable position and vast root systems, smaller vegetation must have diminished to several times as great an extent. Moreover we are not dealing here with individual years, but with decades, which would appear to mean that individual years must have shown much greater extremes than those indicated in the curve. We infer then that during the last three thousand years not only has the climate in general become drier as indicated by the general trend of the curve, but that it has been characterized by pulsations lasting hundreds of years and by variations in rainfall sufficient at least to halve or double the productivity of the land.

Thus far we have been dealing with California, but our results appear to apply to Asia and Europe with equal force. For the sake of comparison I have added to the diagram a dotted line. This represents the condition of the curve of climatic pulsations in Asia so far as I had been able to obtain data up to 1910, the time of writing *Palestine and its Transformation*, from which volume (pages 327 and 403) the curve is reproduced. Since then a few further facts have been noted which would tend to modify the curve somewhat. As time goes on there can be no doubt that further modifications of considerable importance will be necessary. It must be borne in mind that this curve is a pioneer attempt at the elucidation of an extremely complex subject. At the very best it merely bears the same relation to the ultimate truth that the history of Babylonia and Assyria as written by Rawlinson bears to the history of those same countries as written in the light of the most recent excavations.

In spite, however, of the avowedly tentative nature of the Asiatic curve, it agrees to a notable degree with that of the trees of California. To be sure there are certain marked disagreements. These may be due to actual differences between the changes in California and Asia, or to an absence of data in compiling the Asiatic curve.



Among meteorologists and climatologists there is a growing conviction that a change of climate in one part of the world is synchronous with that in another. As Ward puts it in his authoritative work on *Climate*, "It is now believed that oscillations of climate are limited in time, but occur over wide areas."<sup>4</sup> Therefore the presumption is that further knowledge of the climate of Asia will cause the curve for that portion of the world to be modified until it approximates to that of California. Nevertheless differences in latitude may cause a given climatic change to assume different aspects according to the zone of winds with which we are dealing; and there is some reason to think that oceanic areas are subject to changes more or less contrary to those of continents. The Californian curve comes from a small continental or interior region between 36° and 37° north of the equator. The Asiatic curve, on the other hand, is based on data from diverse continental regions located from 30° to 42° north of the equator, and is therefore more liable to error than is the other.

The degree of difficulty experienced in preparing the Asiatic curve may be judged from the fact that the line is straight between 1200 and 1000 B. C. simply because between those dates I have as yet been able to find no facts bearing directly upon the climatic conditions. Further data might have caused the curve to be sinuous in harmony with the American curve. In other cases the fact that marked evidences of aridity were noticeable at a particular time or happened to be recorded by man or nature with especial clearness may have led me to carry the Asiatic curve lower than was justifiable. For instance a marked degree of depopulation, an uncommonly low level of enclosed lakes, traditions of famine, and other evidences appear to indicate that the seventh century of our era was an exceptionally dry time, but there is absolutely no available evidence as to the exact time when the dryness culminated, nor as to how dry that particular century was as compared with others. A curve drawn as indicated by the dashes would have fitted the facts equally well. Even as the curves now stand, however, the longest continuous decline in the Californian curve culminates at the middle of the seventh century at about the time when the Asiatic curve is lowest. Another case of almost exactly the same kind is found in the thirteenth century. There are pronounced evidences of aridity in Asia at the end of the twelfth century and in the first half of the thirteenth. Therefore the curve dips very low, and the minimum point is placed during the first part of the thirteenth century. The next available evidence indicates favorable conditions in the first

<sup>4</sup>R. DeC. Ward, *Climate considered especially in Relation to Man*, p. 363 (New York, 1908).

part of the fourteenth century. In the absence of any knowledge as to the latter half of the thirteenth century, the curve was originally drawn as shown in the dotted line. The Californian curve, however, fits the facts quite as well, and probably indicates the true state of affairs not only in America, but in the same latitudes in the eastern hemisphere. Similar reasoning applies to the low portion of the curve found at 300 A. D. At about that time a large number of ruins were abandoned in places which are now waterless, and other types of evidence also suggest aridity. Nevertheless it is probable that this and, to a less extent, the other main depressions of the Asiatic curve are exaggerated because special events happened to culminate at those particular times.

In spite of certain differences the high degree of agreement between these two curves from parts of the world as remote as western Asia and California is remarkable. Take the epoch centring at the time of Christ, for example, or those which centre at 1000 A. D. and 1600 A. D. The agreement is so close that it cannot be a matter of chance. This is the point which needs especial emphasis. We have here two curves based on entirely diverse kinds of evidence from parts of the world six thousand or more miles apart. One of the curves is based on lines of evidence which are at best highly fragmentary, and into which the element of personal interpretation enters largely. The other is based on a line of evidence which is absolutely continuous for two or three thousand years, and into which the element of personal judgment enters not at all. The two curves agree as to their main features, and in some cases the agreement extends to small details. The only satisfactory explanation of this result seems to be, first, that the climate of many portions of the past was different from that of the present; secondly, that climatic pulsations having a periodicity of centuries have been the rule; and thirdly, that these pulsations have been essentially synchronous in the eastern and western hemispheres.

If these conclusions be granted, it at once becomes evident that the climatic pulsations must be taken into account in the interpretation of history. How important they are, however, cannot now be determined. To the geographer and especially to one who has devoted years to this particular line of study, they probably appear more important than they really are. Therefore I speak with diffidence, and only in the hope that duly qualified historians may find the matter of sufficient interest to warrant its independent investigation on their part. I shall merely try to point out some of the ways in which climatic pulsations may have exercised a certain

amount of influence upon some of the important events of history. I shall speak chiefly of the possible results of increasing rather than of decreasing aridity, partly because they are more manifest, and partly for lack of space. I shall assume, furthermore, that even where events in Asia are under discussion the climatic curve of California, based on the exact tree measurements, represents the truth more closely than does the largely inferential Asiatic curve. I realize that the considerations which I shall present may seem highly theoretical, but in the early stages of every great scientific problem nothing is so stimulative of thought as a theory to be attacked or defended. The theory, as stated on page 251 of *Palestine and its Transformation*, is as follows: "It seems to be true, as a principle, that, in the regions occupied by the ancient empires of Eurasia and northern Africa, unfavorable changes of climate have been the cause of depopulation, war, migration, the overthrow of dynasties, and the decay of civilization; while favorable changes have made it possible for nations to expand, grow strong, and develop the arts and sciences."

The first and most obvious effects of climatic changes are economic. At the present time countries like Greece and Asia Minor suffer grievously from the failure of crops every few years. There is no reason to think that there has been any distinct change of climate during the past century, and conditions are now probably better if anything than in the early part of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless distress and famine have prevailed more than once, and have been serious contributory causes toward political discontent. If a country like Greece were fully populated about 400 B. C. at the end of two centuries of increasingly favorable climatic conditions, a change such as that which appears to have taken place during the succeeding two hundred years might not cause famines, but it would entail a constant pressure upon the means of subsistence. A highly developed people might thrive and prosper even in the face of growingly adverse conditions and might even be stimulated thereby to greater exertions. Nevertheless the constant pressure of diminishing crops would tend to drive people to emigrate and in the end it might have much to do with weakening them and preparing them for final conquest by outsiders. It would also gradually diminish their purchasing power so that trade would on the whole tend to decline or would seek new channels. The purchasing power of any nation depends ultimately upon the natural resources of the country, and in the case of practically all the nations of antiquity the resources were almost wholly agricultural. Thus a gradual diminution of the crops

would inevitably prevent the growth of trade with foreign countries, and would eventually tend to destroy it. Increasing rainfall would naturally produce the opposite results. To judge from the inscriptions and monuments, trade between Egypt and Mesopotamia was never brisker than in the seventh century before Christ when Assyria was at the height of its power. Again in the period of Rome's chief expansion, not far from the time of Christ, caravan traffic seems to have been carried on in the dry parts of Asia with a vigor far in excess of that which prevailed a few hundred years later. Other conditions may have had much to do with this, but a long succession of good crops could scarcely fail to produce a stimulating effect.

Another result of changes in rainfall and hence in agricultural prosperity would be the effect on the relation of the farming population to the government. If the scale of taxation were based on a period of prosperity, a change to worse conditions would inevitably cause friction. The governors would insist upon the payment of as heavy taxes as formerly; the farmers would declare themselves unable to pay so much. Then, as has happened frequently in Turkey during recent periods of drought, the officials and their minions would make attempts to collect what they considered their due, and would employ force and extortion. Such practices would have the effect which we constantly see at the present time among the Kurds and Armenians. Those parts of the population which did not belong to the governing class would be embittered, and would be ready to listen to anyone who promised them better conditions. It seems probable that many civil commotions and many attempts of usurpers to gain dominion may have been rendered possible by the discontent into which prolonged periods of poor crops have thrown the populace. Here, as in so many cases, physical conditions alone might have little effect, but when combined with the necessary human quality, such as ambition on the part of some petty sovereign, they may have large results. If the people were thoroughly contented, the ambitions of the upstart might never have the opportunity to come to fruition.

Discontent due to prolonged poor crops tends to make people unstable, not only politically but in other ways. Religious bitterness is almost sure to increase under such conditions. A portion of the community attributes its poverty to the fact that its own gods are not so strong as other gods, or that there is something wrong with the present form of religion. The rest of the community is inclined to attribute its distress to the wickedness of its neighbors who decry the old religion; and thus bitterness and persecution are apt to be

engendered. Those who become discontented with the old religion are more than usually ready to accept any new idea which some religious enthusiast may propose. This seems to have been the case when Mohammed came upon the scene of action after the prolonged period of increasing aridity which culminated with a sudden access of dryness in the first half of the seventh century. Without the genius of Mohammed that long period of adversity might have come to an end without any serious upsetting of the old conditions; but on the other hand, without the discontent and unrest fostered by years of distress Mohammed might have appealed in vain, for he would have had to speak to men who did not desire change instead of to those who ardently longed for it.

Thus far we have spoken of internal conditions which would make for the downfall of nations under growingly adverse physical conditions. External conditions would be equally unfavorable. When discord arises between nations it is far more likely to lead to war if the people of one and still more of both countries are discontented. And more than this, foreign invasion may often arise simply because the rulers feel that the best way to avoid trouble at home is to lead their discontented subjects against an enemy. In the case of nomadic tribes such as those of the vast regions of central Asia a period of prolonged aridity brings many of them face to face with the alternative of absolute starvation or migration. There is no question as to which will be chosen by a people who are constantly in motion. When they wander beyond their own territories into those of their neighbors, where also distress probably prevails even if not to so great a degree, fighting inevitably ensues. There is not grass and water enough for all, and someone must move on. Each onward movement brings the migrating bands into conflict with new tribes, and a movement once started may persist for a generation or two, and may be felt across a continent, thousands of miles from the home of the tribe which first moved. Such seems to have been the genesis of many of the great migrations which finally overwhelmed both Greece and Rome. Possibly and indeed probably a certain number of migrations of this sort might have occurred had there been no changes of climate, for the mere pressure of increasing population would sometimes start them, but that they would have been so severe or prolonged as they were seems hardly probable. A steady decline in the areas available for pasturage and in the amount of grass even in the areas where flocks could still be supported must have been a terrible incentive to migration, especially when it lasted five or six centuries, from the time of Christ to that

of Mohammed. In the diagram, to be sure, the decrease in rainfall does not appear to have been so great as in the period from 400 to 200 B. C., but this is largely due to the relatively small number of trees upon which the curve of the earlier period is based, and to the consequent exaggeration of that portion.

At a later time two other events similar to the great barbarian invasions took place, although their duration was by no means so prolonged. In these, according to available evidence, the elements of human ambition and human greatness appear to have figured more prominently than in the earlier barbarian migrations. From about 1000 A. D. to 1200 A. D. the climate of central Asia and of the rest of the world in the same latitude seems to have grown steadily drier. Once again distress and discontent must have reigned among the tents of Central Asia. Here, as in the days of Mohammed, no great concerted movement might have arisen, had it not been for the ambitions of one man. Genghis Khan may have been no more ambitious and no abler than other gifted men of his race, but he happened to live at a time when his people had been brought by nature to a condition of discontent favorable to his aspirations. Therefore, it would seem, he was able in a few years to arouse all the tribes of the steppes and deserts, and sweep over Asia with an almost unparalleled devastation. A century and a half later, in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, another ambitious Asiatic, Timour the Lame, arose, and emulated Genghis Khan. In Timour's case, also, physical conditions seem to have favored his projects, for after half a century of greatly improved conditions, a rather rapid decrease in rainfall took place just at the time when he began his conquests. How much this had to do with the matter I do not attempt to determine, but it should at least be carefully considered before any conclusions are drawn as to Timour and his conquests. Not much later, and in this same period of increasing aridity, the Turks advanced from their dry place of sojourn in the arid centre of Asia Minor and overwhelmed the last shattered remnants of the Byzantine Empire.

The portion of the history of the Roman Empire which centres around the Augustan Age stands in marked contrast to the periods which we have just been discussing. The Californian curve indicates a period of favorable climatic conditions from about 100 B. C. to 75 A. D. Even the low point at the birth of Christ is high compared with the centuries which precede and follow this period of prosperity. During these two hundred years the wars of Rome were very different in character from those which prevailed both before

and after. No great rivals like Carthage threatened the very existence of Rome; nor did rude barbarians like the Goths of later days pour in across her frontiers. She fought to extend her boundaries, her ambitious citizens engaged in battle with one another for the sake of personal ambition, and she quarrelled somewhat with Parthia, a state which met her on terms almost of equality so far as the relative positions of the two were concerned in Asia. In a word the wars of this period were of the kind that are characteristic of prosperity, and were not at all of the devastating kind which arise when the inhabitants of semi-arid regions migrate or plunder because of the impossibility of living at home. Similar conditions prevailed six or seven hundred years earlier when Assyria was at the height of her power and fought to expand her boundaries. In her case, however, the era of prosperity and freedom from harassing invasions was by no means so long as in that of Rome.

It is not possible to go through the course of history and pick out all the cases where prosperity due to favorable climatic conditions may have influenced the political fortunes of a nation, but it would be a most profitable exercise. Often, unquestionably, the influence of favorable climatic environment may have been completely nullified by political causes, or by personal ambitions, or other purely historical considerations, such as the discovery of a new art like the manufacture of iron, or of a new country such as America. Therefore, even if the theory here set forth contains large elements of truth, it is not to be expected that climatic pulsations should invariably be accompanied by the political and social results which would be expected if these physical matters were the only ones concerned in history. Nevertheless it is probable that their influence can be traced in scores of places where hitherto it has been unsuspected.

From great wars and movements of the nations let us turn back to internal affairs, and see how a change of climate in the direction of aridity would affect the composition of a race in its own home. The chief effects would come through disease. Probably insidious diseases such as malaria, consumption, neurasthenia, and the like are the most important sifters of the wheat from the chaff in the physical make-up of a nation, but great epidemics are much more startling and more easily studied. In the case of the plague there is possibly some connection between the times of its occurrence and the times of increasing aridity. As yet the question has never been worked out, and I mention the matter here not as something in regard to which we have any certain knowledge, but merely as an illustration of the interesting type of problems which confront the stu-

dent who chooses to investigate the relation of human history to changes in man's physical surroundings.

It is sufficient here to call attention to the two worst instances of plague that have ever been recorded in history. The first is defined by the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as "the great cycle of pestilence, accompanied by extraordinary natural phenomena, which lasted fifty years [542-592 A. D.], and is described with a singular misunderstanding of medical terms by Gibbon in his forty-third chapter". A reference to the Californian curve shows that this occurred near the end of the long and terrible period of increasing desiccation which began, mildly no doubt, in the first century after Christ, and which during its long centuries may possibly have played so large a part in driving the barbarians into Europe, and in preparing the way for the Prophet of Islam. The seventh century, as well as the latter half of the sixth, was also a time of severe plagues, and this, to judge from our curve, appears to have been the driest and hence most famine-stricken period during three thousand years. After this, when the climate ceased to deteriorate and began to improve, the plague seems to have been somewhat assuaged.

The next of the really terrible plagues was that known as the Black Death. This reached southern Europe in 1346 or 1347 A. D., after having scourged Asia for an unknown period. Even in these modern days of rapid travel an appreciable number of years elapse before the plague can travel across a continent, and in earlier days when communication was far slower, the movement must have been much less rapid. For instance, in 1798 plague prevailed in Georgia and the Caucasus, where it continued to be more or less prevalent until 1819 or later. Meanwhile it spread to Baghdad in 1801, to Armenia and Constantinople in 1802, to Astrakhan in 1805 or thereabout, to Smyrna and Constantinople once more in 1808 and 1809, to Bucharest by land and Malta by sea in 1813, and finally to Dalmatia and the northeastern coast of Italy in 1815. If the spread of this plague from the eastern end of the Black Sea to the northern end of the Adriatic required seventeen years, during a period of relatively active communication, the spread of an earlier plague across the unfrequented deserts of Asia and across two or three times as great a distance would presumably require half a century. Therefore we seem to be justified in framing the working hypothesis that the Black Death may have originated during the famines which in some of the drier parts of Asia must have accompanied the period of aridity lasting from 1100 A. D. to the end of the thirteenth century. In the curve derived from the trees of California it will be



seen that the dry period does not end until 1300. From that time until the appearance of the plague in southern Europe is only forty-six years.

The plague is not the only disease which may have been influenced by changes of climate. Malaria, although far less fatal than the plague, is far more dangerous in its ultimate effects. The plague passes over the land and is gone; the dead are dead, and the living have suffered no serious injury. Malaria, on the contrary, hangs on year after year, not killing its victims, but sapping their energy and vitality. The presence and the abundance of malaria are closely associated with climate and topography. Without entering into any discussion of the origin of malaria, let me point out how a change toward aridity in a country like Greece and, to a less extent, Italy, would probably foster the disease.

Malaria is pre-eminently a disease of tropical and subtropical countries whose climate is characterized by alternate wet and dry seasons. Except in the perennially moist portions of the tropics, the streams of such regions are subject to seasonal floods which spread over wide areas for a short period and then disappear, leaving innumerable stagnant pools and swamps, ideal breeding places for the anopheles mosquito. Permanent bodies of water usually contain fish which eat the mosquito larvae and reduce their numbers, or else the water moves sufficiently to carry away most of the eggs that are laid in it. When the climate of a subtropical country becomes drier, the conditions which favor the mosquito are intensified. This comes primarily from the death of vegetation upon the mountains. The scarcity of vegetation allows the soil which had formerly been held in place by roots and by the cover of dead leaves to be washed rapidly away. The streams are thereby overloaded and begin to fill their valleys with sand and gravel, while the flowing water is forced to wander hither and thither over broad flood plains in innumerable channels, which form pools when the floods are assuaged, or else the water loses itself in marginal swamps. The streams also become intermittent and no longer contain large quantities of fish. Thus everything co-operates to reduce the number of streams which flow steadily throughout the year and to increase the number of bodies of stagnant water in which the mosquitoes may live. This in itself may produce most widespread effects. How great they are may be judged from the success of the United States government in eradicating malaria at Panama by the opposite process of reducing the number of places where mosquitoes can breed.

At the present time malaria is endemic in Greece and Rome. That is, it is always there, and is looked upon as one of the necessary diseases of childhood, much as we look upon the measles. Sir Ronald Ross of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine is responsible for the statement that nearly half the people of Greece have suffered genuine injury from malaria, and in Italy the case is scarcely better. Up to the age of puberty children are attacked by it every autumn. They grow weak and sallow, their spleens are permanently enlarged, and their vitality is lowered for life. No one who has suffered from malaria will question the severity of its results and the length of time which elapses before they are eradicated even in the case of adults. In spite of quinine, which has come to our aid in modern days, it is one of the most insidious of diseases. Every traveller who has seen much of the Orient knows how the sufferers from malaria lie and groan for days, and later have no energy for months, but go languidly to the necessary tasks, and as soon as possible sit down to rest with open, stupid mouths. Physicians agree that it is impossible to expect much initiative or energy from a nation in which for centuries almost half of every generation has been devitalized by this baneful disease.

From a painstaking study of classical authors Mr. W. H. S. Jones has concluded that up to about 400 B. C. in Greece and 200 B. C. in Rome, malaria was almost unknown.<sup>5</sup> Then it appeared, and during the succeeding century or two became common. At first it attacked adults, which shows that it was a relatively new disease, which was still epidemic and not endemic, or else, we would add, that Greece was on the very border of its habitat. Later it became permanently located in the respective countries and attacked chiefly children, the older people having become immune after suffering in childhood. It is noticeable that the introduction of malaria coincides with the beginning of the weakening of Greece and Rome, and the time when it became endemic, in Greece at least, is synchronous with the epoch when the lustre of the ancient names became irretrievably dimmed.

Ross and Jones are of the opinion that, along with various other factors, malaria was one of the important causes of the fall of Greece and Rome. The growing effeminacy and lightness of the Greeks and the brutality of the Romans, are just the effects which they think would be produced upon people of the respective temperaments of the two races. The case is so strong that one can scarcely resist the conclusion that this pathological factor may have

<sup>5</sup> W. H. S. Jones, *Malaria: a Neglected Factor in the History of Greece and Rome* (Cambridge, England, 1907).

played an important part in the psychological changes which appear to have accompanied the decline of civilization and of population in both Greece and Rome. In the present state of knowledge it would be rash to assert that the increase in the amount and severity of malaria was due to climatic changes. Other influences, such as contact with Egypt and the introduction of slaves, may have been equally effective. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that the spread of the disease in both Greece and Rome seems to have proceeded most rapidly during and after the time when a change of climate appears to have rendered the topography of the valleys and the behavior of the streams more favorable than hitherto to the propagation of the anopheles mosquito.

In conclusion let me call attention to one more way in which the change from relatively moist, stormy, cool conditions to those of aridity may have affected the Greek, Roman, and other races. In the opinion of many scholars one of the most important factors in the greatness of these powers was the presence of a race of northern invaders. Take the case of Greece. These northern Achaeans came into the country about 1200 B. C. and their coming may have had some connection with the dry period of which we find evidence both in America and Asia. After their arrival the climate on the whole, although with some fluctuations, appears to have become more propitious, so far as our meagre data afford any indications. Up to the middle of the third century it continued to be favorable. Then it became more arid. It is well known that races are very sensitive to climatic environment. The negro would apparently die out in the northern United States were he not replenished from the South. The Scandinavian does not seem to prosper greatly in the dry, sunny portions of the United States; he is there subject to diseases of the skin and nerves which appear seriously to deplete his numbers in a few generations; whereas in the rainy northwest, which resembles his native habitat, he thrives greatly both in body and estate. It may have been the same with the northern invaders in Greece. So long as the climate was propitious they flourished and lent strength to the country. Then, when conditions became less favorable, the unseen ravages of malaria and other diseases may have attacked them with especial severity, so that in the course of centuries they gradually disappeared, thus weakening the Greek people to so great a degree that there has been no recovery.

It would be possible to go on with other and equally important ways in which changes of climate may perhaps have co-operated with other factors in causing the decline of nations, or in stimulating

them at times when the changes were favorable. We must leave the matter here, however, with the hope that it may be investigated more thoroughly by historians, who alone possess the necessary information to carry the matter to its full conclusion. Enough has been said to show, in the first place, that the theory of pulsatory changes of climate appears to be firmly grounded. The conclusions here presented as to the dates and degree of changes may be modified, but the general conclusion does not seem likely to be upset. In the second place we have shown that there are many and important ways in which it is possible that climatic pulsations, directly or indirectly, may have modified the course of history. Only when their true effect is thoroughly understood shall we be sure that we are rightly estimating the importance of the other factors with which they combine to produce the complex results of history.

ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON.

## MERCANTILISM AND ROME'S FOREIGN POLICY

THE territorial expansion of the Roman Republic has been explained in various ways by the historians of modern times, the explanations usually bearing the tone of the age in which they originate. In conformity to the historical tendencies of the last half-century there has been, since the appearance of Mommsen's history, an ever-increasing emphasis upon economic factors which has reached its climax in the widely read work of Ferrero. These new theories<sup>1</sup> have not grown directly out of a solid body of facts furnished by original ancient sources, though exploiting of course all possible economic data found in classical authorities. They have rather sprung from a consideration of present-day political movements. When critics have objected that modern industrialism has created so many new factors in international politics that it is wholly unsafe to draw *a priori* inferences regarding the ancient situation from modern conditions, the writer of the economic school has been prone to fall back upon seventeenth- and eighteenth-century mercantilism for his parallels. In those centuries, he will say, we find a civilization which was not materially unlike that of Rome in her best days, and he will insist that, even though no publicist existed to write them down for the enlightenment of posterity, he finds certain political practices in the Roman Republic which imply a line of reasoning not unlike that of Davenant and Sir Josiah Child.

Now it would be interesting to compare the economic and political conditions of the Ciceronian period with those of the aggressive European nations of the seventeenth century in an effort to learn whether the causes which led to modern mercantilism were actually in force in Rome. This has not been done, and before it can be done we must confine ourselves more patiently to sifting and comprehending the facts that can be obtained bearing upon the premises of the problem. For this reason I here propose the simple task of examining the ancient references upon which a sort of loose mercantile theory has been erected, and of reviewing the significant facts that we have regarding the extent of Rome's foreign commerce and business during the republic, attempting to determine from this

<sup>1</sup> A typical instance is Mahaffy's judgment: "It was of course the commercial monopolist, and not old Cato and his figs who destroyed Carthage." For the commonly accepted point of view, see Mommsen, *Roman History* (Eng. transl., 1900), III, 238, 274, 295, 415, 421; Colin, *Rome et la Grèce*, *passim*; Ferrero, *The Greatness and Decline of Rome*, I, 20 ff. and 38; Heitland, *The Roman Republic*, II, 156-157; Speck, *Handelsgeschichte des Altertums*, *passim*.

investigation when and to what degree commercialism and capitalism became the mainsprings of territorial expansion.

In the first place, we may note that the reasons for assuming an extensive Roman maritime commerce during the early republic do not bear examination. They are usually based upon Livy's statement that in the seventh century B. C. a maritime colony was planted at Ostia to serve as a Roman port, and upon inferences drawn from Rome's early commercial treaties with Carthage. The historian should have been warned by the nature of Ostia's position, its government, and its cults that it could not have been as old as Livy would have it; as a matter of fact, the excavator<sup>2</sup> is proving that its earliest remains do not date before the third century B. C. Now we know that the Tiber does and did so load its lower course with silt that transmarine merchandise bound for Rome had to be transferred from the larger ships into barges or warehouses at the mouth of the river and for this a well-equipped harbor was necessary. The establishment of a late date for the Ostian port, therefore, compels us to revise our conception of Rome's shipping.

The usual inferences drawn from the Carthaginian treaties<sup>3</sup> also need revision. The date and substance of the first treaty are still under dispute, but the second, dating from the latter part of the fourth century B. C., can safely be used. It reads as follows:

There shall be friendship between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians, Tyrians, and township of Utica, on these terms: The Romans shall not maraud, nor traffic, nor found a city east of the Fair Promontory [twenty miles north of Carthage], Mastia, Tarseium. If the Carthaginians take any city in Latium which is not subject to Rome, they may keep the prisoners and the goods, but shall deliver up the town. . . .

In Sardinia and Libya no Roman shall traffic nor found a city; he shall do no more than take in provisions and refit his ship. If a storm drive him upon those coasts, he shall depart within five days.

In the Carthaginian province of Sicily and in Carthage he may transact business and sell whatsoever it is lawful for a citizen to do. In like manner also may a Carthaginian at Rome.

Is it not apparent that the treaty is one-sided, that it secures full privileges for the Punic trader while limiting the Roman, that, in other words, it was drawn up by Carthage, an old trading state, to her own advantage and accepted by the then insignificant Roman

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, *Cults of Ostia* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, vol. XI.), introductory chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, III. 22-24. Polybius dates the first treaty at 509, but most historians place it in the fourth century. The second one (III. 24) is probably the one which Diodorus places at 348 B. C. I use Shuckburgh's translation (London, 1889).

state because the latter had little concern in foreign trade? It will not do to object that the very limitations imposed upon the Romans imply that there is Roman trade to limit, for later history shows that the doctrine of *mare clausum* is Carthaginian and not Roman, and Carthage is here applying it against all future contingencies. In short, the treaty should be used as a Punic not a Roman document, even as Penn's treaty with the Indians may be used as evidence for William Penn's theories of human rights but not for those of the Indians. The Carthaginian treaties therefore do not prove the existence of a Roman commerce. They disprove it rather, since it is not reasonable to suppose that the imperious Romans would have signed away an equity in anything they really cared for. We have not so learned Rome! In this connection it will be remembered that Rome showed herself similarly negligent<sup>4</sup> of trading advantages by promising Tarentum not to sail any Roman ships as far as the Tarentine Gulf.

If further evidence of the fact that the early Romans avoided the seas were needed, there is the additional testimony of archaeology. It has been found, for example, that although the early tombs of the Etruscan towns nearby are store chambers of Oriental and Egyptian wares, Roman tombs<sup>5</sup> of the same period show no such evidences of extensive trading. The foreign articles found in these Roman tombs were brought by Sicilian and Massaliot passers-by. And this evidence agrees with the fact<sup>6</sup> so often pointed out that none of the technical naval terms employed by the Romans except those relating to the simplest parts of a small craft are of Latin extraction. They have all been borrowed from the Doric Greek and were picked up from the vocabulary of Sicilian merchants. Apparently the passages in later Roman historians which refer to an early seaport at Ostia and to an extensive commerce are to be attributed to patriotic megalomaniacs who represented the state and pomp of Romulus and King Marcius in terms more appropriate to Augustus's day. Even Ostia remained only a small village throughout the republic. Not till 42 A. D. was the sand-bar in front of the Tiber's mouth dredged and jetties built so that laden seafaring vessels could anchor in still water. In the meantime the most serviceable port of Rome was Puteoli, 150 miles away. Does this imply that shippers had a strong lobby in the Roman senate?

Let us now examine a number of political measures adopted during the last two centuries of the republic which have frequently

<sup>4</sup> The treaty with Tarentum apparently dates from the latter half of the fourth century B. C.

<sup>5</sup> *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. XV. (1905).

<sup>6</sup> Saalfeld, *Italograeca*.

been interpreted as implying the existence of a mercantile policy in the Roman senate, for it is largely upon these that historians have relied in blaming commercialism for deeds like the subjection of Greece, the destruction of Corinth, and the annexation of Carthage.

1. The senate concluded a treaty<sup>7</sup> with the Aetolians after their subjection in 189 in which the stipulation was made that Romans and Italians should have free entry at the port of Ambracia. It is usual to infer from this sole instance that the senate regularly included a clause in its treaties with subject allies requiring exemption from port dues in order to gain advantages for Roman trade. There are however several specific facts militating against this generalization and none, to my knowledge, favoring it. There are in existence several treaties, including the very important ones with Carthage (201 B. C.), Philip (196 B. C.), and Antiochus (189 B. C.), none of which contain this clause. Egypt quite certainly did not grant any such privilege, for the Ptolemaic system of monopolies would preclude such a practice. The treaty with the Termessians,<sup>8</sup> 71 B. C., which explicitly grants transit to tax collectors, says nothing of others; and from a passage in Cicero<sup>9</sup> it is certain that not even the governor of Sicily enjoyed the freedom of the Sicilian port either in Roman cities or in allied towns like Messina and Halaesa. It is safe to say, therefore, that the early treaty with Ambracia contained an exceptional rather than a normal stipulation. Perhaps it was inserted in this particular case to aid the eastern communications of the Latin colony of Brundisium. But even granting that such a stipulation may have been inserted in several other treaties—which one would scarcely deny—it is difficult to understand how it would aid Roman commerce to any appreciable extent, since it would grant the same privileges to the traders of a score of other Italian towns, partly Latin, partly Greek.

2. In Cicero<sup>10</sup> we hear of another peculiar measure which has also been used in support of the view that the senate was swayed by a commercial policy. Some time before 130 B. C. Rome seems to have specified in her dealing with a Transalpine tribe that the latter should refrain from the cultivation of wine and oil. The younger Africanus is represented as saying that the purpose of this measure was to aid the Roman fruit-grower. Modern writers<sup>11</sup> have added

<sup>7</sup> Livy, XXXVIII. 44. The phrase *socii nominis Latini* of course includes all Italian allies (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III. 661). *Ac* is understood. The inferences usually drawn from this passage are found in Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III. 691.

<sup>8</sup> Bruns, *Fontes*, p. 94.

<sup>9</sup> Cicero, *Verr.*, II. 185.

<sup>10</sup> *De Rep.*, III. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Mommsen's view of this passage, expressed in *Roman History*, III. 415, is usually adopted, but Polybius, XXXIII. 11, says that the Gauls gave their hostages



that it would also aid the Roman carrier. Now, before 130, a Roman army had fought battles in Transalpine Gaul only once and that was at the request of Rome's most loyal ally, Marseilles. When the war had been successfully ended and a treaty signed—the terms of which were naturally dictated by Marseilles—the Romans withdrew. Marseilles was a wine-growing state, and if a market for wine was created in Gaul, she naturally profitted. A copy of the treaty was of course carried to Rome, since her legions had secured the victory, and its purpose may well have been misunderstood by later Romans, but we need not doubt that Marseilles and the Gauls were the real contracting parties. Had the Romans intended to create a market for their own produce by legislation, why did they never pass measures affecting Spain, Greece, Africa, and Asia, which were actual rivals in such products?

3. The clause<sup>12</sup> in the Macedonian constitutions of 167 forbidding the importation of salt and the exportation of timber has also no reference to Roman commerce. We know from several sources<sup>13</sup> that the Macedonian kings had regularly supported a timber monopoly, forbidding all exportation without special consent. Apparently the chief forests, like the mines, were crown lands. Now, when Rome fell heir to these royal forests and mines in 167, the senate was not at once ready to decide what final disposition to make of them. It hesitated to take full possession and place state contractors in charge, since their presence, as a visible indication of overlordship, would cause undue trouble.<sup>14</sup> It therefore permitted the Macedonian contractors to work the iron and copper mines at half the former revenue, closed the other mines for the time being, and simply—also for the time being—re-enacted the old royal prohibition on the exportation of timber. In 158, it sent state contractors to open and work the closed mines, and probably at the same time leased the royal timber lands. These lands may well be

to Marseilles, not to Rome. Speck (*Handelsgeschichte*) enumerates similar prohibitions that are mentioned in the late imperial codices, but they cannot be used as evidence for the republic. Neither should he use the testimony of the Plautine comedy which is translated from the Greek. Rome's temporary prohibition of interstate trade in Macedonia and Achaëa was imposed in order to break up political unity. As soon as this purpose was accomplished the prohibition was withdrawn. This old practice never had an economic purpose.

<sup>12</sup> Livy, XLV. 29. Niese, *Geschichte der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten*, III. 181, says: "Der Sinn dieser Bestimmung ist unklar." Heitland, II. 120, "Perhaps it in some way favoured operations of Roman capitalists." Speck has no doubts about the purpose of the prohibition, vol. III., pt. 2, p. 349.

<sup>13</sup> Diodorus, XX. 46; Andocides, *Return*, 11.

<sup>14</sup> This is the meaning of Livy's original, which he, in the spirit of his own time, puts thus (XLV. 18): "Ubi publicanus esset, ibi . . . libertatem sociis nullam esse."

the *agri regii* mentioned as a part of Rome's property by Cicero<sup>15</sup> in 63. The provision against the importation of salt can, in the light of this, only mean that the senate found a royal monopoly of salt also, and, in behalf of the Macedonian state treasuries, re-established the monopoly and gave it over to the new states. The senate then protected its gift by continuing the stipulation against imports. To be sure, we have no direct reference to a previous monopoly in salt in Macedonia, but the assumption that there was one seems justifiable, since we know that all the other Hellenic powers<sup>16</sup> which succeeded Alexander established such monopolies.

4. There is one more regulation which bears, in the view of some authorities, the earmarks of mercantilism. From the fact that Rhodes asked the senate's permission to buy grain in Sicily, we are probably safe in drawing the inference that the senate somehow controlled the Sicilian grain market. Was this supervision undertaken so as to control the import that might flood the markets needed by Roman landlords, or was it undertaken in order to secure shipping for Roman merchants? Both suggestions have been made, but neither is in accord with the senatorial policy of this time. The real purpose of this supervision was political, not commercial, and is best illustrated by Hellenic precedents. When we remember that Rome, when hard pressed for food during the Hannibalic war, was compelled to ask Ptolemy's permission before corn could be bought in Egypt, we can understand where the senate found its precedent and why it adopted the regulation. Ptolemy<sup>17</sup> had accumulated great stores of corn from his tribute and was therefore able by controlling the Egyptian markets not only to secure a market for the royal stores but also to gain a certain amount of political prestige through his power to aid friends and injure enemies. From an inscription we may infer that the Seleucids in Syria pursued the same policy, and we have recently learned that the little republic of Samos bought for public use the semi-public temple-tithes of their island. Of all these practices the senate doubtless had heard, and of others besides concerning which we now know nothing. It could see that a real political power lay in so controlling the corn market that the purchaser must ask the sovereign's permission to buy. It could see that corn production was dwindling in Italy and that the state might be made helpless in times of war unless, like the eastern monarchs, it could control a surplus. In the East the control had

<sup>15</sup> *Leg. Agr.*, I. 5.

<sup>16</sup> See Rostowzew, "Staatspacht", *Philologus*, Suppl. 9, p. 411.

<sup>17</sup> On Egypt see Rostowzew in Pauly-Wissowa, *Reallex.*, s. v. "Frumentum", VII. 139; on Syria, Köhler, *Sitz. Akad. Berlin*, 1898, p. 841. The Samian decree is discussed by Wilamowitz in *Sitz. Akad. Berlin*, 1904, p. 917.

been established partly for the personal profit of the king; when the practice was adopted at Rome, it served a political purpose only, for the state never attempted to sell its grain at a profit.

The tendency to find in this corn regulation a device of the senatorial landlords to protect their own grain market seems to rest upon Mommsen's version of the history of Roman agriculture.<sup>18</sup> It was Mommsen's contention that the influx of cheap slave-raised corn from Sicily after the acquisition of that province ruined the market for the Latin farmer and forced him to abandon grain-raising and turn to wine and oil culture and grazing. It is true of course that the change in the character of agriculture began to be noticeable soon after the acquisition of the first provinces, but if we follow Mommsen's *propter hoc* literally we shall fail to grasp the real meaning of the change. The fact is that wheat was not and never will be economically the best crop for Latium. Before Rome had become well connected by commerce with foreign parts, it was naturally dependent upon Latian produce. Its great need was wheat of course, and the urban population had to pay the price that would induce cultivation of this cereal. But the land was really better adapted to other things. The vine would thrive excellently in the rich volcanic soil of the Alban hills and on the lower slopes of the Sabine mountains, while the olive could grow where it was too dry for the vine. In favorable localities these crops were sure to displace wheat as soon as the city was ready for a more luxurious diet and the need for wheat could be satisfied from elsewhere. Grazing, similarly, was bound to displace wheat-raising upon the plains. The Latian plain is a gently rolling country with a subsoil of tufa. This tufa does not erode readily enough to make a thick soil, so that when the sod is stripped for agriculture the top soil washes off in the winter rains at a more rapid rate than the tufa beneath will break up. Sod alone can stem this erosion. Hence the land will preserve its value when used as grazing ground, whereas it will not when used for agriculture. But even in those spots where the land is level enough to prevent this erosion, there is a dearth of rain after the middle of June, and the nonconformity of the uneven volcanic plain to the spring-bearing hills beyond makes irrigation impracticable. At best therefore the soil will yield the farmer only the moderate crop that can grow in the short spring season. The grazer, however, is not reduced to the profits of so short a season. For eight months grass will grow for his flocks, and during the dry season he can find cheap mountain pastures in the Sabine hills near-by. We do not believe therefore that the peasant was driven to the wall because

<sup>18</sup> Mommsen, *Roman History* (Eng. transl.), III, 79.

the senate flooded the market with its Sicilian tithe-corn. Rather, when ships could bring to the Roman grain market corn from land adapted to its raising, the Roman peasant was released, as it were, from an ever-deteriorating corn-culture and could then specialize upon the products for which his soil was more fitted. To be sure, the change probably caught some conservative farmers off their guard, and it unfortunately worked for the plantation system to the detriment of intensive farming, but the same results would eventually have been effected by the freer commerce of the growing state even if the senate had not secured its annual 750,000 bushels of tithe-corn for the home market.

If we thus grasp the economic situation of Latium we shall not find it difficult to understand the Sicilian corn regulation. In deciding to control Sicilian corn, the landlord senators were neither generously benefitting the populace to the ruining of their own market, nor were they diabolically devising some scheme for getting rid of the Sicilian grain or for enriching Roman shippers. They adopted the Ptolemaic policy on purely political grounds and they could do so without jeopardizing Roman interests, for they had already discovered profitable substitutes for their own corn crops.

We have now reviewed all the evidence that can be cited in favor of commercial influences in republican politics. In the several treaties of the early part of the second century we find that there is no special privilege for the Roman trader. The treaty with Antiochus safeguards the commercial privileges of the Rhodians but asks nothing more. In 167 the royal monopoly of salt is confirmed to the Macedonian republics. In 154 Marseilles was able by the aid of Roman support to free her wine market from the competition of a hostile Gallic tribe. Rome guaranteed the strength of the treaty by her signature, but the wording of it was dictated by the Greek city. The Aetolian treaty is the only one in which special commercial privileges were exacted, and these were accorded to the numerous Italian rivals of Rome as fully as to the Roman traders. On the other hand, the Termessian treaty and the Sicilian regulations mentioned by Cicero sustain the view that Rome seldom asked subject-allies for the freedom of the port in behalf of her merchants.

Supporting this positive evidence, there is the solid authority of the republic's failure to adopt a number of measures that might effectively have aided her merchants if she had desired to favor them. We hear of no *mare clausum* as in the treaties exacted by Carthage, no export and import prohibitions regarding Italy as in the occasional enactments of Athens, no differential tariffs such as appear during the empire, no creation of new commercial monopolies

such as were practised in the Hellenic world, no direct encouragement of harbor improvements by subsidies and insurances such as the emperor Claudius later introduced. In view of these facts the historian can hardly continue to hand on the conventional statements that the commercial lobby of Rome directed the foreign policies of the senate in the second century B. C., much less that it secured the destruction of Corinth and Carthage.

When Carthage fell no Roman harbor was provided in Africa. Utica, a free city, inherited Carthage's commerce, and even handled the produce of the Italian farmers who settled in Africa. When Corinth was destroyed, the Delian harbor profitted to be sure, but, as we shall presently see, Delos was a port already filled with Greek, Syrian, Egyptian, and South-Italian merchants, and these enjoyed the full privileges of the port as much as did the Romans. Caesar was the first Roman statesman who formed comprehensive plans to further Roman commerce; but, as he fell before these plans could be executed, the task had to await the patronage of Claudius. Then first can one speak of state encouragement of commerce at Rome.

The supposed mercantilism of the last two centuries of the republic thus disappears under examination. Apparently the state was not greatly interested in foreign trade. Can we determine the extent and importance of this trade? There is no ancient estimate now in existence, and yet we are not left wholly to conjecture. The best indications are to be found in the recently excavated inscriptions of the famous island-city of Delos. Since the city was never rebuilt after its destruction by Mithradates in 88, its numerous inscriptions have lain undisturbed in the ruins until the present day; and since Strabo informs us that it was the centre of the Roman foreign trade during the republic, we may in some measure restore the history of that commerce from these inscriptions.

Now, these inscriptions<sup>19</sup> at once prove that the Romans were late comers at Delos, that in fact they were not at all a vital element in the Aegean trade during the days when the Roman state was spreading its political influence through the East. During that period the mercantile associations of the Orient predominate at Delos.

<sup>19</sup> These inscriptions are now being published by French scholars in vol. XI. of *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Meanwhile one must consult the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* and the current numbers of the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*. See also article on Delos in Pauly-Wissowa, and Homolle, "Les Romains à Délos", *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, VIII. 75-158 (1884). Homolle has placed the immigration of Roman merchants too early. He has not given due weight to the fact that the earliest Roman names are those of officials connected with navies and armies, and that the other western names of early date are not Roman but South-Italian. Furthermore, he dates several inscriptions too early; they should be checked up by Ferguson's latest list of archons (*Klio*, VII. 216, 1907).

Syrian cults had entered the island early in the second century<sup>20</sup> and Syrian mercantile societies erected dedications there from 160 on. *CIG.* 2271 is a decree of the "synod of Tyrian merchants" dating from 153, and Roussel<sup>21</sup> gives a collection of inscriptions of the merchants' association (Poseidonists) of Beirut, Syria, from the second half of the century. Egyptians entered Delos even earlier. Temples to their deities existed there in the third century, and their inscriptions, some of which go back to the third century,<sup>22</sup> have come to light by the score. In the latter half of the second century, when Alexandrian merchantmen came in even greater numbers, new temples were raised to Egyptian gods.<sup>23</sup> Other tablets recording honors and gifts show an influx of easterners from a dozen different cities soon after Delos was made a free port in 167. The cities most frequently mentioned are Alexandria, Antioch, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Aradus, Ascalon, Laodicea, Heracleia, and other cities of the Pontic sea. It is the peoples from these places who gained most when in 167 Rome declared Delos a free port and in 146 Corinth fell.

Westerners, however, are by no means absent. In fact before the end of the second century, they seem to predominate. Let us see what the inscriptions have to say about who these westerners were and when they came. It will be remembered that the Roman fleet frequently harbored at Delos during the wars with Philip and Antiochus. That fleet was largely officered and manned by the people of South-Italian cities who were the "naval allies" of Rome. Perhaps this accounts for the fact that almost all the Italian names that occur in the Delian inscriptions before 150 are South-Italian. In a list of the year 180<sup>24</sup> Vibius and Oppius are Oscan names, Staius is from Cumae. The only other early list,<sup>25</sup> dating from about the same time, records the names Oppius, Staius, Vicirius, Plotius, Sehius, and Claudius. Apparently the last name alone is Roman, and even that is the name of a freedman. Sestius<sup>26</sup> (before 167) is explicitly designated as a native of Fregellae, Avillius<sup>27</sup> is a native of Lanuvium, and Trebius Loisius<sup>28</sup> is now known to be a Sicilian.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *BCH.*, VI. 295 (1882).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXI. 335-377 (1907).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXII. 397 (1908).

<sup>23</sup> Ferguson, *Klio*, VII. 226 (1907).

<sup>24</sup> *BCH.*, VI. 29 (1882).

<sup>25</sup> *CIL.*, III. 7218.

<sup>26</sup> *BCH.*, VIII. 89 (1884).

<sup>27</sup> *CIL.*, III. 7242.

<sup>28</sup> *BCH.*, IV. 183 (1880).

<sup>29</sup> Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 5370.

These Italians may possibly have formed a club or *conventus*<sup>30</sup> even before Delos became a free port, since an inscription<sup>31</sup> attesting communal worship seems to date from about 180. When it was that Roman citizens began to predominate in this club we do not know. We cannot draw conclusions from inscriptions like that of the *BCH.*, V. 463 (1881), dating from about the middle of the century, where the members are called "Romans". This tablet was raised in honor of an Athenian officer; and, since Athens had received Delos from Rome, Athenian official inscriptions regularly speak of the members of the *conventus* as Romans, not as *Itali* or *Italic*i, which was the designation used by the members of themselves. Actual names of Roman merchants are extremely rare until after Asia had become a Roman possession in 132, and Delos could in consequence be used as a convenient way-station between Pergamum and Rome. From that time on Roman societies grow numerous. A temple was then erected to Mercury. A society calling itself by the high-sounding title "Hermaistes, Apolloniastes, Poseidoniastes", was formed about 113.<sup>32</sup> A little later Roman traders built the so-called *Schola Romanorum*, a club-house which was then the largest building on the island. About 100, Roman freedmen and slaves formed a society for the worship of the *lares compitales*, and have left a generous record of their piety. In 88 there were enough Romans in Delos to influence the policy of the island, for it refused to follow the example of Athens by joining Mithradates against Rome, thereby bringing upon itself the king's wrath.

This brief survey of the Delian records justifies the inference that strictly Roman commerce was of little importance in the Aegean before 132 B. C., when Asia was made a province. Incidentally it proves that the Roman trader could have had no privileges which were not accorded the traders of Cumae, Naples, Tarentum, and a score of other Italian seaport towns; for, had the Romans enjoyed special commercial privileges, a diversity of interests would have precluded the existence of a common *conventus*. It certainly confutes the old hypothesis that in ordering the destruction of Corinth in 146 the Roman government was consciously influenced by the merchants and capitalists interested in the trade that centred about Delos.

<sup>30</sup> On the *conventus* of Italians and Romans in foreign parts see Schulten, *De Conventibus Civium Romanorum*, and Kornemann's article "Conventus" in Pauly-Wissowa.

<sup>31</sup> *CIL.*, III. 7218. It is usually dated early because two of the names seem to be identical with names occurring on Demares's list of 180. It is still a moot question whether an organized cult implies the existence of a *conventus* of the usual kind.

<sup>32</sup> *BCH.*, XXXIII. 493 (1909).

Other evidence regarding Rome's foreign trade also supports the contention that it grew up after the days of expansion. Recent excavations prove that the natural harbor of Rome at the Tiber's mouth was still a very small town in Caesar's day. Livy's accounts<sup>33</sup> of the mercantile docks built at Rome in 192 and 174 show them to be only unimportant structures. During the age of the elder Cato, to be sure, there are many references to imports of all kinds, for the wealthier classes were beginning to enjoy eastern wines and table luxuries, finer weaves of cloth, and decorative articles. Sicilian grain and hordes of slaves were also shipped in. Cato even makes reference to the profits that would accrue from judicious investments in the shipping business. That, however, this shipping business was to any great extent in the hands of Romans is very unlikely, for Rome's export trade at the time was insignificant. Roman industry manufactured nothing during the century of Cato that could compete across the seas with the more finished products of Greece and the Orient, while Roman wine and oil, which later were marketed far and wide, had not yet established a reputation abroad.

In the beginning of the last century of the republic references to Roman traders busy in foreign parts become more numerous. In 88, that is, forty years after the province had been formed, agents of Mithradates found eighty thousand Romans and Italians in Asia. This number of course includes tax-gatherers and farmers of the state lands as well as merchants, bankers, and their servants. Salust tells us that many Romans were engaged in business in Numidia at the end of the second century B. C. and Cicero<sup>34</sup> says that in the first decades of the first century B. C. most of the trading in Gaul was carried on by Romans. To this evidence we may add the inscriptional reference<sup>35</sup> to a club of *Italici* at Argos which bears the date 69 B. C., and a similar inscription found in Beroea, Macedonia, dating from 57 B. C.

Contrasting with the increasing number of references to Romans engaged in foreign business there is the distressing record of the state's neglect to keep the seas clear of pirates. Rhodes had formerly policed the eastern seas to protect her commerce but found herself unable to bear this burden after the loss of her independence. Piracy flourished disgracefully at the end of the second century B. C. and the senate then made a half-hearted effort to suppress it. This work, however, was not thoroughly done until the year 67, when

<sup>33</sup> Livy, XXXV. 10; XLI. 27. See Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum*, III. 173.

<sup>34</sup> Val. Max., IX. 2, 3; Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 40; Cicero, *Pro Fonteio*, 19.

<sup>35</sup> Kornemann, Pauly-Wissowa, article "Conventus".



Pompey was assigned to the task. Meanwhile even the Roman port of Ostia had been sacked by these eastern buccaneers. One can hardly understand this remissness except upon the assumption that the traders in the provinces were looked upon at home as a somewhat low class of adventurers who had little connection with the vital interests of the state, and it is certainly incorrect in view of the slight attention paid to this most pressing of their needs to suppose that they exerted any considerable influence upon the policies of the senate.

If one is inclined to wonder why trade was slow to "follow the flag" during the century of growing political prestige, a reference to census statistics may be of interest. The following record of citizens is taken from Livy, the estimate of acreage of purely Roman territory from Beloch's<sup>30</sup> careful reckoning:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Citizens</i>	<i>Acreage</i>
203 B. C.	214,000	6,700,000
193	243,000	9,200,000
173	269,000	13,700,000
168	312,000	"
163	337,000	"
153	324,000	"
141	327,000	"
135	317,000	"

It will be seen that in the thirty years after Zama the number of citizens increased only twenty-five per cent. while the Roman acreage in Italy increased over one hundred per cent. Whence could the capital have come in the poverty-stricken state to develop this enormous increase of land? We know now that neither sufficient men nor funds were forthcoming. The first increase of about 2,500,000 acres resulted from the state's appropriation of the South-Italian country which had been so thoroughly devastated by the last years of the war. Along the coast of this territory the state planted a string of small citizen-colonies as a military measure when an invasion by Antiochus seemed imminent. But outside of this strip

<sup>30</sup> *Italische Bund* (1880), and *Bevölkerung der Griech.-Röm. Welt* (1886). The hectare = almost 2½ acres; the acre is a trifle over 1½ jugera.

The decrease in population between 160 and 130 is partly due to a new standard of living that accompanied the influx of wealth and Greek ideas, and partly to the fact that after the public lands had been occupied, the small farmer who was giving way to the plantation owner did not attempt to pre-empt a new homestead but sought his fortune in the provinces. With the Gracchan reallotments the census figures took a decided bound upwards again.

little was done in the south. The north needed more immediate development. Along the Po the state was busy punishing Gallic tribes that had aided Hannibal. As fast as the offenders were pacified or driven out it was necessary to plant citizen-colonies in order to assure permanent success. The lands of the north were far richer and more inviting to settlers than those of the south and they could not easily be held unless colonized. We cannot doubt that for thirty years all the available capital and colonists were sent northward. What became of the southern public lands we may infer from the agrarian legislation proposed by the Gracchi later. Since the state could find no buyers or renters for them, she simply permitted chance squatters and ranchers to use them, asked no uncomfortable questions, and even neglected the records. Some cattle-grazers who had gone through the formality of leasing the five hundred jugera allowed by law gradually increased their holdings when they discovered that the adjacent lands were still unoccupied. It will be remembered how in Gracchan days the descendants of these same squatters were compelled to surrender the surplusage despite their appeal to vested rights, and how the democrats who then wanted lands for colonization could not understand why the senate had ever pursued so reckless a policy as to disregard the state's titles to its public lands. The explanation, of course, lies in the fact that from 200 to about 160 the land market was so enormously glutted that the senate saw no reason for asserting its titles. From this it will be readily understood why with all the available capital thus invested in lands for at least half a century after the Punic War there was so little at hand for commerce. In fact it is generally true that Rome's rapid territorial expansion throughout the republican period constantly opened up a market for real-estate investments in advance of capitalistic needs and as constantly attracted Roman capital away from industry and commerce.

It is interesting to note that at the end of the republican period when the Mediterranean commerce finally began to be concentrated in the hands of Roman citizens, these citizen-tradesmen were chiefly of foreign extraction, not members of the old Roman stock. Very many of them bear Greek and Graeco-Syrian *cognomina*, which means that ex-slaves and their sons had become the merchants of Rome.<sup>87</sup> The explanation of this fact is not far to seek. We know that the enormous loss of life throughout Italy during the Hannibalic war depleted both shop and farm to such an extent that a great many eastern slaves were imported to work the industrial machinery of Italy. When later the exploitation of provincial resources invited

<sup>87</sup> Parvan, *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute* (1909).

thousands of Roman citizens to emigrate, the economic vacuum was again filled by new importations of slaves. These clever easterners were employed by their masters in all kinds of lucrative occupations at which the slaves might make their own profits.<sup>38</sup> They were placed in bake-shops, shoe-shops, and wine-booths, in the stalls of the vegetable and the fish markets. There was nothing they could not do. It is not surprising to find that a thrifty slave could save enough to buy his liberty in eight years. Slaves in personal service were frequently set free by generous owners who put them into business and shared profits with them on a partnership basis. These are the people who were handling Rome's merchandise at the seaports of Italy. They came originally from trading and seafaring people. Thrift, cleverness, and fidelity were the qualities which gained them their liberty and these were the same qualities which soon turned them into successful merchants and ship-owners. They had little difficulty in outstripping the Romans in these occupations, for the Roman was always a landlubber. In the late empire the only rivals with whom they disputed the traffic of the seas were the descendants of their own ancestors, the Syrians of the east.<sup>39</sup>

In reviewing the status of Roman commerce during the last two centuries of the republic, then, we have found that at first the Italians who lived near the Greek seaport towns of southern Italy were actively engaged in the Mediterranean trade. Roman citizens gained importance there only after 130, when they began to exploit their new province of Asia. These citizens, however, always lovers of terra firma, gradually drifted into capitalistic enterprises on land, leaving the freedmen of Oriental and Greek stock in Italy and their sons to gain control of the maritime shipping. In the light of these facts we can readily comprehend the attitude of indifference that the senate regularly assumed toward commerce.

Thus far we have dealt only with the commercial classes that were concerned in carrying Rome's imports and exports. Quite apart from these, there grew up a strong group of capitalistic firms that acted indirectly as the state's agents in many of its financial transactions. These were the associations of *publicani*, whose members were usually *equites*, the nobility of wealth at Rome. Because of its theory of magistracies, Rome could not well create a permanent treasury department capable of collecting all the state revenues and directing the execution of public works; accordingly, it had to let contracts to firms of private citizens for the performance of all such tasks. Obviously the firms that thrived upon these works were

<sup>38</sup> Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, p. 164.

<sup>39</sup> Scheffer-Boichorst, *Zur Geschichte der Syrer im Abendlande*.

directly interested in the size of Rome's revenues and disbursements, and accordingly in the growth of the empire that necessarily increased the profitable operations of the firms concerned. The question arises whether this interest converted itself into an effort to influence the state in favor of expansion, and if so at what period. I shall not here discuss the entire question but shall only record some calculations in justification of my belief that this influence did not appear during the second century B. C., where historians<sup>40</sup> have usually placed it, but rather during the first.

The *locus classicus* for this discussion is a passage in Polybius's description of the Roman constitution which was written about 140 B. C.:<sup>41</sup>

In like manner the people on its part is far from being independent of the Senate, and is bound to take its wishes into account both collectively and individually. For contracts, too numerous to count, are given out by the censors in all parts of Italy for the repairs or construction of public buildings; there is also the collection of revenue from many rivers, harbors, gardens, mines, and land—everything,<sup>42</sup> in a word, that comes under the control of the Roman government; and in all these the people<sup>43</sup> at large are engaged; so that there is scarcely a man, so to speak, who is not interested either as a contractor or as being employed in the works. For some purchase the contracts from the censors themselves; and others go partners with them; while others again go security for these contractors, or actually pledge their property to the treasury for them. Now over all these transactions the Senate has absolute control. It can grant an extension of time; and in case of unforeseen accident can relieve the contractors from a portion of their obligation, or release them from it altogether, if they are absolutely unable to fulfil it.

Polybius might have added that all these joint-stock companies also issued shares of stock as modern corporations do, so that their influence was increased by the expectation of dividends. Obviously a corporation supported by a large number of stock-holders, doubt-

<sup>40</sup> See especially Heitland's index under "Capitalists, influence of, on Roman policy", with his forty-one references; Deloume, *Les Manieuvres d'Argent à Rome, passim*; Greenidge, *A History of Rome*, pp. 44 ff.; Ferrero, *passim*; et al. Most writers have exaggerated the influence of the capitalist of the second century.

<sup>41</sup> Polybius, VI. 17.

<sup>42</sup> This is of course not quite correct. The tributes and tithes of Sicily, Spain, Sardinia, Macedonia, and Africa were collected by the natives in various ways and paid directly to the treasury.

<sup>43</sup> Here again Polybius is misleading. In the public works the firms employed little free labor. Slaves did most of the work and they of course had no political influence. We should also note that the most extensive piece of work in the days of Polybius, the great Marcian aqueduct, was not let out to these firms. The aediles took charge of the work and assigned it in some 3000 small lots to individuals. It would seem that the regular contracting firms were not capable of handling so large a task.

less including many senators, might exert a very appreciable influence upon legislation. Polybius also points out the strong hold which the senate had upon the public by its power to control contracts. Without belittling the importance of these facts, one must nevertheless indicate the inadequacy of the historian as a witness in the matter. Polybius left his native Greek village at a time when the wealthiest man in Greece was not worth \$300,000 and when the state budgets of the several Greek states were mere bagatelles. Nothing so astonished him at Rome as the sums of money dealt with there. Rome's budget—in his day about \$5,000,000—now seems a trifle for a world-state, but to him it was enormous, and it is not surprising that he should have over-emphasized the importance of the state's operations. Moreover, Polybius in this passage is developing his favorite political philosophy that the ideal constitution is composed of a system of "checks and balances". He is attempting to prove that Rome's great success is due to her possession of a Polybian constitution and he accordingly strains his material to fit his system. To make the three sides of his triangle exert an even pull, not only must the consuls check the senate, but the senate must check the people. It is very doubtful, however, whether anyone unacquainted with Polybius's theory of this endless chain of control would have discovered the enormous dependence of the people on the senate that so impressed him.

As a safer indication of the amount of influence exerted by capital and its interests, let us try to measure the extent of the operations in which it was engaged. Before the Punic Wars *publicani* were needed at Rome for the collection of port and pasture dues and perhaps of the rent of public lands when there were any. The citizen-tribute was apparently paid to the treasury without intermediary. In those days *publicani* were necessary to the state but they had no control over any large funds. The conquest of Sicily extended their field of operation to the collection of port and pasture dues upon the island, but it is noteworthy that they made little or no effort to bid for the tithe-gathering there. In 214, during the Hannibalic war, they were publicly asked to supply—on credit—provisions for the army in Spain. Nineteen publicans, members of three firms, responded to this request, making the condition that the state insure their cargoes.<sup>44</sup> Later several firms offered to execute on credit the public works that would be needed until the war should end.<sup>45</sup> These are the first references we possess to firms of publi-

<sup>44</sup> Livy, XXIII. 49, 3.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV. 18.

cans. After the war we do not often hear of them, although we know that expensive public works were occasionally let.

In order to form an estimate of the amount involved in the annual operations of these firms we must try to determine what part of the annual budget passed through their hands in dues and contracts. In the year 63 B. C. we hear that the treasury had an income<sup>46</sup> of about \$10,000,000. In 150 B. C. we may fairly estimate it at half of that or less, since the state had not then acquired its most profitable provinces of Asia and Africa nor the tribute of several Greek cities which became stipendiary during the Mithradatic War. Of this hypothetical \$5,000,000, the Roman publicans did not collect half, for the Spanish, the Sardinian, and the Macedonian stipends were paid directly, while the Sicilian tithes were still gathered by native collectors. There probably passed through the hands of the publicans at this time in port and pasture dues, fishing licenses, and occasional mining contracts an average of about \$2,000,000 per annum. Furthermore some of the firms also engaged in public works, road-building, the construction of walls, sewers, aqueducts, and the like. For such matters the senate of the second century usually appropriated a fifth<sup>47</sup> or a tenth of the year's income, that is, from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000. In the rest of the expenditure—practically all for military purposes—the publicans seldom had any share, for the military questor usually managed the finances of the army, receiving the requisite appropriation directly from the treasury.

We may safely conclude therefore that the annual sum in the hands of the *publicani* both for collections and contracts did not on the average exceed \$4,000,000. What profits could be made from this sum that they should influence the state's policies? If we estimate<sup>48</sup> that there were about 20,000 *equites* in the year 150, with an average census of \$20,000 each—a low estimate—we have a private

<sup>46</sup> This figure is assured by a combination of Plutarch, *Pompey*, 45, and Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 55. Ptolemy's income from Egypt about the same time was about three-fourths this sum (Diodorus, XVII. 52). For the sake of comparison we may note that the Gallic tribute was about \$2,000,000 under Augustus, that of Asia about \$1,500,000 under Hadrian. Sicily's tithe in 70 B. C. was worth about \$450,000, if we accept from Cicero, *Verr.*, III. 163, the average price of three sesterces per modius of wheat or about sixty cents per bushel.

<sup>47</sup> Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, II. 87.

<sup>48</sup> The knight's minimum census was doubtless lower in 150 than the 400,000 HS. required by law in the first century. But our estimate is hardly too high for an average. Crassus, the consul of 130, considered the richest man of his day, was worth 100,000,000 HS. I have also estimated the number of knights. In the census of 234, there were 19,000 Roman knights in a citizen-population of 270,000. Since the citizen-census of 153 showed a population of 324,000, our number is probably fair.

capital of \$400,000,000 in the hands of the *equites* alone. In other words, the public contracts at that time involved only one per cent. of the possessions of the *equites*. Probably ninety-nine per cent. was invested in Italian land. The total area of Roman lands at this time was about 14,000,000 acres, which at the average price of unimproved lands given by Columella<sup>49</sup> (fifty dollars per jugera) would mean a thousand million dollars in soil value alone. It must be evident that throughout the middle of the century the one all-absorbing field for investment was Italian land and that in proportion to the amount devoted to this field the capital engaged in state contracts before the Gracchan legislation was insignificant. Had the tax-farming firms been looking for a more extended field of operation, they could readily have competed for the collection of Sicilian tithes, and the slight inconvenience of employing an agent in Sicily would scarcely have deterred them from doing so if they had been very eager for such state contracts. We must conclude therefore that before the Gracchan period the *equites* were hardly so deeply involved in public finances as to be seriously concerned about the problem of territorial expansion. The attempt so persistently made to explain second-century wars by reference to the supposed machinations of the knights has no foundation in our sources or in any accurate understanding of the knights' position in the economic world of that day.

It cannot be denied, however, that the knights did become a strong political power in the first century, and it was the Gracchan revenue law of 123 which opened the way for their ultimate high position. This law gave them contracts which at once doubled the amount of their operations for the state. But what benefitted them even more were the incidental profits derived from these new contracts. After collecting the Asiatic grain, for example, they could hold it for winter prices and thus double their gains. They could carry the taxes of delinquent cities at usurious rates of interest. Individuals engaged in these operations in Asia found rich opportunities for investing in lands and industries. And the lessons they learned in Asia they applied elsewhere. Not only did they now enter the Sicilian field of tithe-gathering, but individual investors connected with the public firms overran all the provinces in search of bargains and profits. Furthermore, Gracchus had given dignity

<sup>49</sup> Columella, III. 3. Land was doubtless cheaper in 150 B. C., especially since so much colonization had recently taken place then. Some of the Roman land was of course not arable, yet on the whole it included the choicest parts of Italy. The estimate may go for what it is worth. Columella, at any rate, doubles the value when the land is planted with vines.

to the firms by bestowing political privileges upon the class as a whole. Henceforth the economic interests of the firms found a respectable champion in a compact, ennobled body that occupied a definite place in the state's machinery. Within a few years the voice of the knights can be heard favoring the suppression of devastating wars. In the days of Pompey, they even went one step farther. Then they demanded that the Great General be put in charge of the eastern war because they had reason to believe that he favored the forcible annexation of Syria and would be willing to expose it to the tender mercies of the lucrative contract system.

TENNEY FRANK.



## WILLIAM PITT AND WESTMINSTER ELECTIONS

THE part which William Pitt played in the Westminster elections of 1784 and 1788 is of special interest and significance in any attempt to explain his political methods. Yet the election of 1788 is overlooked entirely by almost every writer on Pitt's life, and scarcely any two writers agree in their accounts of the election of 1784. The city and liberties of Westminster occupied a unique place among eighteenth-century English parliamentary constituencies, since every male "inhabitant householder" had a right to vote for members of Parliament. In the shires the suffrage was limited to the forty-shilling freeholders. While scarcely any two boroughs prescribed the same qualifications for suffrage, perhaps in none of them, and certainly in none of considerable size, was such a large proportion of the population permitted to vote as in Westminster. There was, therefore, a better opportunity to secure a genuine expression of the popular will in an election in Westminster than in any other constituency in the kingdom. It is true that several of the large ducal houses with the support of the royal influence were for a long time able to control the votes of a majority of the electors even in the capital city. But in 1780, under the leadership of Charles James Fox, the Whigs were able to overcome this influence, and the Whig orator sat in Parliament as one of the representatives for Westminster from that date till his death.

The story of the political developments in England in the closing months of 1783 and the first six months of 1784 has been told many times, and this is not the place to repeat such familiar facts. Nevertheless, a brief statement of the conditions existing at the time of the general election of 1784 is necessary in order to make clear the significance of the events that took place in Westminster in April and May of that year. Lord North, a minister after the king's own heart, resigned his position soon after the news of the surrender of Cornwallis reached England and was succeeded by a Whig ministry under the leadership of the Marquis of Rockingham. George III., however, was able to retain the services of his lord chancellor, Thurlow, and the presence of this master of intrigue along with the Chathamite leader, Lord Shelburne, in the cabinet made it extremely unlikely that the new administration could long survive. Even before the death of Rockingham in 1782 Fox had determined to resign the foreign portfolio because of a disagreement with Shel-

burne, and the latter was now made prime minister. Other Whigs followed Fox out of the cabinet, and the government was left in the hands of the king's friends and the remnant of the Chathamites. The young William Pitt was called to the cabinet as a prominent member of the latter party. Fox and North soon afterward joined forces for the avowed purpose of seeking to restrict the prerogatives and powers of the king. The Shelburne administration was unable to stand against so formidable a combination of parties, and the coalition came into power under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Portland but under the real leadership of Fox. George III. made no attempt to conceal his dislike of these ministers, and immediately began to devise schemes to drive them from office. In fact, before he turned the government over to the Whigs he had tried to induce Pitt to form an administration regardless of the parliamentary situation.<sup>1</sup> Pitt thought it wiser to bide his time, however, and George was obliged to submit to a few months of Whig rule. But when Fox brought forward his bill for the reform of the East India Company in the autumn session of 1783 Pitt finally agreed to accept the reins of government. Everybody knows the story of his parliamentary battles with Fox during the subsequent months until he finally dissolved Parliament in March, 1784. In the new House of Commons which resulted he had a dependable majority in his favor.

This article is an attempt to throw new light on the means by which the overwhelming majority in favor of Fox and North in the Parliament of 1783 was transformed into a safe working majority for Pitt in the new House. Usually this change is interpreted as merely the reflection of a radical change in the opinions of the English people. We are told that George III., Pitt, and the House of Lords, in rejecting Fox's India bill and turning the coalition out of office, had acted in accordance with the wishes of a majority of Englishmen, and the political complexion of the new House of Commons is cited as evidence of this fact. Pitt is represented as a champion of reform carried into power by a frenzied wave of popular hostility to the coalition and approval of his policies. This is the view set forth by almost every recent writer from Lecky to Dr. John Holland Rose. Nevertheless there are several questions which call for consideration before we can accept their explanations beyond the peradventure of a doubt.

For example, Pitt was ready in November to undertake a task which he had declined in March because it was seemingly hopeless.

<sup>1</sup> See the king's letters to Pitt in Chatham MSS., 103. These well-known manuscripts are preserved in the British Public Record Office. The citations given here refer to the numbers of the bundles.

In a letter to his mother on February 25, 1783, he confessed frankly that "the great article to decide by seems that of numbers".<sup>2</sup> Exactly one month from that day he wrote to George III. that it was "utterly impossible for Him after the fullest Consideration of the Situation in which things stand, and of what passed yesterday in the House of Commons, to think of undertaking under such Circumstances the Situation" that the king had proposed to him.<sup>3</sup> Evidently he could not then see his way clear to command a majority in the House of Commons. The following months the young statesman spent plotting with his cousin, Lord Temple, who was seeking to curry royal favor by devising a workable scheme for overthrowing the administration.<sup>4</sup> By August 8 he could write to his mother before leaving for a flying trip to the Continent that things might "possibly go thro' the rest of the summer as they are; tho much longer there is every Reason to believe they will not".<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless when Fox introduced his India bill at the autumn session it passed the House of Commons by a large majority. On the surface there did not seem to be any reason why Pitt should change the decision he had made in March, yet before the end of December he was prime minister. The obvious explanation of this sudden change of front is that Fox, by his India bill, had aroused the hostility of the proprietors of the gigantic East India Company, and Jenkinson, the leader of the king's friends, and Pitt, with the aid of the money and influence of their new allies, now felt themselves in a position to undertake the fight against the Whigs with fair prospects of success.

But they had no intention of depending entirely on the purses of the nabobs and the members which they controlled. The royal support itself was an item of no mean consideration, carrying with it, as it did, the ability to confer peerages, a species of bribes that was as insidious as it was effective. The control of the public treasury, however, was even more desirable, both because a number of parliamentary constituencies were controlled from that office and because the public coffers were a convenient source of campaign funds, and one which an eighteenth-century politician did not hesitate to use. Accordingly, George III. through Lord Temple interfered to defeat Fox's India bill in the House of Lords and imme-

<sup>2</sup> Chatham MSS., 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>4</sup> See Pitt's letters to his mother, *ibid.*, 12; Buckingham, *Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III.*, I. 303-305; *Dropmore Papers* (manuscripts of Mr. J. B. Fortescue preserved at Dropmore and calendared by the British Historical Manuscripts Commission), I. 216.

<sup>5</sup> Chatham MSS., 12.

diately thereafter sent to Fox and North demanding their seals. Naturally the new ministers were for the time unable to command the support of the Commons, and the government was in a deadlock. But it was not to be so for long. There is not space here to discuss in detail the methods by which the change was wrought. John Robinson, North's old secretary of the treasury and campaign manager, himself a political strategist of no mean ability, was called to the task and did the will of Jenkinson, Pitt, and the king.<sup>6</sup> One by one the Whig majority melted away before their assaults until, by the time of the dissolution in March, there was no longer any room for doubt as to the political complexion of the new Parliament. Indeed it was next to impossible to return a Parliament hostile to an eighteenth-century minister who had the favor of the king, and, as a contemporary pamphleteer pointed out in 1784, it had not been done for nearly a century previous to that date.<sup>7</sup> It was, therefore, extremely unlikely that the Whigs would be able to make any headway against Pitt with both the king and the East India Company supporting him. Then, too, John Robinson was past-master in the art of conciliating recalcitrant members and electors, while George Rose, his successor in the treasury, had also inherited a share of his ability as a politician. Pitt himself was not the least apt pupil in that art that his time produced, though it is not necessary that we agree with the verdict of the Whig pamphleteer who remarked that, "Sir Robert Walpole himself was a simpleton to this wonderful young man."<sup>8</sup>

Money was no doubt contributed by all the factions interested. We know from his letter to Wilberforce on April 6, 1784, that Pitt himself was active in raising the funds.<sup>9</sup> But Horace Walpole was probably more nearly correct than he usually was in his views on public questions when he wrote to Sir Horace Mann six days earlier: "The Court struck the blow at the Minister; but it was the gold of the Company that really conjured up the storm, and has diffused it all over England."<sup>10</sup> At any rate it is certain that Pitt worked in harmony with the company and that when he introduced his India bill it was submitted to the directors for suggestions and for their approval.<sup>11</sup> But by no means all the money used in the election of 1784 came from private purses. The public funds were

<sup>6</sup> For Robinson's part in the election of 1784 see, "The Manuscripts of the Marquess of Abergavenny", *Tenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, appendix, part VI.; Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs of his own Time*, I. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *A Gleam of Comfort to this Distracted Empire, etc.* (January 22, 1785), p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>9</sup> Wilberforce, *Private Papers of William Wilberforce*, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Cunningham, *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, VIII. 466.

<sup>11</sup> Chatham MSS., 102, 169, 196, 353.

levied on also, and that with Pitt's knowledge and approval. Such funds were usually accredited to secret service when issued from the treasury, though George III. had been accustomed to supply Robinson with money from his privy purse and probably accommodated Pitt and Rose in a like manner. Some of the vouchers for that issued from the secret service funds are still preserved and testify as to the use to which the money was put.<sup>12</sup> Moreover the king now opened the fountain of promotion into the peerage, which had been closed to the Whigs. So numerous were the resulting creations that a wag wrote in 1790 that whereas France had abolished titles of nobility England "to avoid the pernicious example seems almost to be growing a nation of Lords".<sup>13</sup> Seventeen promotions were announced within six months after the election of 1784. The majority of these new-made lords had influence in one or more parliamentary constituencies, and some of them, like Sir James Lowther who was created Earl of Lonsdale, were borough magnates.<sup>14</sup>

When Pitt finally dissolved Parliament in March, 1784, therefore, the membership of the new House of Commons was no longer a matter of doubt. Lists of the members as they had been agreed upon were already being handed around in Westminster.<sup>15</sup> The Whig papers but stated facts well known to those who were familiar with the conditions when they said:<sup>16</sup>

The reception of the friends of the Coalition in the country is held out as a proof that the voice of the public is against them. It is not a conclusive proof—it only shows us, that the length of the treasury purse is greater than that of the opposition purse. Examine the facts. Would Sir Richard Hotham have lost the Borough, if he had stood the contest? Would Sir Charles Bunbury have lost Suffolk? Would Colonel Hartley, if he had been a *Nabob*, have lost Berkshire? Would Mr. Foljambe and Mr. Weddel have lost Yorkshire, or Mr. Coke Norfolk? The men who know these places are convinced that nothing but the want of cash lost the Elections, and the only fact which those

<sup>12</sup> Chatham MSS., 179, 183, 229; Treasury Order Books, vols. XXVI.–XXVIII. (preserved as "Treasury Miscellanea" in the Public Record Office); British Museum Additional MSS. 37,835–37,836; House of Commons, *Accounts and Papers*, vol. CVI., no. 962. This last document purports to be a statement of the money credited to secret service, 1774–1798, but should be corrected by comparison with the Order Books and the accounts and vouchers in bundle 229 of the Chatham MSS.

<sup>13</sup> *The New Parliamentary Register; in a Series of Poetical Epistles*, p. 17.

<sup>14</sup> *The Court and City Register; or, Gentleman's Complete Annual Calendar*, pp. 9–15 (1785).

<sup>15</sup> *Morning Post*, March 26, 1784.

<sup>16</sup> *History of the Westminster Election containing every Material Occurrence from its Commencement . . . to the Close*, p. 320. This work is a documentary history of the election containing, in addition to official documents, reprints of the various hand-bills and newspaper paragraphs that pertained to the election. The compilation seems to have been done without much partizan bias though by a supporter of Fox.

Elections have proved is, that the ability of private gentlemen is not equal to the ability of the nation, and it always must be so.

Great as was the influence of the Whig families they had no chance when pitted against the king's friends and the East India Company with the public treasury to furnish them the sinews of war. That the Whigs were unable to overcome the odds against them affords little evidence one way or the other as to the state of public opinion.

But it was certainly a noteworthy fact that George III., even in appearance, should use his prerogative to effect a change in administration merely in order to secure ministers who could command the support of a majority of the English people. We naturally view such an action on his part with some skepticism. Had Pitt advised a dissolution and referred his claims to the electors immediately after his appointment there might be more grounds for accepting his majority in the new House as evidence of a popular verdict in his favor. Instead he delayed till his henchmen had won over almost a majority in the old Parliament and till the necessary agreements could be made with borough-mongers and men of influence for securing a majority in the new one. To be sure, the Whigs, knowing how well-nigh impossible it would be for them under the circumstances to outbid the government for members of the new House, fought against dissolution and did their best to overthrow Pitt with the following they had in the Parliament elected while North was minister. Nevertheless, it throws no light on the question under discussion to say that either Pitt or Fox violated the code of political etiquette which would now be observed under similar circumstances. Both parties knew that the popular will would have little to do with the decision of the question at issue. While the Whigs apparently played into Pitt's hands by giving him time to put his house in order before the election, they were at the same time using the only means of defeating him that were at all likely to succeed. The truth is, then, that the views of the members of the House of Commons are not a dependable index to popular opinion on public questions in the England of Pitt and Fox.

There were, however, a few constituencies in which the electors were approximately representative of all classes of the population and in which there was a possibility that the popular view might find expression in a parliamentary election. It would seem to be noteworthy, therefore, that in the largest and most democratic of these constituencies, which was also the only one in which the Whigs offered serious resistance to the victorious Pittites, the ministerial party was defeated. If we could assume that the householders in

Westminster gave free expression of their opinions by their votes we should have in the result of the election in that city the most pertinent testimony concerning the political views of the average Englishman in 1784 that it is possible to obtain. There, at least, all classes had an opportunity to voice their sentiments. We certainly ought not to assume that all the English people agreed with those who chanced to live in Westminster. Nevertheless, since it was difficult for the popular will to find expression in any other constituency at that time the result in the capital city has a peculiar significance. That Pitt himself was cognizant of this fact is evident from the strenuous efforts he made to defeat Fox, from the almost unscrupulous methods he used in his attempts to deprive the Whig leader of the fruits of his victory, and from his attempt at a later time to prove that the result in Westminster was not, as Fox claimed, evidence that a majority of the people were opposed to the methods and policies of the administration.

Even in Westminster the Whigs permitted Lord Hood, the customary representative from the navy and supposedly not an extreme partizan, to stand unopposed and devoted all their energy and money to the re-election of Fox. The party leader was opposed by Sir Cecil Wray, who was actively supported by Pitt and whose campaign was managed by Lord Mahon, Pitt's brother-in-law.<sup>17</sup> And Wray stood in sore need of such help, since he is said to have announced at the outset of the campaign that he did not expect to spend a cent from his own pocket.<sup>18</sup> For if Westminster was the most democratic of eighteenth-century English parliamentary constituencies its elections were certainly not conducted in a manner calculated to increase respect for democracy in the minds of conservative men. Hustings were erected in Covent Garden whither the high bailiff and his deputies repaired to record the votes for the respective candidates. The qualifications for the suffrage depended upon no statutory prescriptions but were matters of long-standing custom handed down from each bailiff to his successor. There was no registration, and the right of each elector to poll was determined after he appeared and offered himself as a voter.<sup>19</sup> Throughout the period of polling, the supporters of Hood and Wray employed gangs of ruffians disguised as sailors, ostensibly to keep a way to the hustings clear so that voters for their candidates might have easy access, but really to intimidate those who offered to poll for Fox. The Whigs, on the other hand, employed Irish chairmen to serve

<sup>17</sup> *A Full and Authentic Account of the whole Proceedings in Westminster Hall . . . 14th February, 1784*, p. 20; *History Westminster Election*, p. 129.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>19</sup> Chatham MSS., 237.

in the same capacity in behalf of their candidate.<sup>20</sup> Naturally numerous brawls and riots resulted, and the remarkable thing is that so few lives were lost. Since these tactics were practised by both sides, however, they probably resulted in advantage to neither party. The natural inference would seem to be that since the administrative power was in the hands of the Pittites they might expect less interference from the police and, therefore, were at liberty to indulge in greater license, and the facts furnish a certain amount of justification for this inference. Constables were called upon to assist in keeping the peace, but from all accounts they rather served as auxiliaries to the sailor friends of Hood and Wray.<sup>21</sup>

But governmental interference did not stop here. All the power that George III. and Pitt could command was brought to bear in their attempt to defeat Fox. The king himself did not scruple to suggest that corrupt means should be used if necessary to accomplish that result.<sup>22</sup> Two hundred and eighty of the royal guards were marched to the polls and voted in a body for Wray, a thing which was probably legal but which Horace Walpole said his father "in the most quiet seasons would not have dared to do".<sup>23</sup> One groom of the king's chamber announced publicly when he voted that he came under a mandate from the Lord Chamberlain's office to vote for Wray with a threat of immediate dismissal if he refused to do so.<sup>24</sup> The only thing that the Whigs had to offset this direct royal influence, with the exception of the support of the Prince of Wales, was the personal magnetism of Fox himself, and all who knew him agree that this was an item to be considered. Hannah More, writing to her sister while the election was in progress, said that as a companion of Mrs. Garrick she tried to be loyal to Pitt, but continued: "Unluckily for my principles I met Fox canvassing the other day, and he looks so sensible and agreeable, that if I had not turned my eyes another way, I believe it would have been all over with me."<sup>25</sup> But if there were elements in the personality of Fox that attracted support, Westminster was also the scene of his foibles, and his opponents did not hesitate to use them against him both in handbills and newspaper paragraphs. He was pictured as a gambler, a spendthrift, and worse. Fox himself declared that he was prouder of the issue of the contest because of the fact that the electors who

<sup>20</sup> *History Westminster Election*, pp. 379-409.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 361-362, 379-409; *Morning Post*, April 8, 1784; *Morning Herald*, April 10, May 12, 1784.

<sup>22</sup> Chatham MSS., 103.

<sup>23</sup> Cunningham, *Letters of Horace Walpole*, VIII. 469.

<sup>24</sup> *Morning Herald*, April 20, 1784.

<sup>25</sup> William Roberts, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More* (second ed.), I. 316.



had passed on his political conduct were not unfamiliar with his habits of private life.<sup>26</sup> Fox also freely admitted that he was bankrupt and that he was dependent on his friends for the money with which to finance his campaign.<sup>27</sup> The houses of Portland and Devonshire were the most notable of his supporters, and they probably contributed as much in influence as they did in money. But over against this influence the Pittites had the ducal houses of Newcastle and Northumberland.

It is not easy to determine the amount of money at the disposal of either party, though we know that the coffers of both were well supplied. But many obligations were contracted that were not settled for the next several years. In 1789, for example, Charles Pelham wrote soliciting contributions for that part of Fox's expenses which then remained unpaid, and seemed to think that the fifteen hundred pounds which still had to be raised was an unusually small amount.<sup>28</sup> The scrutiny which lasted for nearly a year after the election was estimated to cost each party from eighteen to thirty thousand pounds.<sup>29</sup> Clearly, therefore, an eighteenth-century Westminster election was not an inexpensive undertaking. The money used in favor of Fox came from his party friends, of that there is no doubt. As to the source of the funds with which the Pittites were as plentifully supplied more needs to be said. Doubtless the wealthy men of the party contributed their quota; they were invited to do so by public advertisement and by personal solicitations from Pitt himself.<sup>30</sup> But that Pitt, and not the defeated candidate, assumed the obligations of the campaign is evident from a letter of Wray to the minister in 1790 in behalf of the wife of the man who had managed the financial details of the campaign in 1784. Wray reminded Pitt that Jackson, the man in question, had saved to the subscribers to the campaign fund "many thousand pounds", and further that Mrs. Jackson herself had "in a most spirited manner saved the election papers from falling into improper hands". In view of these facts Wray urged that Pitt comply with the promise of relief he had made to Mrs. Jackson annually for five years. Pitt endorsed the letter, "To be registered for a small pension".<sup>31</sup> As to whether Pitt used any money from the public treasury in the Westminster election of 1784, we have no positive information. We have seen that money

<sup>26</sup> Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXV. 67.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV. 922.

<sup>28</sup> Historical MSS. Commission, *Fifteenth Report*, appendix, part V., p. 158.

<sup>29</sup> Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXIV. 922; XXV. 67.

<sup>30</sup> *History Westminster Election*, p. 114; Wilberforce, *Private Papers of William Wilberforce*, p. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Chatham MSS., 192.

from that source was used elsewhere in that year, and we shall find that Hood's campaign in Westminster in 1788 was largely financed by the treasury. No vouchers are preserved in the Chatham Manuscripts, however, which afford conclusive evidence that any of the money issued for secret service was used in the capital in 1784. But much money was issued to Rose in the next several years for which his vouchers have not been preserved.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the secret service funds were not the only public money at Pitt's disposal for election purposes. We noted above that the king had been in the habit of furnishing Robinson on such occasions with money from the privy purse. And Lord Chatham mentions in a list of things sent to the king after Pitt's death, "Mr. Pitt's Letter to the King acknowledging the receipt of £5,000—March 31, 1784".<sup>33</sup> Polling began in Westminster that year on April 1. But it really makes little difference whether Pitt procured the funds he used in Westminster from the public treasury or from other sources. The money was provided from the party election funds, and he certainly forced the public treasury to contribute to his election expenses in 1784.

Of course not all of the money was used for actual bribery. Tavern-keepers had to be paid for keeping "open house". The sailors and chairmen demanded their five shillings per day with food and drink, and drink was especially necessary to make them as useful as they were expected to be. The publishers of newspapers had to be paid for their support, and the paragraph writers came in for additional stipends. Printers and writers of handbills and pamphlets, bill-posters, and others too numerous to mention made up the multitude that clamored for their share of eighteenth-century election funds, to say nothing of the canvassers and the committees of the parties with their employees. When we consider that the polling extended over a period of forty days it is clear that the wages of the chairmen and the sailors were no small item in themselves. Whether bribery was resorted to as freely as has been assumed or not, therefore, a Westminster election called for large expenditures of money.<sup>34</sup>

The issues at stake were set forth clearly and emphatically by speakers and writers on both sides many times while the contest was in progress, so that every elector had an opportunity to inform himself before casting his vote. Fox stated the Whig platform pretty concisely in a speech that he made on February 14, 1784,

<sup>32</sup> Chatham MSS., 229; Treasury Order Books, XXVI.-XXIX.

<sup>33</sup> Chatham MSS., 364.

<sup>34</sup> The methods used by Pitt to secure the support of the newspapers and writers for them are made clear by the papers in Chatham MSS., 229. The facts concerning the general conduct of the election have been gathered from contemporary newspapers and pamphlets and from the *History of the Westminster Election*.

just outside the hall in which a public meeting advertised by his supporters had been broken up by disorderly Tories:<sup>35</sup>

The true simple question of the present dispute is, whether the House of Lords and Court Influence shall predominate over the House of Commons, and annihilate its existence, or whether the House of Commons, whom you elected, shall have power to maintain the privileges of the people, to support its liberties, and check the unconstitutional proceedings of a House of Lords whom you never elected; and regulate the prerogatives of the Crown, which was ever ready to seize upon the freedom of the Electors of this country.

The supporters of Wray, on the other hand, agreed with Fox in favoring parliamentary reform, but made the fight against him on the ground that he had betrayed his party in making the coalition with North, and on the ground that his India bill did not meet with the approval of the people and therefore that the king and the House of Lords were justified in refusing to agree to it till a new Parliament had been elected.<sup>36</sup> Since Wray had formerly been a supporter of Fox, however, and had actually been first brought into Parliament by the Whig leader,<sup>37</sup> he naturally urged the coalition as the reason for his change of view, and this much-criticized measure of Fox was by no means the least emphasized question in the Westminster contest. But the Foxites, unlike many recent historians, did not forget that the alliance of Fox and North was not the only coalition of that time, and turned the attack on the ministerial union of parties that had succeeded the Whigs. The following picturesque example will make clear how effective was the retort:<sup>38</sup>

By this *Coalition*, the *snake in the grass* trembled for its existence . . . There is but one resource say they, *Damn the Coalition*. . . Now Gentlemen, I say, *Damn the union* . . . but not the union of *North and Fox* . . . *Damn the heterogeneous mixture* in the present *Cabinet*, where a *Pitt* and a *Jenkinson*, a *Gower* and a *Richmond*, a *Dundas* and a *Sydney*, all coalesce and form a *mess of Tiper broth* for the good of our *tottering Constitution*!

It seems tolerably clear, then, that the Westminster electors in 1784 had ample opportunities to get acquainted with the questions in dispute between the two great political parties, and, furthermore, that, if there was any difference, the Pittites had the aid of more influential interests than the Whigs in their efforts to achieve a

<sup>35</sup> *History Westminster Election*, pp. 53-66.

<sup>36</sup> *A Full and Authentic Account*, pp. 5-25.

<sup>37</sup> *A Letter to the Independent Electors of Westminster in the Interest of Lord Hood and Sir Cecil Wray* (1784).

<sup>38</sup> *History Westminster Election*, pp. 173-174.

popular verdict in their favor. When we consider, therefore, that Fox beat Wray by a vote of 6234 to 5998 as compared with 4878 to 4527, the figures in the Fox-Lincoln election in 1780, it is evident that in spite of the efforts of the ministers the Whigs had held their own in the capital city of the kingdom which was also the one contested constituency in which there was a fair opportunity for the wishes of the people to find expression in the election. Indeed, Pitt himself seems to have recognized this fact. In his speech on the address in answer to the king's speech on May 24, 1784, he admitted that Fox had been opposed in Westminster by both the government and the East India Company, and the only excuse he offered for the failure of their combined efforts to defeat the Whig leader is contained in the following statement: "What allies the right hon. gentleman had to fight for him are not noticed. The degree of influence used in his favour has not been observed upon, nor any respect paid to those charms which alone can supersede every other consideration among us all, and command unanimity when nothing else could occasion it."<sup>39</sup> Everybody who heard him knew that the speaker referred to the part which the attractive though somewhat unconventional Duchess of Devonshire had played in the canvass in behalf of Fox.

Now there can be no doubt that passion ran high on both sides during the long contest. Walpole, writing to Sir Horace Mann on March 26, said: "I question whether any woman intrigues with a man of a different party."<sup>40</sup> And since party feeling was thus strong it is extremely unlikely that the open efforts of one woman could have turned the scale, as writers of that time and some more recently have averred.<sup>41</sup> The carriage of the duchess was certainly useful for bringing to the polls voters from the outlying districts, and she did not scruple to drive the vehicle herself.<sup>42</sup> It is doubtful whether her influence was very effective in any other way, though if the Englishmen of that day had any of the gentlemanly instincts that characterize those of a later generation it is not difficult to conclude that some of them may have been led to vote for the candidate she championed by the illiberal, not to say vulgar, attacks that Pitt's paragraphers and pamphleteers persistently made on the duchess. Those penny-a-liners had few scruples, as the following characteristic example of their wit will testify:<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXIV. 842.

<sup>40</sup> Cunningham, *Letters of Horace Walpole*, VIII. 465.

<sup>41</sup> *Morning Post*, April 27, 1784; Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs*, I. 6; Rose, *William Pitt and National Revival*, pp. 172-173; Hunt, *Political History of England*, X. 283.

<sup>42</sup> Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs*, I. 11.

<sup>43</sup> *History Westminster Election*, p. 434.

The girl condemn'd to walk the streets,  
And pick each blackguard up she meets,  
And get him in her clutches;  
Has lost her trade—for they despise  
Her wanton airs, her leering eyes—  
Now they can kiss a Duchess.

So constantly did the administration scribblers indulge in scurrilities of this kind that by the end of the canvass it was impossible to miss the point when a Whig paper remarked: "There was not one woman of virtue called W—— in a certain morning print of yesterday."<sup>44</sup> These campaign stories were repeated so frequently at the time that Wraxall and Walpole, those princes of scandal-mongers, imbedded them in their reminiscences.<sup>45</sup> And even in recent years serious historians have accepted, without taking the trouble to look for evidence in support of it, the story that the Duchess of Devonshire bought votes for Fox with kisses.<sup>46</sup> The Whig leaders, on the other hand, may not have lived up to the strictest tenets of morality in their private life, but they at least did not stoop to employ such unworthy weapons against the women who canvassed in behalf of Hood and Wray. But whatever methods the duchess may have used there is nothing to prove that she was the determining factor in the election.

However Fox obtained his majority Pitt had no intention of letting him sit for Westminster if he could devise a way to prevent it. By April 15, though Wray was still ahead as a result of the votes of the guards, the tide had turned in favor of Fox, and on that day the Pittites advertised that they would demand a scrutiny at the close of the poll.<sup>47</sup> As a matter of fact, after Fox began to gain, the number of votes cast per day was so small and the contest over each vote was so warm that the election itself was as much of a scrutiny as could possibly be had under the existing law. But Fox continued to gain slowly though steadily, and on May 1 the king wrote Pitt that the high bailiff had consented to grant a scrutiny should it be asked for.<sup>48</sup> Still no effort was made to close the poll, and on the fortieth day of the election the bailiff himself declared it closed in order to enable him to make a return on the day that the writ expired.<sup>49</sup> By this action Corbett, the bailiff, virtually admitted

<sup>44</sup> *Parker's General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer*, June 15, 1784.

<sup>45</sup> Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs*, I. 11; Cunningham, *Letters of Horace Walpole*, VIII. 469.

<sup>46</sup> Rose, *William Pitt and National Revival*, p. 172; Hunt, *Political History of England*, X. 283.

<sup>47</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, April 15, 1784; *Morning Post*, April 15, 1784.

<sup>48</sup> Chatham MSS., 103.

<sup>49</sup> *History Westminster Election*, p. 129.

that his jurisdiction would end with the expiration of the writ. Nevertheless, at the request of the friends of Wray he granted a scrutiny and, instead of returning the names of two members to sit in Parliament for Westminster as he ought to have done, sent a certificate to the effect that a scrutiny had been demanded and was then in progress.<sup>50</sup>

By this illegal action of Corbett, who was manifestly acting under instructions from the ministers, Westminster was deprived of representation in the new Parliament that met May 18, 1784, for its first session. That the action was illegal is now generally admitted, and in that Parliament even so good a Tory as Sir John Scott, afterward Lord Chancellor Eldon, declined to support Pitt in such a manifest breach of the law.<sup>51</sup> One speaker pertinently suggested that should the sheriff of Cornwall develop such conscientious scruples as the defenders of Corbett alleged in support of his action the House would be thereby deprived of forty members.<sup>52</sup> Fox had been accommodated with a seat for a pocket borough by Sir Thomas Dundas and was in the House to take up the cudgels in behalf of his late constituents. When Parliament organized for business on May 24 Lee, the former Whig attorney-general, moved that Corbett "ought to have returned two citizens to sit in Parliament for Westminster". Lee argued in defense of this motion that a statute provided that the sheriff to whom a writ was issued should on or before the day that Parliament was called to meet make a return of it to the clerk of the crown in the High Court of Chancery.<sup>53</sup> The granting of a scrutiny, therefore, to be conducted after the date of the expiration of the writ, was clearly beyond the legal authority of the bailiff. Sir Lloyd Kenyon, the master of the rolls, who is said to have been Pitt's legal adviser throughout these proceedings,<sup>54</sup> replied to Lee, contending that the court had the power to excuse a sheriff from the execution of a writ. He moved the previous question so that a motion might be made to have the bailiff attend and give an account of his action. Lord Mahon, Pitt's brother-in-law, seconded this motion and brought forward the two chief arguments that were afterward alleged in defense of the course that Pitt decided upon. In the first place, he contended that the statute that Lee had cited referred to the writs issued to sheriffs, whereas the Westminster election was held by the bailiff in obedience to a "precept" issued to him by the sheriff of

<sup>50</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons*, XL, 8.

<sup>51</sup> Twiss, *The Public and Private Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon*, I, 168-172; Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXV, 121.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, XXV, 43.

<sup>53</sup> 10 and 11 Wm. III., c. 7.

<sup>54</sup> John Nicholls, *Recollections and Reflections . . . during the Reign of George III.*, II, 151.

Middlesex. Obviously this argument was absurd, for a law requiring the sheriff to make his return at a given time implied that the return of the bailiff must be in his hands by that time. It was on this theory that Corbett closed the poll on May 17. But Lord Mahon argued, in the second place, that another statute required the bailiff to take an oath that he would return "such person or persons as shall, to the best of my judgment, appear to me to have the majority of legal votes". Since Corbett had not been able to make up his mind, manifestly he could not comply with the terms of this oath. Pepper Arden, a personal friend of Pitt, who had made him attorney-general, adopted and elaborated this argument. "Cavillers", he said, "might talk of law and statutes, but there was neither law nor statute that could bind or compel a man to do that which in his conscience he could not do. This was a species of arbitrary compulsion that was wholly unjustifiable." And so the tender conscience of Thomas Corbett served for the time to support this illegal and unjustifiable procedure, and the previous question was ordered by an overwhelming majority.<sup>55</sup>

Pitt, however, had not yet fully made up his mind whether it would be better to proceed with the scrutiny or to order the bailiff to make a double return, in which case the question would be submitted to a committee chosen under Grenville's act.<sup>56</sup> But the confident young minister wrote to his friend, the Duke of Rutland, that same night: "In either case I have no doubt of Fox being thrown out, though in either there may be great delay, inconvenience, and expense, and the choice of the alternative is delicate."<sup>57</sup> On the following day Fox petitioned that the case might be heard by a committee appointed under Grenville's act.<sup>58</sup> Pitt denied the petition on the advice of Kenyon and Lord Mulgrave, and the scrutiny went on.

Of the further progress of the scrutiny it is not necessary to say much here. Fox and his friends kept continually hammering away at what was manifestly a weak spot in the armor of their opponents. Motion after motion was voted down by Pitt's loyal members, who likewise rejected every petition of the Whigs. Such proceedings necessarily interfered seriously with Pitt's legislative programme. Nevertheless he persisted in the measure until on March 4, 1785, when either, as George III. suggested, because there were some lengths to

<sup>55</sup> For all the debates on the scrutiny see Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXIV. 802-XXV. 146.

<sup>56</sup> 10 Geo. III., c. 16. The act provides a method of choosing by lot a committee to try election petitions.

<sup>57</sup> *Correspondence between the Right Honble William Pitt and Charles Duke of Rutland, 1781-1787*, p. 15.

<sup>58</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons*, XL. 13-14.

which even Pitt's personal friends would not go<sup>59</sup> or for some other reason, he found himself in a minority. Thereupon Corbett was immediately ordered to make his return. As a result of the scrutiny Fox was now accredited with 6126 votes against 5895 for Wray as compared with 6234 to 5998, the figures at the close of the poll.<sup>60</sup> When we consider the powers that were arrayed against Fox and the resources at their command this result is eloquent testimony in favor of the view that he was the choice of a majority of the electors in Westminster.

The question remains, why Pitt, who posed as a champion of reform, used such indefensible measures against his most distinguished rival. Subsequent writers have by no means agreed on this point. Lecky, Lord Rosebery, and Dr. Hunt agree essentially in pronouncing it a display of tactlessness, unusual for Pitt and due in this case to an ungenerous personal pique.<sup>61</sup> Wraxall, who voted with Pitt on every question relating to the matter, in part supports this view, but palliates it somewhat by saying that Pitt on this occasion "adopted the resentment of the court, and became an active instrument of persecution".<sup>62</sup> Walpole, who although writing at the time was perhaps as little likely to know what he was talking about as Wraxall, said that the scrutiny was "solely set on foot and maintained by royal vengeance".<sup>63</sup> Fox himself was inclined to acquit Pitt personally of blame for the action and to attribute it to the secret advisers of the king.<sup>64</sup> But this view does not accord well with the ill-disguised satisfaction of the king at the conclusion of the matter which is apparent in his letter to Pitt on the day of his defeat.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, Daniel Pulteney, a henchman of the Duke of Rutland, wrote his patron that Jenkinson had not scrupled to call the scrutiny a "very silly business".<sup>66</sup> Pulteney, however, had a theory of his own, which was that Pitt was acting "out of respect to the Dukes of Northumberland and Newcastle". He argued this from the activity of Lord Mulgrave in support of the measure. But he was obliged to confess that Pitt himself remained firm in his support of the scrutiny to the last.<sup>67</sup> Perhaps the most astonishing

<sup>59</sup> Chatham MSS., 103; Stanhope, *Life of William Pitt*, I., appendix, p. xvi.

<sup>60</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons*, XL. 588.

<sup>61</sup> Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, V. 331; Rosebery, *Pitt*, p. 66; Hunt, *Political History of England*, X. 284.

<sup>62</sup> Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs*, I. 73.

<sup>63</sup> Cunningham, *Letters of Horace Walpole*, VIII. 545.

<sup>64</sup> Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXIV. 921.

<sup>65</sup> Chatham MSS., 103; Stanhope, *Life of William Pitt*, I., appendix, p. xv.

<sup>66</sup> *Rutland Papers* (Fourteenth Report Historical Manuscripts Commission, appendix, part I.), p. 178.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.



apology for Pitt's treatment of Fox is offered by Dr. Rose, who has recently published a two-volume biography of Pitt.<sup>68</sup>

Nevertheless, it is likely that he acted, not from rancour, not from a desire to ban his enemy, least of all under any dictation from Windsor (of this I have found no sign), but rather from the dictates of political morality. That there had been trumping up of false votes was notorious; for the votes polled exceeded the total number of voters; and Pitt, as the champion of purity at elections, may have deemed it his duty to probe the sore to the bottom. In these days an avowed champion of Reform would be praised for such conduct.

In view of the facts set forth in this article comment on the surmise of Dr. Rose is unnecessary.

Amid such a confusion of divergent opinions one is at first almost inclined to sympathize with the sarcasm of Walpole, who, after trying in vain to understand the situation, wrote: "In short, in such a season of party violence, one cannot learn the truth of what happens in the next street; future historians, however, will know it exactly, and, what is more, people will believe them!"<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, some points are reasonably clear. In the first place, Pitt seldom or never, unless this be a case, allowed his personal feelings to interfere with his political measures. We ought to have pretty good evidence, therefore, before accepting that explanation of his action in this case. Pulteney's allegation concerning the dukes of Northumberland and Newcastle may have had some justification, but it is extremely unlikely that Pitt would have subjected himself to so much trouble and inconvenience and even have endangered his own political life merely in order to please them. The more plausible view seems to be that Pitt recognized, as Burke afterward remarked,<sup>70</sup> that political leadership in England at that time must rest with either Fox or himself. The young minister had recently possessed himself of power by methods which could be justified on no other theory than that by so doing he carried out the real wishes of a majority of the English people. Pitt asserted boldly that the popular verdict had been against his rival,<sup>71</sup> but no man knew better than he how weak was the argument for that contention as long as Fox sat as the duly elected representative for Westminster. He, therefore, naturally

<sup>68</sup> Rose, *William Pitt and National Revival*, p. 271; Chatham MSS., 237. A parliamentary committee in 1789 found 17,291 houses in Westminster of which 2742 were occupied by women or untenanted. So the number of votes cast did not exceed the total number of voters.

<sup>69</sup> Cunningham, *Letters of Horace Walpole*, VIII. 545.

<sup>70</sup> *A Letter from the Rt. Honourable Edmund Burke to . . . the Duke of Portland*, etc. (1793).

<sup>71</sup> Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXIV. 842.

sought to throw discredit on Fox's victory and to deprive him of the prestige of sitting in Parliament as the choice of the most democratic constituency in England.

This view receives further support from the fact that Pitt did not give up his efforts to wrest Westminster from the Whigs after his defeat on the scrutiny in 1785. On account of the resignation of Lord Howe and the promotion of Lord Chatham to the head of the admiralty, Lord Hood, Fox's colleague in Parliament from the capital, was called to the admiralty board in 1788. In the election which necessarily followed Pitt tried to make a victory for Hood as certain as possible by withholding from the Whigs till the last minute the knowledge that the election would take place.<sup>72</sup> When the announcement was finally made Fox was at Newmarket, and even after he came to town was not inclined to favor contesting the seat. The Whig noblemen on whom the financial burdens of the campaign would fall thought otherwise, however, and after hurried consultations Lord John Townshend, a personal friend of Fox, was selected to oppose Hood. The Whigs subscribed fifteen thousand pounds,<sup>73</sup> and both sides were soon busy, after the usual fashion of Westminster elections of that time, in the last serious contest in which the electors of the capital took part in the lifetimes of Pitt and Fox.

The methods employed by Pitt and his henchmen in this campaign, if any wise different, were even less defensible than those used in the campaign of 1784. There was no lack of money. John Horne Tooke, who was in the employ of Hood's committee, has left a statement that twenty thousand pounds was collected from men in office and the rest furnished by the treasury.<sup>74</sup> The vouchers which Hood gave to Rose to the amount of six thousand pounds are still preserved in the Chatham Manuscripts. But this does not include the vouchers for several thousand pounds expended under the more immediate supervision of Rose and Pitt.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, John Frost, who at Pitt's "pressing solicitations" acted as Hood's financial agent, was bringing suit in 1796 for money that still remained unpaid.<sup>76</sup> Furthermore we do not know that we have all of the vouchers for secret service money paid to Hood, nor that the secret service funds were the only means used for issuing the public money to that candidate. We do know, however, that Hood contributed

<sup>72</sup> Wilberforce, *Private Papers of William Wilberforce*, p. 22; Rosebery, *Pitt and Wilberforce*, p. 42.

<sup>73</sup> Auckland, *Journal and Correspondence*, II. 222.

<sup>74</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 27,849; *Dropmore Papers*, I. 360.

<sup>75</sup> Chatham MSS., 229.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

very little to the fund himself, for he wrote to Pitt in 1786 asking for some sinecure appointment on the ground that his expenses in the election of 1784 had caused him serious financial embarrassment.<sup>77</sup>

Not only was the campaign of 1788 financed by Pitt; both he and Rose as well as his cousin, William Grenville, also took active personal parts in the canvass.<sup>78</sup> Rose himself made contracts with the tavern-keepers, newspaper-writers, and bill-posters, and received daily reports as to their activities.<sup>79</sup> In some cases, indeed, the contracts were such as only Rose with Pitt's consent could make. George Smith, for example, the proprietor of the *Star and Garter*, who had previously been convicted of brewing beer for sale without license, was employed by Rose in Pitt's presence to keep an open house in Hood's behalf.<sup>80</sup> As long as he continued to be useful to Hood the excise office made no attempt to collect the fine, and only after he had been obliged to bring suit against Rose to collect the amount due him for his political services was the old offense revived against him. Another man who was held in prison under a penalty of seven hundred pounds incurred for a violation of the lottery act was released on insufficient bail, and this in part defrayed by Lord Hood, on his promise to procure sixty votes for the latter.<sup>81</sup>

But Pitt was not content with merely bringing influences of this kind to secure supporters for Hood. His agents indulged in exhibitions of violence which were exceptional even for that time. The behavior of neither party affords a creditable spectacle in this respect. Both had gangs of rowdies whose business it was to intimidate the voters of the opposite party under the pretense of keeping a way clear to the hustings.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, the ministerialist ruffians seem to have been more aggressive, a fact which may in part be explained by the following affidavit made by twenty-one men on August 27, 1788, at Wapping in the county of Middlesex:<sup>83</sup>

That these deponents . . . [together with four other persons who with the twenty-one making the deposition are mentioned by name] and upwards of two hundred other persons, were each of them hired, and their names entered in a book, kept by Lieutenant Spry, on the part

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>78</sup> Auckland, *Journal and Correspondence*, II. 223; French Laurence, *Epistolary Correspondence of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke*, etc., p. 3; Buckingham, *Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III.*, I. 414.

<sup>79</sup> Chatham MSS., 229.

<sup>80</sup> *Trial of George Rose, Esq. . . for employing Mr. Smith, etc.*, p. 22.

<sup>81</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons*, XLVII. 686-687.

<sup>82</sup> Laurence, *Epistolary Correspondence*, pp. 1-7; *A Letter to John Horne Tooke Esq.*, etc. (1789); Buckingham, *Court and Cabinets*, I. 416-419.

<sup>83</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, August 28, 1788; *Morning Herald*, August 29, 1788.

of the Right Hon. Lord Hood; to attend during the election for Westminster, at the Hustings and elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Covent Garden, armed with Bludgeons, for the purpose of *intimidating*, and committing acts of violence and outrage upon Electors of the City of Westminster, in the interest of Lord John Townshend; and that it was thereupon agreed by the said Lieutenant Spry, that these deponents and the said several other persons should be paid for their attendance, provided with bludgeons, and allowed breakfast, dinner, supper, and three quarts of porter every day at the expence of Lord Hood, or his committee, at the House of Timothy Martin.

The deposition goes on to recite that this contract was duly carried out. These things, it will be remembered, were paid for out of the public funds.

Violence and corruption were not the only weapons to which Pitt and Rose resorted in their efforts to rescue Westminster from the Whigs. They employed cheap pamphleteers to attack Townshend and Fox personally in squibs and handbills which for slanderous indecency fortunately have few equals in English party warfare. The wife of Pitt's lately deceased personal friend, the Duke of Rutland, was freely named in these attacks as a woman whose virtue Townshend had attempted to violate.<sup>84</sup> To describe the Foxites as a "needy gang of unprincipled gamblers, and desperate insolvents; some of whom, though *beggars* from their *birth*, have the *impudence* to vie in their expences with gentlemen of fortune"<sup>85</sup> was mild language compared to some that was used. It would be difficult, for example, to justify an accusation like: "Who are the Canvassers for Lord John Townshend? Are not many, if not most of them, insolvent gamblers, who make their lying boasts that they are succeeding in their canvass by corrupting the morals of your wives and daughters?"<sup>86</sup> But these are scarcely representative examples of the obscenities and unprintable personalities in which the opponents of Townshend indulged. And it cannot be alleged that Rose and Pitt were not responsible for them. The authors were paid by Rose himself with money out of the public treasury, and the men who wrote and distributed the handbills received daily instructions from that same politician.<sup>87</sup> Perhaps the character of Hood did not lend itself so easily to such attacks. Or it may be that the Whigs were better furnished with the instincts of refinement than their opponents. At any rate their campaign literature was singularly free from matter of this sort.

<sup>84</sup> *The World*, July 21, 1788; *Morning Post*, July 23, 1788; and various handbills preserved in the British Museum.

<sup>85</sup> *Morning Post*, August 6, 1788.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, July 25, 1788.

<sup>87</sup> Chatham MSS., 229.

All of Pitt's efforts were in vain, however, and at the close of the poll on August 4 Townshend had 6392 votes against 5569 for Hood. On that day *The World*, a ministerialist organ, appeared with wide borders of black around its pages and carried in double-column display type: "The Genius of England must Mourn on a Day like This! For This Day is the Triumph of Dullness and Depravity! The Constitution is Crippled! The Worst Wounds Rankle in her Deepest Vitals! Her Existence, If the Malignity of the Mischief be not Checked, Her Existence is no More!" Obviously, the result held out little that was encouraging to Pitt. The Whigs had multiplied their majority threefold in spite of his utmost exertions. Yet he was unwilling to give up the contest without a final effort. Accordingly Hood petitioned for a committee under Grenville's act, alleging that corrupt and illegal practices had been used against him.<sup>88</sup>

As a matter of fact no serious effort was made to unseat Townshend, and probably none was intended. Pitt had rather hit upon a new scheme by means of which he hoped to win Westminster in the general election which was approaching. Hood's attorneys contended that their client ought to be given his seat because the suffrage had not been confined to those householders who had actually paid "scot and lot", but those who were merely liable to pay it had been admitted to vote also. Furthermore, they contended that several outlying districts which were really a part of the Duchy of Lancaster had been illegally incorporated in the city and liberties of Westminster, and that the inhabitants of these districts had no right to vote in Westminster. Should these two points be sustained they produced figures to show that Hood would have a majority of the remaining votes. Neither of these questions had been raised in 1784, when the election was held in precisely the same manner as regards these points as in 1788.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, the committee, in which the friends of Pitt naturally predominated, reported on July 6, 1789, that it appeared that the merits of the petition depended "in part upon the Right of Election". The committee had, therefore, conducted an investigation and reported a verdict sustaining both of the contentions which Hood's attorneys had raised, though Townshend retained his seat since Hood had in the meantime withdrawn his petition. In this report the ministerialists manifestly had in view the general election of 1790. But the Whigs now came forward with a counter petition objecting to the decision of the committee. Pitt was unable to bring the question to a conclusion immediately, and the matter hung fire till March 16, 1795, when a

<sup>88</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons*, XLIV. 125.

<sup>89</sup> Chatham MSS., 237. This bundle contains the minutes of the committee and other papers relating to the contest.

new committee reported a compromise which was acceptable to both parties. This compromise accepted the contentions of the Whigs as to the extent of the city, but confined the suffrage in the future to those who had actually paid their rates.<sup>90</sup>

After his failure to carry this point immediately Pitt apparently despaired of ever winning Westminster from Fox. Fox, as we have seen, was even reluctant to make the fight in 1788, knowing how heavy the burdens would be upon his political friends, and another contest could serve no good purpose so far as he was concerned. Consequently, before the election of 1790 the parties agreed upon a truce which was recorded in the scrawling hand of Dundas:<sup>91</sup>

On the 15th March, 1790, Lord Lauderdale and Mr. Pitt held a conversation on the subject of the Westminster election, Mr. Dundas present.

They agreed that each party should propose and support only one candidate respectively at the first general election, and during the whole of next Parliament, so long as either the Duke of Portland or Mr. Fox on the one part, and Mr. Pitt or Mr. Grenville on the other, are alive, and including every other contingency of death, vacancy, and changes of administration.

In this conversation Mr. Pitt agreed in the name of the present administration or any of which he or Mr. Grenville should be a member.

Lord Lauderdale agreed in the name, and as authorised by the Duke of Portland or Mr. Fox, or any administration of which either should be a member.

It was understood that this agreement has nothing to do with any question respecting the right of election for the city of Westminster.

Both sides appear to have been faithful to the terms of this agreement, and the question of Westminster's representation in the House of Commons was thus effectually disposed of for the time being. What is more to the point in this discussion, Pitt by this settlement confessed himself unable to win the support of the electors of the capital city from the Whig leader. We have seen already that the minister did not face this disagreeable necessity till he had put forth his utmost power to avoid it. And if he could not command the support of a majority of the inhabitants of Westminster we are justified under the circumstances in demanding more conclusive proof than has yet been adduced before we agree with the popular notion that he came into power as the choice of a majority of the English people in 1784.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

<sup>90</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons*, XLIV. 125, 264, 518-519, 646; L. 322-323, 326.

<sup>91</sup> Chatham MSS., 157; Stanhope, *Life of William Pitt*, II. 52.

## MEXICAN DIPLOMACY ON THE EVE OF WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES

THE abortive treaty of 1844 for the annexation of Texas to the United States, signed by John C. Calhoun as Secretary of State in President Tyler's Cabinet, was a matter of deep interest to several other powers, and of the most vital interest to Mexico. For eight years successive Mexican administrations had continued to proclaim their undying determination to recover their lost province, although in reality they did nothing; and when rumors of negotiations for annexation became rife, Mexico did not fail to address the most solemn warnings to the United States, to the effect that the ratification of the treaty would be equivalent to a declaration of war.

Great Britain was also interested in the proposed treaty. Ever since Sir Robert Peel's administration came in, his foreign secretary, Lord Aberdeen, had given increasing attention to the fate of Texas. He saw, of course, how futile were the Mexican threats; but he was really and seriously concerned lest the new republic should fall into the hands of the United States, a consummation which, as he had good reason to believe, was probably desired by the people of Texas. On the other hand, it was certain that many of the public men of Texas, moved chiefly by personal ambition, were insistent that she should remain an independent member of the family of nations; while there was a vigorous and outspoken opposition in the United States to the project of annexation.

It seemed therefore quite possible to prevent annexation, and there were many reasons why the British cabinet should wish it prevented. In the first place, the growing power of the United States was regarded with general distrust by European statesmen, and the platform of the Democratic party in 1844 announced a policy of expansion which, if carried out, would immensely increase the national possessions. In the second place, an independent, cotton-growing Texas, especially if established under free-trade auspices, might very well prove an excellent customer for British manufactures. In the third place, British merchants and bondholders needed to see peace and prosperity in Mexico; and the maintenance of an army, under the pretense that it was needed to conquer Texas, was a constant drain on Mexican resources and a principal cause of unceasing revolutions.

And finally it was believed that as annexation to the United States would involve the perpetuation of slavery, so the defeat of annexation might result in abolition, at least in Texas.

British policy, therefore, so far as it concerned itself with Texas at all, sought to build up a strong republic—independent alike of Mexico and the United States. The problem involved three factors. It was necessary to convince the people of Texas that continued independence was better for them than annexation. It was necessary to persuade the Mexican government that the recognition of Texan independence as a *fait accompli* was wise and could be effected without loss of precious dignity. And it was necessary to avoid a rupture with the United States, with which relations were already somewhat strained. Most of the subjects of dispute had been removed by the Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842, but by 1844 the Oregon question had assumed a threatening aspect; and a little thing might have kindled a war between Great Britain and her best customer.

As time went on, Aberdeen discovered that every move he made in reference to Texas, was likely to excite the jealous susceptibilities of the people of the United States. He had suggested to Mexico that she should recognize the independence of Texas upon condition that the latter abolish slavery, and he had even listened complacently to the suggestion that Great Britain should advance the money necessary to purchase the freedom of the Texan slaves. But protests from the United States and Texas alike, induced Aberdeen to drop this particular project.

What Great Britain needed, in order to give weight to her diplomatic representations, was evidently the support of other European nations and especially of France—for the rest of Europe did not seriously count. Spain, for the moment, was helpless. Italy and Germany were mere geographical expressions, without navies and without national interest in world politics. Austria and Russia were evidently too far off to care.

But with France there were also difficulties. Under the previous government, Lord Palmerston had managed to create a bitter spirit of animosity between the two countries which it was the task of Aberdeen in England and Guizot in France—cordially supported as they were by the two royal families—to remove. As the interests of France were small, Guizot was perfectly willing to gratify Aberdeen by a promise to support British policies in Mexico and Texas; but beyond friendly and peaceable representations France would not go.

It would indeed have been matter for surprise if France at this time had proved willing to embark upon any policy that savored of



adventure. Ever since Guizot came into power in October, 1840, he had been faced by popular demands for electoral and other reforms which he was by no means disposed to grant. He had no belief in universal suffrage. Protestant bourgeois as he proclaimed himself, he profoundly distrusted the people, and he never comprehended the strength or sincerity of their demands. He practised therefore, with the cordial consent of the king, a policy of timid conservatism, of which continued peace and material prosperity were to be the fruits.

Such then were the unsatisfactory materials with which Aberdeen was compelled to work, and he may have wished to delay action till a more favorable time; but the necessity of quickly settling the affairs of Texas, if the alarming growth of the United States was to be checked, became daily more apparent as the time for the presidential election of 1844 approached. The first step must be to get Mexico to yield something of her intransigent attitude, but Mexican vanity stood firmly in the way. Yet it was apparent that Texas was already gone, and that if affairs were not soon adjusted, Mexico ran a very great risk of losing much more of her territory—notably California. California was not defensible against any naval force; so that the only way in which Mexico could possibly hope to secure that part of her possessions in the event of a war with the United States, was by foreign help. But foreign help could not be counted on unless England, or France, or both, would enter into a treaty definitely guaranteeing the integrity of the Mexican possessions. For such a guarantee Mexico must expect to pay; and the price that was asked was her recognition of Texan independence. Mexico hesitated—and opportunity, which had thus knocked at her door, passed on and did not return.

The bargain was definitely proposed by Lord Aberdeen when he first heard of Calhoun's treaty. In an interview near the end of May, 1844, with Señor Tomás Murphy, the Mexican minister in London, Aberdeen said that if Mexico would acknowledge the independence of Texas, England—and very likely France—would oppose annexation to the United States, and that he would endeavor that France and England should jointly guarantee the independence of Texas and the integrity of Mexican territory.<sup>1</sup> At the same time he proposed to the French government "a joint operation on the part of Great Britain and France in order to induce Mexico to acknowledge the independence of Texas, on a guarantee being jointly given by us that that independence shall be respected by other Nations, and that

<sup>1</sup> E. D. Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, p. 168.

the Mexico-Texian boundary shall be secured from further encroachment".<sup>2</sup> And a few days later, in an interview with Ashbel Smith, the chargé d'affaires of Texas, he proposed a "diplomatic Act" by which England and France, acting with Texas and Mexico, were to secure and guarantee the independence of Texas and settle its boundaries.

So also in the memorandum of "points on the settlement of which the Mexican Government might agree to grant the Independence of Texas", discussed in the following autumn between the British minister in Mexico, and the Mexican government of that day, one of the clauses of the proposed arrangement was that Mexico should receive an indemnity for the loss of Texas, and also,<sup>3</sup>

the guarantee of England and France united, that under no pretext whatever shall the Texans ever pass the Boundaries marked out. The same nations shall also guarantee to Mexico the Californias, New Mexico and the other points of the Northern frontier bordering on the United States, according to a Treaty to be drawn up for that purpose.—If the United States carry into effect the annexation of Texas, to the North American Union, England and France will assist Mexico in the contest which may be thereby brought on.

The idea of any guarantee was, however, soon abandoned, partly because France was lukewarm, partly because of warnings from the British and French ministers in Washington that the least suggestion of foreign interference in the matter of Texas would tend to Clay's defeat in the presidential election of that year, and thus to the immediate annexation of Texas, and partly because the Mexican government persisted in announcing their intention to make war at once. At the end, therefore, of September, 1844, Bankhead, the British minister, had been instructed to say that if Santa Anna, then President of Mexico, "were to take the rash step of invading Texas with a view to its forcible reconquest, and if, by so doing, he should find himself involved in difficulties with other Countries, he must not look for the support of Great Britain in aiding him to extricate himself from those difficulties".<sup>4</sup> But, in spite of this and other later warnings that Mexico would be left to herself if she did not heed the advice of her friends in Europe, the Mexican ministers in London

<sup>2</sup> Aberdeen to Cowley, May 31, in Aberdeen to Bankhead, June 3, 1844. *Ibid.*, p. 171. Smith to Jones, June 24, 1844. Garrison, *Tex. Dip. Corr.* (Am. Hist. Assoc.), III, 1154.

<sup>3</sup> Bankhead to Aberdeen, November 29, 1844. Adams, p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> Aberdeen to Pakenham, September 30, 1844. *Ibid.*, p. 186. The subjects referred to thus far in this article have been very fully discussed in two well-documented works, Professor Adams's book already cited, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, and Mr. Justin H. Smith's *Annexation of Texas*.

and Paris continued to haggle over territorial guarantees by the European powers as a condition for abandoning her projects for a reconquest of Texas. In repeated interviews they argued that no reliance was to be placed on the good faith of the Texans. If Texan independence were recognized to-day by Mexico, what was to prevent those people from seeking to-morrow annexation to the United States? Would not the mere fact of recognition by Mexico be cited as a proof that Texas was at complete liberty to dispose of her own fortunes? And would a mere treaty of peace and friendship restrain the Texans from new aggressions? Nothing, it was said, would hold the Texans back but the fear of physical force; which force France and Great Britain must agree to furnish if they wished to see peace and to see Texas universally recognized as an independent state.<sup>5</sup>

By the end of November, 1844, the news of Polk's election to the presidency on a platform which favored annexation, had reached Europe, and foreign governments began to see that the United States was fully committed to that policy, and that any attempt by Europe to prevent it might only result in a war for which the people of France, at any rate, had no desire.<sup>6</sup>

It appears to me [wrote Maximo Garro, the Mexican minister in Paris] that the Cabinet of the Tuilleries, even though it might wish to join with that of London in taking up arms in opposition to the annexation of Texas, could never do so without exciting a general clamor against any such policy. All parties, without exception, would accuse it of forgetting that the interests of France require that it shall not take part in a struggle which, whatever its result, will weaken two of her maritime rivals and consequently contribute to the growth of her own power. . . .

Should there be a rupture between the English and the Americans, we ought to be able to count on an alliance with the former; but if the latter should take up arms to oppose our projected expedition for the reconquest of Texas, I believe that Great Britain will only present itself as a *pacific mediator*, and that it would redouble its efforts to have Mexico recognize the independence of that Department, offering in that event to intervene in a more efficacious manner.

William R. King, the American minister in Paris, held similar opinions.<sup>7</sup>

There should be no wavering [he wrote privately to the Secretary

<sup>5</sup> Murphy to Minister of Relations, January 1, June 1, and July 1, 1845; Garro to same, March 25, June 17, 1845. MSS. Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores (Mexico).

<sup>6</sup> Garro to Minister of Relations, December 18, 1844. *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> King to Calhoun, December 28, 1844. *Report of the Amer. Hist. Assoc.*, 1899, II. 1014.

of State] on the subject of the annexation of Texas. The growling of the British Lion should only stimulate to immediate action. To falter in our course from apprehension of her hostility, would disgrace us in the eyes of all Europe. The act accomplished, England will complain, perhaps threaten, and her newspapers will be lavish in their abuse; but that will be all; for with all her power, she can but feel, that a war with us would be more prejudicial to her interest, than with any other nation. She will not risk the consequences. I am aware that she is exerting herself to induce France to make common cause with her on the subject of Texas, and that Mr. Guizot is much inclined to do so; but it will not succeed. It would shock the French nation, which detests all alliances with England; and the King is too wise, and too prudent to place himself in a position which would go far towards destroying his dynasty.

In fact, although neither Señor Garro nor Mr. King was aware of it, the French government had already politely declined to make common cause with Great Britain. Lord Cowley, the British ambassador, early in December, 1844, reported that he had asked the direct question whether France would "act in concert with us in any negotiation with the Mexican Govt. for the purpose of obtaining from them the acknowledgment of" Texan independence. "Any negotiation" probably seemed to Guizot a dangerously vague phrase, and he therefore explained just how far France would go.<sup>8</sup>

Undoubtedly [he said to Cowley] we will both use our best efforts for that purpose, and will even refuse to recognize the annexation of Texas to the United States; but, as a Question of Peace or War, I am not prepared to say that its junction with the American States is of sufficient importance to us to justify our having recourse to arms in order to prevent it.

Aberdeen however was very unwilling to abandon his project of a joint guarantee by Great Britain and France, which he still hoped would result in preserving the existence of Texas as an independent nation. But to attain that end it was evidently essential to gain the assent of Mexico; and Aberdeen thought it necessary to use plain language in warning the Mexican authorities of the dangerous consequences of the course they seemed bent on pursuing. To the British minister in Mexico he wrote:<sup>9</sup>

You will also again clearly explain to the Mexican Govt. that they must not count upon the assistance of Gt. Britain, whose friendly advice they have constantly neglected in enabling them to resist any attack which may at any time, now or hereafter, be made upon Mexico by the U. States, since they will have wilfully exposed themselves to such attacks by omitting to make a friend and dependent of Texas while it was yet time.

<sup>8</sup> Cowley to Aberdeen, December 2, 1844. Adams, pp. 190-191.

<sup>9</sup> Aberdeen to Bankhead, December 31, 1844. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

To Tomás Murphy, the Mexican minister in London, similar language was used, but the door of hope was held open. In a conversation at the Foreign Office, Aberdeen denounced the folly of an attempt to reconquer Texas.<sup>10</sup>

What had Mexico to hope from such an undertaking? Not only would she never recover that territory, but in the course of the war with the United States in which she would be involved she would probably lose other provinces and especially the Californias. These and no others would be the results, truly disastrous for Mexico, if she persisted in so imprudent a policy. How different would the conditions be if she would listen to the voice of reason and decide once for all to recognize the independence of Texas! . . . In that event, as he had told me several times, it might be possible, with the co-operation of France, to enter into arrangements for guaranteeing at the proper time the independence of Texas and the territory of Mexico. The recognition of the independence of that country is therefore the only course which reason, prudence and sane policy commend to Mexico,—following the example of other countries in the like circumstances. It was well for England that she recognized the independence of her former colonies when she saw it was hopeless to reconquer them; and it was well for Spain that she did the same in respect to hers. "Now", continued Lord Aberdeen, "if Mexico persists in her desperate projects, it may not be impossible that England and France will resolve to oppose both annexation to the United States and reconquest by Mexico. . . . I have spoken of the Californias. You may be aware that offers of that country have been made to England by the Mexican inhabitants themselves; as also proposals for establishing colonies there under our protection. Acting in this matter in the honorable spirit in which I hope we always act, we have closed our ears to these proposals and offers."<sup>11</sup> But must we let our fair dealing serve only to enable some one else to take possession of that territory? The attack of Commodore Jones in time of peace shows you what you must expect from the preposterous war (*la insensata guerra*) with the United States in which you wish to engage."

Aberdeen's rather vague suggestions naturally did not suffice for the Mexican minister and he asked what guarantees might be counted on. Aberdeen replied that England alone would not engage in war with the United States, though he would not say so to them.<sup>12</sup>

I asked His Lordship what was the disposition of France. He replied that when M. Guizot was here<sup>13</sup> he talked with him at length about the business, and although in general he agreed to co-operate with England on the question of guarantees, it must be confessed he would not go to the length of binding himself to make war.

<sup>10</sup> Murphy to Minister of Relations, January 1, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext.

<sup>11</sup> The reference is to a request for a protectorate made through Forbes, the British vice-consul at Monterey, by the inhabitants of California some months before.

<sup>12</sup> Murphy to Minister of Relations, January 1, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext.

<sup>13</sup> Guizot accompanied Louis Philippe on a state visit to Queen Victoria in the latter part of September, 1844.

Thus matters stood during the winter, but late in March, 1845, after the news of the passage of the annexation resolutions by Congress had reached Europe, accompanied by the inaugural address of the new President, the Mexican minister in Paris had an interview with the king which he reported in the following dramatic form to his government:<sup>14</sup>

"*Eh bien*, M. Garro, is your new administration going to recognize the independence of Texas so as to stop annexation to the United States? It cannot be prevented in any other way."

"I don't know of anything, Sir, *up to the present time*, which leads me to suppose that the present Government is any more disposed than the former one to abandon the defence of our just rights over that territory."

"Why, what hope have you of reconquering it? The Americans will never allow it, and a war with them would lead to consequences infinitely serious and disastrous for Mexico, for she would run the risk of losing a great part of her present possessions."

After some further talk of the advantages to Mexico of recognizing Texas, which, Garro said, would be illusory unless France and England guaranteed the stipulations of any treaty that might be made, the king spoke of the difficulty of conquering Texas without a navy capable of dealing with the American navy, and of the foolish obstinacy Spain had displayed in refusing to recognize the independence of her former colonies. The king continued:

"To describe the kind of obstinacy which prevents seeing what is evident, we have a word in French which is very easy to translate into Spanish,—*infatuation*. This *infatuation* prevents you from recognizing what everybody else sees; that is, that you have lost Texas irrevocably. If I urge you to recognize her independence, it is because I believe that advantages will result to Mexico, in whose happiness I take great interest. If a barrier is once established between Mexico and the United States, they will have no excuse for mixing in your affairs, and they will let you live in peace."

"Sir, I beg your Majesty to let me ask one question, and allow me to send your answer to my Government, so that they may know what they can in any event rely on. If Mexico should decide to recognize the independence of Texas, would your Majesty's Government and that of Great Britain *guarantee formally* the perpetuity of the boundaries of the new State?"

"No, no. Any such formal guarantee might give rise to an intervention, and I don't like interventions; because I know what they cost in blood and treasure. Without this formal guarantee, the arrangements you may make would afford you the necessary security."

<sup>14</sup> Garro to the Minister of Relations, March 25, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext. The italics appear in the original.

"Sir, I beg your Majesty to believe that my question was only for the purpose of informing my Government what it could hope for in the *hypothesis* which I have no grounds for foreseeing—"

The King walked away, repeating that he was very sincerely interested in the happiness of the Republic.

Before closing this despatch I must tell your Excellency that before the King came up to speak to me he had been talking for some time with the English Ambassador who, when His Majesty left him, came up to me and asked me what I thought about Texan affairs. I told him frankly my opinion and my astonishment at the recognition,—under Lord Palmerston's *Whig* Administration (the Ambassador Lord Cowley is of the *Tory* party) which wished to abolish negro slavery,—of a State that had established slavery where it did not exist before. Lord Cowley, pretending not to understand my observation, said: "But really now, how does the Mexican Government expect to conquer Texas?" (Your Excellency will note that this was almost exactly the same question with which the King began his conversation.) "By employing all her resources," I replied, "to accomplish it." "Yes, but with these resources you have not been able to do much so far, and I am afraid that, in view of all the circumstances, you will not be more fortunate in future."

I confess that I could not find any entirely satisfactory answer to this simple remark.

A few days after this interview, all idea of giving Mexico any guarantees against the possible encroachments of the United States, was definitely abandoned, as the French government firmly refused to join in the project. Lord Aberdeen, however, was not yet willing to give up his hopes of continuing Texas as an independent state. He therefore proposed that Great Britain and France should unite in trying once more to secure an acknowledgment of Texan independence from Mexico, but upon the distinct understanding that there should be no responsibility on the part of either of the European powers. Both governments on several occasions had been told positively that Mexico would not recognize Texas without a guarantee of her good behavior, but Aberdeen doubtless thought it worth while, under the hopeless circumstances of Mexico, to make one more attempt.<sup>15</sup>

H. M.'s Govt. [he wrote] would not propose to enter into any guarantee whatever with respect to either of the States, whether to secure to Mexico the inviolability of Her frontier against Texas, or to secure to Texas its frontier against the United States or Mexico. In fact H. M.'s Govt. would not be disposed to place themselves in any respect in a position which might give to Mexico or to Texas the power of hereafter calling upon Great Britain, as a matter of right, for her protection and succour against encroachment on the part of any other Powers, nor even of leading the Mexican Govt. to hope that such succour might be afforded. . . . They would merely wish to exert all

<sup>15</sup> Aberdeen to Cowley, April 15, 1845. Adams, pp. 204-205.

the weight of their moral influence, added to that of France, in order to secure the present pacification and future stability both of Mexico and Texas.

Guizot of course agreed to this proposal, which was exactly in line with what his government desired and had offered; and on the first day of May instructions were sent to Bankhead directing him to urge upon the Mexican government the importance of haste in seizing this last chance of safety.<sup>16</sup>

By the same packet that carried Aberdeen's instructions, the Mexican minister in London wrote to notify his government of the change in the attitude of Peel's administration, which he thought was not surprising, as they had always declared they would not act alone and France had undoubtedly refused to co-operate in the plan of an absolute guarantee.<sup>17</sup>

These letters were crossed on the Atlantic by "most secret" circular instructions from the Mexican government to its diplomatic agents in England, France, and Spain, advising them of the propositions just submitted by Texas to the effect that she would agree not to annex herself to the United States if Mexico would recognize her independence.<sup>18</sup> The President of Mexico, the circular stated,

is disposed to enter into a treaty with Texas suitable to the honor and dignity of Mexico, thus avoiding all the evils and complications of a war, while he hopes to be able to succeed in preventing the annexation of that Department to the United States, and in the meantime has succeeded in delaying it for the present. . . . Your Excellency will endeavor to ascertain the spirit of the Government to which you are accredited and ascertain the terms upon which a treaty might be made with England, France and Spain . . . which will assure to Mexico the inviolability of the territory she now possesses.

Spain, of course, was hopelessly incapable of entering into any engagement of the kind suggested.<sup>19</sup>

This unhappy nation [Gorostiza, formerly minister in the United States, and now Mexican minister in Madrid, had written some weeks earlier], torn for so many years past by civil war, is at present in too precarious a position, too weak and without resources . . . to note and weigh the serious events which are taking place on the Continent of America. Thus it is that although the question of the annexation of Texas to the United States has attracted the attention of Her Majesty's Government on account of its importance and on account of the am-

<sup>16</sup> Aberdeen to Bankhead, May 1, 1845. Adams, p. 205.

<sup>17</sup> Murphy to Minister of Relations, May 1, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext.

<sup>18</sup> Cuevas to Garro, *muy reservado*, April 29, 1845. *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Gorostiza to Minister of Relations, February 20, 1845. *Ibid.*



bitious tendencies which the dishonorable (*desleal*) conduct of the Washington Cabinet towards Mexico discloses, it is not to be expected that it will deal with the matter with the energy that could be desired, and still less that it will be disposed to take up arms to prevent the usurpation which is projected by our Anglo-American neighbors.

France, for different reasons, was equally unwilling to become involved in war. In reply to a verbal request to Guizot for a definite answer, he was reported to have replied as follows:<sup>20</sup>

Neither the King's Government nor that of Great Britain (to whom this question is of more interest) can *ever* give such a guarantee as will, in certain events, compel them to intervene with force of arms. No: *such a guarantee is impossible*, and you can readily understand the reasons that forbid it, when you consider present circumstances and the difficulties inherent in the parliamentary system etc., etc.; but the Mexican Government may count upon the *moral influence* of France and England,—upon their good offices, their friendly counsels, their energetic remonstrances to prevent the Texans from violating treaties.

Great Britain perhaps might have been willing to take a much bolder stand if she could have felt sure of France; but without France at her side, the British government had always refused to act. The Mexican agents abroad believed that the secret of this refusal was the very slight reliance that could be placed by England on French support. They reported that most Frenchmen, so far as they thought about the business at all, were rather pleased than otherwise at the idea of Texas being annexed to the United States—simply because it was displeasing to England. What the immense majority of Frenchmen wanted, was to see England humiliated. Louis Philippe and his cabinet—though perhaps some of them in the bottom of their hearts had not forgotten Waterloo—did what was possible to bring about the *entente cordiale*, of which the king talked so much. Such an informal understanding was entirely in line with their general policy; but if the country was not behind them, there was a point beyond which the French government would not have dared to go in support of Great Britain.

The British government, it was said, were perfectly aware of this attitude on the part of the French people; and they were afraid that in the event of war with the United States France might not only fail to make common cause with Great Britain, but might even seek revenge, as in 1778, by again making an American alliance.

It is therefore not surprising [wrote Murphy] that the English Minister looks with terror upon anything that may expose him to a war

<sup>20</sup> Garro to same, June 23, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext. The italics appear in the original.

with the United States, unless he first comes to a complete understanding with France; not because he needs her physical force in a conflict with the United States, but because he must commit her in such a manner that she will not join with the enemy's forces and so bring on a general conflagration throughout the world, which would involve incalculable consequences.

And Murphy, in his next dispatch, expressed the opinion that if Aberdeen could have carried France along with him, war with the United States would not have stood in his way; but that, as this was impossible, he was greatly embarrassed.<sup>21</sup>

When, therefore, the news reached the Foreign Office that the Texan proposals to abandon annexation to the United States on condition of being recognized as independent, had been favorably received by Mexico, while news came at the same time of the unanimous expressions of popular feeling in Texas against these proposals, Aberdeen saw his whole policy in ruins. He had wished to build up a buffer state and to limit the growth of the United States, but his instruments had all failed him. France, whom he may have suspected of treachery, would not take a firm stand; the people of Texas plainly did not wish her to be a buffer state; and Mexico was never ready to take any step at the time when the British government wished it to move. He was therefore very much disposed to blame the Mexicans. "You always do everything too late", he told Murphy; and he showed him newspaper reports of the public meetings in Texas in favor of annexation. It was too late, he said, to think of a joint guarantee; there was no hope that France would agree to it; and England, as he had always told Murphy, would not act alone.<sup>22</sup>

But Lord Aberdeen's determination not to interfere was sorely tried when he began to see with increasing clearness that one inevitable result of war between Mexico and the United States must be the annexation of California to the Union. All he could do, however, was to advise delay. A declaration of war, he told the Mexicans, would immediately be followed by American occupation of California, the bombardment of Vera Cruz, and the blockade of all ports; and neither England nor France could interfere, if the annexation of Texas had once become a *fait accompli*.<sup>23</sup>

It follows [wrote Murphy] that England and therefore France, will submit in patience to the annexation of Texas and the defeat of the plan

<sup>21</sup> "Nada le importaría esa guerra si pudiese arrastrar tras sí á la Francia, pero no siendo esto posible, la cuestion por cierto toma un carácter bien embarazoso para su señoría." Murphy to Minister of Relations, November 1, 1845; October 1, 1845. And to the same effect, Garro to same, May 30, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext.

<sup>22</sup> Murphy to Minister of Relations, July 1, 1845. *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Same to same, August 1, 1845. *Ibid.*

of intervening to prevent it. Still, I think I can assure your Excellency that although Lord Aberdeen is afraid the Californias may fall into the power of the Americans, and advises Mexico to refrain from declaring war, and watches in a passive attitude the course of events, he would at heart rejoice if war should take place and our country should prove successful.

But notwithstanding all the discouraging reports which the Mexican government received from Europe, it resolved, as soon as it was definitely informed that the Texas convention had voted to accept the American proposals, to make one more appeal for aid to the European powers.

In despatches to the Mexican ministers in France and England, the Minister of Foreign Relations declared that in view of the consummation of the act of usurpation of the Department of Texas by the United States, no recourse was left but that of war with the United States. As that nation had observed a dishonorable and perfidious conduct toward Mexico and had no other object than to possess itself of as much as possible of Mexican territory, the republic would be unworthy of a place among civilized nations were it not resolved to prosecute the war with vigor. A body of fourteen thousand men was on the march for the frontier, and six thousand more would shortly follow them. The government of the republic had sought to adopt the advice of France and England in the matter of Texas, and it flattered itself therefore that these governments would now show themselves favorable to the cause of the Mexican nation, which, it was hoped, would have their sympathy and moral support.<sup>24</sup>

To London, in addition, was sent another and "most secret" instruction. The Americans, it was said, had officially announced their intention of taking the Californias.<sup>25</sup>

It is therefore indispensable that your Excellency shall, in the manner you may deem most opportune and respectful, give H. M. Government to understand that Mexico will receive their cooperation to prevent the loss of that important part of her territory, as a proof of the good relations that exist between the two Countries. As it is not possible to tell what policy may have been adopted by the British Cabinet on learning of the annexation of Texas to the United States, it is not possible to indicate the steps which your Excellency should take.

A copy of the first of these important documents was sent to Lord Aberdeen, and Murphy waited a few days before calling on

<sup>24</sup> Cuevas to Garro, July 30, 1845, *reservado*. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext. Also duplicate to Murphy of same date.

<sup>25</sup> Cuevas to Murphy, July 30, 1845, *muy reservado*. *Ibid*.

him, so that it might be translated in the Foreign Office. When he called, Aberdeen said that he saw from this paper that the Mexican government considered war inevitable and that they asked for the sympathy and moral support of the British government in the struggle; but he did not see clearly what practical application that request could have. Murphy said he had something to propose. It was evident that the ambitious views of the United States were not limited to the violent and infamous robbery of Texas; California was also the object of their avarice, and it was certain that as soon as war was formally declared it would be the target for their attacks. Mexico would not neglect so important a point, and would defend it by all the means in her power, in spite of the difficulties due to the distance of that part of the republic from the seat of government. But to defend California effectually naval forces were essential, and Mexico had none, so that the help of some friendly naval power was needed. This he was instructed to ask of Great Britain.

Aberdeen said this would be taking part in the war between Mexico and the United States, which Murphy could not but admit. He thought, however, if the British government objected to war, some other plan might be adopted, "some combination which would give England the right to repel, even by force, the attack which the Americans would not fail to make on California,—without thereby losing the neutral character she wishes to preserve".

Aberdeen rose to the bait at once. There had been, he said, a plan of colonization made up by the English consul in the City of Mexico, Mr. Mackintosh, a partner of the firm of Manning and Marshall of London, which Mr. Bankhead had forwarded with a view to finding out how far the British government would favor it; and he sent for Bankhead's despatch and read it to Murphy.<sup>26</sup> Murphy, who had known nothing of Mackintosh's proposal, was quick to see the point.<sup>27</sup>

"Well, my Lord", I said, "if the Mexican Government agrees to that, your Lordship can see that you have there an opportunity under which England might put itself forward as protecting British interests, and might consequently oppose an attack on California by the United States, without thereby taking any part in the war."

But Aberdeen saw difficulties in the way. He remarked that if the grant to British subjects had been made some time before, the

<sup>26</sup> This was Bankhead's despatch of July 30, 1845, to which no reply was given (in writing) either to Bankhead or to the promoters. Adams, p. 253. It seems probable however that Lord Aberdeen may have talked to members of the firm in London.

<sup>27</sup> Murphy to Minister of Relations, October 1, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext.

matter would be simpler; but if made just at this time, it would be regarded as made in view of present circumstances and would give just cause of complaint to the United States. If war with America was to be the result, the subject would have to be looked at for a long time, even if Mexico offered California to England as a gift, for England would not go to war alone. Now if France would join, it would be very different. Murphy asked what was to be done to accomplish the object. Aberdeen remained silent for some time, and finally promised to sound Guizot.

At an interview a few days later, reported in the same despatch, Aberdeen said he had sent a message to Guizot, but had received no answer. The policy of France generally, he considered, was to keep in accord with the United States. He wished Mexico would present some definite proposal showing how England could co-operate. Any project of colonization or sale made at this time would justly offend the United States. He would consider what could be done; the matter was very serious and needed reflection; it was necessary to watch the course of events, and in the meantime Mexico ought not to rush hastily into war.

Murphy left him firmly convinced that the British government would frankly and openly take part in the war so as to prevent the United States from absorbing the Californias, if only it were not held back by France; but as to the helpful attitude of France, he had the gravest doubts.

As time went on, Aberdeen expressed himself more and more positively as being unwilling to intervene in any way between Mexico and the United States. Murphy quoted him as saying that he did not doubt the justice of the Mexican cause; but that it would be quixotic for England and France to act upon that ground alone. As for the interest they had in seeing that California did not fall into the hands of the United States, this was hardly enough to run the risk of a war with its incalculable consequences. No doubt they could never look with indifference upon that fine country in American hands, but there was a great distinction between that and willingness to risk a disastrous war.

However, a hint from Lord Aberdeen that something might yet be done by taking advantage of a Mexican decree of April 12, 1837, under which the holders of bonds were authorized to locate land in various parts of Mexico, including California, set Murphy to work on another plan. He learned that a Mr. Powles, vice-chairman of the Mexican Bondholders Committee, and Mr. Price, a member of the firm of Manning and Marshall, had seen Aberdeen and that he

had expressed an active interest in the subject. Accordingly, with the aid of these two gentlemen, a plan was drawn up as follows: a company was to be formed to acquire from the Mexican government 50,000,000 acres of land in California. This land was to be paid for as follows:

In deferred Mexican bonds .....	£5,000,000
In cash .....	1,250,000
	<hr/> £6,250,000

The cash was to be payable to Mexico in installments, and was to be borrowed by the company at three per cent. interest, the British government guaranteeing the loan.

How the British government was to be persuaded to guarantee such a loan, did not appear; nor did Murphy very clearly see how Great Britain could intervene to prevent the sovereignty over California passing from Mexico to the United States, provided the interests of British subjects were not thereby put in peril. However, the only question with Lord Aberdeen was to find some way of thwarting American expansion, without at the same time risking a war. He even ventured the impossible suggestion that California might set up an independent government, which could be recognized by Mexico and its independence guaranteed by France and England.<sup>28</sup>

Lord Aberdeen [wrote Murphy] has been reduced to inventing various plans which on the one hand may prevent the dreaded seizure of California by the Americans, and on the other, may not involve England in serious controversies with them. It is not easy to find such a combination, but I believe I am not mistaken in saying that he thinks of nothing else.

But Murphy, of course, did not know that the subject of intervention to save California from the encroaching Americans had been the subject of discussions in the cabinet which had ended in the decision to do nothing, so long as the Oregon question remained open. There was strong pressure brought to bear from many different sources, there were vague tales in the newspapers of British efforts to acquire "the magnificent province of California", and it was urged that the prospect of a war between Mexico and the United States offered an assured means of converting dreams into realities and of securing, by a grant from Mexico, an interest in that great and undeveloped land.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Murphy to Minister of Relations, November 1, 1845. MSS, Sec. Rel. Ext.

<sup>29</sup> A French newspaper, early in March, 1845, stated that it appeared from Santa Anna's correspondence (then recently seized) that he had been on the eve

Lord Aberdeen's son, writing of the cabinet discussion, and the proposal to establish a British colony in California, says:<sup>30</sup>

Nor was Sir Robert Peel wholly undazzled by the prospect. Lord Aberdeen, however, maintained that although, had the interest already existed, it would be right to maintain it, its establishment at such a moment, and in such a manner, would be little less hostile than a declaration by England and France that they would not permit the conquest of California, which would virtually be a declaration of war against the United States. But even this he would prefer to the creation of an unreal interest for political purposes. The grant might create a very pretty quarrel, but no amount of privileges bestowed by Mexico would suffice to keep out American settlers, who would probably be too powerful for the English. But, above all, while the Oregon question was still capable of a peaceful settlement, he deprecated a measure which would practically render such a settlement impossible. Should the negotiation respecting it end in war, the offers of Mexico should be at once accepted, and the active co-operation of Mexican forces on the south-west frontier of the United States encouraged as a formidable diversion of the American forces.

This then was the final decision of the British government, and it involved some embarrassment to their agents in America, and especially to Sir George Seymour, the admiral in command of the naval squadron on the Pacific coast. He was left wholly without instructions in reference to California, and all he knew of the policy of his government was derived from the copy of Lord Aberdeen's instructions of December 31, 1844, which, late in the year 1845, Bankhead sent him from Mexico.

From these instructions the admiral gathered that while the separation of California from Mexico was regarded as probably inevitable, it was for the Mexican government alone to take measures for providing against such a contingency; that Great Britain had no ground for interfering to preserve California to Mexico, just as it had no right to excite or encourage the inhabitants to separate from Mexico; and that if Mexico chose to be wilfully blind, it could not be helped. A policy of complete non-interference thus seemed to be prescribed, although the British minister had been enjoined to keep his attention "vigilantly alive" to every credible report of occurrences in California, and especially with respect to

of ceding California to perfidious Albion for the sum of \$25,000,000, "of which he had reserved for himself a considerable portion". This was copied a day or two later in the English press, and a question was asked in the House of Commons concerning it. Sir Robert Peel for the government of the day and Lord Palmerston for the former government, declared the story to be "as utterly without foundation as any report that was ever invented". Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, third series, LXXVIII. 431 (March 7, 1845).

<sup>30</sup> Gordon, *Aberdeen*, pp. 183-184.

the proceedings of American citizens settled in that province, who, it was thought, were "likely to play a prominent part in any proceeding which may take place there, having for its object to free the Province from the yoke of Mexico".<sup>31</sup>

In the spring of 1846, Admiral Seymour, still without any later instructions, was rendered anxious by the increase of the United States naval forces in the Pacific, and he wrote urging that reinforcements be sent him. Again in the month of June he wrote that he had not deemed it advisable to proceed to California "under the views expressed by the Earl of Aberdeen to Her Majesty's Minister in Mexico, deprecating interference, while California formed a part of the Mexican Republic".<sup>32</sup> This, of course, is proof positive that no instructions in reference to California of a date later than December 31, 1844, had reached him; much as he must have desired to learn what was expected of the ships under his command.

The British policy of waiting to see what would happen in the Oregon business before deciding what to do about California, involved also the necessity, or at least the desirability, of preventing Mexico from beginning hostilities prematurely. The news, therefore, that the American government had offered to resume diplomatic relations and to send a minister to Mexico, fitted in exactly with Aberdeen's plans. He hoped that everything might be gained by negotiation, especially time; and he was careful to warn the Mexicans to go slowly. Murphy, the Mexican minister, having referred in conversation to the Oregon dispute:<sup>33</sup>

Lord Aberdeen replied that England would do everything compatible with her honor and her interest to avoid a conflict, and that he believed and hoped that the United States, after all, would not disturb the peace between the two countries; that at any rate there would be a whole year in which to negotiate on the subject; that within the year either the United States would submit it to the arbitration of some third power, or they would agree on some honorable and convenient division of the disputed territory; and that if neither of these things were done (though he was sure they would be) then God knew what would happen. His Lordship continued, "So far as concerns your negotiation with the United States, *as it is always your custom to go slow, you might now do so from policy.*"<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Aberdeen to Bankhead, December 31, 1844. Adams, pp. 249-250.

<sup>32</sup> Seymour to Corry, June 13, 1846. *Ibid.*, p. 258. See also letter from Lord Alcester, *Century Magazine*, XL, 794.

<sup>33</sup> Murphy to Minister of Relations, January 1, 1846. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext.

<sup>34</sup> Italics in the original. "Ya que siempre andan Vmds. despacio por habito, ahora pueden hacerlo por cálculo."



Nothing more was said about grants of land in California or projects of colonization. These were tacitly dropped, and nothing was heard from them again. The European governments waited for news from America.

Toward the end of January, 1846, Murphy received instructions from his government written just before the arrival of the American minister (John Slidell) at Vera Cruz. Nothing, he was told, had yet been heard from the United States as to the arrival of "a commissioner to settle the pending questions", but the American ships of war had been withdrawn from before Vera Cruz. There were rumors that General Taylor was advancing from Corpus Christi, Texas, where he had been encamped since the summer, but this was supposed to be due to the fact that he had not yet been informed of the arrangement to receive the American commissioner. Nothing had been omitted, so far as the scanty resources of the treasury would permit, to provide for the defense and security of the Department of the Californias. A military expedition was preparing, part of which was already at Acapulco, and would proceed to its destination as soon as possible; "but as perchance it may not be sufficient to ward off a *coup de main* by the Americans, in case hostilities should be begun, it is indispensable to rely on the assistance which the Government hopes to obtain from Great Britain and France".<sup>35</sup>

There was really nothing new in all this, but Murphy duly called at the Foreign Office, and then wrote that he had nothing to add to the information he had previously given. The Foreign Secretary still strongly objected to the Americans taking California, and would be glad to employ the power of Great Britain to prevent it; but he would not dare to take such a step, as he feared a war with the United States. But, added Murphy, "this consideration would not stop him, if he could count on the co-operation of France"; and although France had not openly changed her policy, yet Guizot's recent speeches, in which he deplored the spirit of aggression that prevailed in the United States, furnished some ground for hope that such a change had been decided on.

The situation, so far as the Mexican representatives in Europe could see it, was thus summed up:<sup>36</sup>

Our position under present circumstances appears to me to be as follows: England will do nothing, either directly or indirectly, to forestall the usurpation of California so long as the Oregon question

<sup>35</sup> Peña y Peña to Murphy, November 28, 1845. MSS. Sec. Rel. Ext. The expedition from Acapulco never got away from that port.

<sup>36</sup> Murphy to Minister of Relations, February 1, 1846. *Ibid.*

remains unsettled. If war breaks out, all difficulty on the part of this Cabinet will have ceased, and there is no doubt that one of their first objects will be, in that event, to prevent that usurpation. If on the contrary the dispute over Oregon is amicably settled, England will find herself more free to act in respect to California,—openly and directly in case France continues in the line of policy she has just adopted and lends her aid,—or indirectly by means of some plan of Colonization in California.

Every hope therefore of foreign aid depended on the result of the negotiations concerning the Oregon question; and when that question was settled a few weeks later, Mexico was left by her European friends to the fate which they had so clearly foretold.

GEORGE L. RIVES.

## THE QUESTION OF ARMING THE SLAVES

IN the civil history of the Confederacy, the last important issue was, inevitably, the mode of reinforcing Lee. The government was at its wits' end but some plan of reinforcement had to be formed. During the winter of 1864-1865, the advance of Sherman was paralleled at Richmond by the growth of a realization that the worst had come, and that desperate remedies—even the last word for desperation—must now be tried. A variety of schemes—not excepting a dictatorship on the Roman model—merged gradually in the absorbing question: Shall we arm the slaves?

What appears to have been the earliest proposition to do so was made in the summer of 1863.<sup>1</sup> It was then considered impractical. The exigencies of Johnston's army caused a revival of the scheme in the following year. A council of officers, while the army was encamped at Dalton, considered and rejected it.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the year 1864, the subject was a matter of general talk—how general it is now impossible to say—and in some quarters at least produced bitter opposition. Two letters preserved in the Confederate Museum at Richmond<sup>3</sup> profess to record the sentiment of the army around Petersburg. It is stated in these letters that the army was strongly opposed to the scheme and that many men had declared they would leave the ranks if negroes were enrolled. Another interesting document is a letter from Secretary Benjamin to Frederick A. Porcher of Charleston.<sup>4</sup> It was written late in 1864, and speaks of a ripening sentiment with regard to the enrollment of negroes, advises a campaign of discussion in the newspapers, evades rather than meets certain constitutional difficulties, and adroitly intimates the conditions under which the establishment of a Roman dictatorship might be the only dignified—though highly lamentable—course for the Confederacy to pursue.

Whether this letter is candid or not is a question of interpretation. Certainly it is part of the evidence that Benjamin rather than Davis was author of the scheme. It helps to confirm the impression that Benjamin was practically, during its last stage, the Confederacy's premier, the originator to a great extent of its policy. We shall not

<sup>1</sup> Pierce Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin*, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> B. S. Williams, "Memoirs of a Soldier in the War between States", *Charleston News and Courier*, March 10, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> D. S. Freeman, *Calendar of Confederate Papers*, pp. 181 and 182.

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records of the War*, fourth series, III. 959.

be surprised therefore when we find that the opposition to his negro scheme became entangled with a movement to compel his resignation. But this anticipates events.

The first great monument to the debate upon the arming of the slaves is a passage in the President's message to Congress, November 7, 1864.<sup>5</sup> This message is often misquoted. Frequently it is said that he asked Congress to give him 40,000 slaves to be used as soldiers, with a promise of emancipation at the end of their service. His actual request was for 40,000 slave laborers. His remarks upon the subject of negro soldiers were as follows:

I must dissent from those who advise a general levy and arming of the slaves for the duty of soldiers. Until our white population shall prove insufficient for the armies we require and can afford to keep in the field, to employ as a soldier the negro . . . would scarcely be deemed wise or advantageous by any, and this is the question now before us. But should the alternative ever be presented of subjugation or of the employment of the slave as a soldier, there seems no reason to doubt what should then be our decision.

There the matter rested during the next three months. However, there was wide-spread anxiety on the subject. The *Journals of the Confederate Congress*, newspaper files, and personal recollections, all confirm the tradition that the subject was generally discussed during the last winter of Confederate history. It parted itself into three distinct questions: Should the slaves be given arms under any circumstances? If used as soldiers, should they be promised emancipation? Should whatever was done—if anything—be done by the Confederate or by the state governments? Because it comprised these three distinct questions, discussion of it inevitably was tortuous, with considerable ebb and flow. Furthermore the whole matter was complicated by a popular suspicion that the President was aiming at dictatorship. Davis urged Congress to clothe him with authority to suspend the writ of habeas corpus<sup>6</sup> and his enemies construed this request in the most sinister way. In the light of what we now know of the views of his premier, we cannot dismiss the popular guess as lightly as once seemed permissible.

Some time between November 7, 1864, and March 13, 1865, Davis became a convert to the scheme to enroll slaves as soldiers. At what time this happened is still to be determined. On the latter date, however, shortly after Congress had finally decided to allow the enrollment of negroes, Davis communicated to it this criticism:<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Journals of the Confederate Congress*, IV. 258.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 263.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 704.

The bill for employing negroes as soldiers has not yet reached me, though the printed journals of your proceedings inform me of its passage. Much benefit is anticipated from this measure, though far less than would have resulted from its adoption at an earlier date, so as to afford time for their organization and instruction during the winter months.

This message made the Senate indignant and "so much thereof as relates to the action of Congress" was referred to a special committee of five, consisting of Orr, Graham, Semmes, Caperton, and Watson.<sup>8</sup> On the sixteenth, this committee reported.<sup>9</sup>

That a law so radical in its character, so repugnant to the prejudices of our people [says the report], and so intimately affecting the organization of society, should encounter opposition and receive a tardy sanction, ought not to excite surprise, but if the policy and necessity of the measure had been seriously urged on Congress by an Executive message, legislative action might have been quickened. The President, in no official communication to Congress, has recommended the passage of a law putting slaves into the Army as soldiers, and the message under consideration is the first official information that such a law would meet his approval.

Nevertheless, newspaper paragraphs printed that winter make it plain that the popular mind had formed the idea long before that a slave army was among the intentions of the government. Apparently the message of November 7 was interpreted as a "feeler" to take the sense of the country relative to a plan already decided upon. That bitter opponent of Davis, the *Charleston Mercury*, took for granted early in the winter that the President had made up his mind, and was in favor of enrolling slaves. A message of Governor Smith of Virginia, who also appears to have taken it for granted, and who spoke favorably with regard to it, was sharply criticized by the *Mercury*.<sup>10</sup> The defeat of Hood, in the desperate battle of Franklin, caused a natural increase of interest in all schemes to reinforce the army, and a Richmond correspondent wrote the *Mercury* that as a consequence the question of negro troops was getting favorable consideration.<sup>11</sup> Presently we find Prentiss, the famous editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, making public declaration that Davis intended to arm 200,000 slaves, promising liberty to themselves and their families.<sup>12</sup> It seems hardly fanciful to say that the possibility of this black army hung over the Southern mind, that

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 707.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 726-727.

<sup>10</sup> December 12, 1864.

<sup>11</sup> January 4, 1865.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in the *Mercury*, January 21, 1865.

dreadful winter, a veritable shadow of despair. A pathetic attempt to lay the spectre was a resolution proposed in the House of Representatives, to cease agitating the subject of employing negro troops, "a measure which has already divided public sentiment and produced much despondency".<sup>13</sup>

The agitation gradually gathered strength. Lee aided it with his great influence. In a letter to Andrew Hunter,<sup>14</sup> written during January, 1865, he discussed the situation with admirable penetration and lucidity. Though still holding that slavery under existing racial conditions was the best solution of the problem of black and white in the South, he concluded that military necessity compelled its abandonment. Black troops were needed, and military service must be followed by their emancipation; and that, in time, by a general abolition of slavery. The South must accept conditions and make the best of them. However, Congress did not take definite action on the subject until February, 1865. On the sixth of that month, Moore of Kentucky moved in the House to consider the expediency of empowering the President to call negroes into the field.<sup>15</sup> An attempt to table the motion was lost by a close vote.<sup>16</sup> The Congressional battle over the enrollment of negroes as troops had begun. Moore's motion was referred to the committee on military affairs.<sup>17</sup>

The next day, in the Senate, a resolution was submitted, which forms a truly pathetic landmark in Confederate history.<sup>18</sup>

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs be instructed to report a bill with the least practicable delay, to take into the military service of the Confederate States a number of negro soldiers, not to exceed two hundred thousand, by voluntary enlistment, with the consent of their owners, or by conscription, as may be found necessary; and that the committee provide in said bill for the emancipation of said negroes in all cases where they prove loyal and true to the end of the war, and for the immediate payment, under proper restrictions, of their full present value to their owners.

It is to be observed that this resolution forced the issue on all three of the questions involved. It proposed to arm the slaves, to promise them freedom, and to commit the whole matter to the Confederate government. Davis probably was now prepared to take high ground on all three propositions—also, as it turned out, were three senators, Brown, Henry, and Vest. But the remainder of the senators present, thirteen in all, went against them.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Journals*, VII. 526.

<sup>14</sup> *Official Records*, fourth series, III. 1012.

<sup>15</sup> *Journals*, VII. 542.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 526.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 528.

From the seventh of the month until the tenth, no further action was taken in either house of Congress. During this time the President continued an official silence. Secretary Benjamin, on the contrary, came forward as official advocate of the measure. On the night of February 9, he made his last political address.<sup>20</sup> The substance of it may be gathered from a letter<sup>21</sup> which he wrote to Lee two days afterward. He had spoken, he said, with regard to the "necessity of instant re-enforcement for your army", proposing "that those slaves only who might volunteer to fight for their freedom, should be at once sent to the trenches". The proposition met with "decided favor from the meeting". And then comes the significant remark that, nevertheless, opposition had again gathered strength, and had raised the cry that such a course would "disband the army by reason of the violent aversion of the troops to have negroes in the field with them. . . . If we could get from the army", said Benjamin in conclusion, "an expression of its desire to be re-enforced by such negroes as for the boon of freedom will volunteer to go to the front, the measure will pass without further delay, and we may yet be able to give you such a force as will enable you to assume the offensive."

Why Benjamin was put forward, at this juncture, as the administration spokesman, is a mystery. To be sure he was the chief author of the scheme, but this fact hardly bears upon the question. He was also excessively unpopular. Two entries in the Congressional *Journals* form an unequivocal record of the hostility he had inspired in Congress. Resolutions introduced into the House, February 15, severely condemned him for recent remarks touching Congress and the army. The resolutions went so far as to call his language "derogatory to his position as a high public functionary of the Confederate Government, a reflection on the motives of Congress as a deliberative body, and an insult to public opinion".<sup>22</sup> A vote on these resolutions showed that a third of the House approved them.<sup>23</sup> About the same time, February 13, the Senate divided evenly on a resolution "declaring that the retirement of the Hon. Judah P. Benjamin from the State Department will be subservient of the public interests".<sup>24</sup> It seems safe to conclude that the administration made a blunder in permitting Benjamin's speech.

The Confederate Congress has received so little attention, hitherto, that its inner workings are still unknown to us. A tragic

<sup>20</sup> Butler, *Benjamin*, p. 350.

<sup>21</sup> *Official Records*, first series, vol. XLVI., pt. 2, p. 1229.

<sup>22</sup> *Journals*, VII. 582.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 550, 552, 553. The phraseology was modified in the course of the debate.

study in historical psychology doubtless lies beneath the bare formality of its *Journals*; its vacillation forms an amazing spectacle, which as yet challenges explanation in vain. After voting down, by such a large majority, the resolution of February 7, the Senate, on the tenth, permitted the introduction of a bill—S. 190—to provide for the raising of 200,000 negro troops,<sup>25</sup> and a week later considered an amendment empowering the War Department to manumit slave soldiers providing it had the consent of the state in which the slaves would be at the date of the proposed manumission.<sup>26</sup> This bill however—though it seems to be the source of an erroneous tradition<sup>27</sup>—was not destined to become law. On February 21, by a vote of eleven to ten, it was indefinitely postponed.

It is easy to see why the bill was dropped. To begin with, the opposition in the Senate was very strong. Long afterward, Davis made the assertion that "a chief obstacle" to the adoption of this bill, was the opposition of Senator R. M. T. Hunter.<sup>28</sup> In retort the senator said:<sup>29</sup>

That my opposition to this bill was some obstacle to its passage I had supposed, but that it was a chief obstacle, I had not imagined. I say this not to avoid the responsibility of opposition to that ill-starred measure. I wish I could have defeated it altogether, for I regard its approach to a passage as a stain upon Confederate history. It afforded, I believe, plausible ground against them for the accusation of falsehood in professing to secede from the United States Government, in part, and mainly on the plea that it was, by reason of their fear that the party in power would emancipate the negroes in defiance of the constitution. . . . And now it would be said we had done the very thing . . . without any more constitutional right than they would have had.

And yet in opposition to Hunter was the known fact that Lee favored arming the negro. However, to find the real clew to the willingness of the Senate to drop its measure, one must consider what had recently taken place in the House. The Senate bill, which

<sup>25</sup> *Journals*, IV, 543.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 572-573. The bill had been referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, by which the manumission amendment was reported, February 17. The *Journals* do not reveal the precise significance of this amendment as the original text of the bill is not to be found in them. Neither are they absolutely explicit as to what was the history of the amendment. There are details in the entry for February 17 that make it seem fragmentary. It remains to be determined whether the "ill-starred measure", condemned by Hunter in the quotation which follows above, was the bill as first read or this amendment.

<sup>27</sup> This tradition, met with in numerous places, finds such expression as this: "The reluctant Confederate Congress debated long in secret session and did not pass a bill for arming and emancipating 200,000 slaves until March 10th." Pendleton, *Alexander H. Stephens (American Crisis Biographies)*, p. 271.

<sup>28</sup> *Southern Historical Society Papers*, IV, 209.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 313.



came to its end in that indefinite postponement, appears to have got confused in the minds of most students with quite a different measure that ultimately became law. It was the unsuccessful Senate bill—to which Hunter was “a chief obstacle”—not the House bill, now to be considered, to which may be traced the groundless story that the Confederate Congress authorized Davis to raise an army of 200,000 negroes on the promise of manumission. That, as we have seen, Hunter and his following prevented.

The successful bill—H. R. 367—was introduced by Barksdale, of Mississippi, on the same day that saw the introduction of the ill-starred Senate bill.<sup>30</sup> The House referred it to a “select committee of one from each State”.<sup>31</sup>

Like Benjamin, at about the same date, Barksdale wrote to Lee for advice. His letter was dated on February 12. Lee replied on the eighteenth. He wrote: “I think the measure not only expedient but necessary. The enemy will certainly use them against us if he can get possession of them. . . . I think those who are employed should be freed. It would be neither just nor wise, in my opinion, to require them to serve as slaves.”<sup>32</sup> After a parliamentary battle over amendments, H. R. 367 was passed.<sup>33</sup> It was on the following day, after receiving this bill from the House, that the Senate postponed its own bill indefinitely.<sup>34</sup> At this point we encounter again that inexplicable dilatoriness of the Congress of the Confederacy. When every hour was precious, when something—one thing or another—should have been ordered at once, the Senate had wavered over its own bill during eleven days. During that time Columbia had gone up in smoke. The House bill was now to be kept waiting fifteen days more. In this period Sherman reached the borders of North Carolina. Would that we had a satisfactory clew to the psychology of the Confederate Senate during these dreadful weeks, when the wave of fire which was Sherman's advance moved steadily toward Richmond!

Why the Senate abandoned its own bill and took up the measure submitted by the House, now becomes plain. The latter bill evaded the constitutional difficulties that plagued the legal conscience of the Senate. The great discussion in the House had ended in excluding altogether from the proposed scheme the issue of emancipation. It increased the number contemplated to “three hundred thousand troops, in addition to those subject to military service under existing

<sup>30</sup> *Journals*, VII. 562.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> J. D. McCabe, *Life of Lee*, pp. 574-575.

<sup>33</sup> February 20, 1865. Yeas 40, nays 37. *Journals*, VII. 613-614.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 585.

laws . . . to be raised from such classes of the population, irrespective of color, in each State as the proper authorities thereof may determine".<sup>35</sup> The President was authorized to call upon each state for its quota under this law. The Senate amended the bill, providing that the levy in any one state should not exceed twenty-five per cent. of the state's slave population.<sup>36</sup> The House accepted the amendment, and the bill was passed, March 9.<sup>37</sup> It had been under discussion, since Barksdale introduced it, no less than twenty-seven days.

To repeat, the dilatoriness of Congress is a psychological mystery yet to be solved. Allowing for all the repugnance the measure naturally inspired, how are we to excuse the Congress for having such uncertain knowledge of its own mind? Fiddling while Rome was burning, really does not seem too harsh a verdict. The form of the measure is not so surely deserving of censure. To be sure Professor Dodd, in his recent remarkable life of Davis, apparently considers it a contemptible measure, one quite unworthy of the greatness of the problem of Confederate defense. He dismisses it as a "lame" enactment, the work of a "panicky" Congress.<sup>38</sup> But Professor Dodd, very naturally, has observed the episode from the President's point of view. Somewhat similar was the attitude of Lee's contemporaneous biographer, J. D. McCabe, who made the charge long ago, that Congress "studiously set aside the recommendation of General Lee".<sup>39</sup> McCabe added that "the negro . . . was to be forced to fight for his own captivity". That brilliant but ungenerous persecutor of Davis, Pollard, writes scornfully of the "emasculated measure" which he asserts bore no fruit except two companies of rather ridiculous negro recruits about which, in Pollard's description, there is a savor of opera bouffe:<sup>40</sup>

Two companies of blacks, organized from some negro vagabonds in Richmond, which were allowed to give balls at the Libbey Prison and were exhibited in fine fresh uniforms on Capitol Square as decoys to

<sup>35</sup> *Journals*, VII. 611-612; Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, VI. 487.

<sup>36</sup> *Journals*, IV. 670-671. Thus amended the bill passed the Senate by a vote 9 to 8.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, VII. 729.

<sup>38</sup> To defend the Congress would be a great undertaking. And yet I cannot but feel that Professor Dodd is too severe. His point of view is the modern one; he ignores the distinction between Confederate and state politics. He treats the matter as a single problem whereas the old view treated it as a dual one. I must be allowed to enter my plea for a revival of the older mode of treatment. Without it I cannot see how we are to conceive the men of that day in their true political perspective. For Professor Dodd's position, see his *Jefferson Davis*, ch. xxi.

<sup>39</sup> McCabe, *Life of Lee*, p. 576.

<sup>40</sup> Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, VI. 488, quoting Pollard's *Life of Davis*, p. 456.

obtain recruits. But the mass of their colored brethren looked on the parade with unenvious eyes, and little boys exhibited the early prejudices of race by pelting the fine uniforms with mud.

Pollard, it should be remembered, is always to be taken with a grain of salt.

These extravagant condemnations omit from consideration three things—the guessing of the Congress with regard to the secret intentions of the President and Benjamin; the reality of state patriotism; and the last paragraph of Lee's letter to Barksdale. So illuminating is the latter that it should be spread upon the record. Lee wrote:<sup>41</sup>

I have no doubt that if Congress would authorize their [the negroes'] reception into service, and empower the President to call upon individuals or States for such as they are willing to contribute, with the condition of emancipation to all enrolled, a sufficient number would be forthcoming to enable us to try the experiment [of determining whether the slaves would make good soldiers]. If it proved successful, most of the objections to the measure would disappear, and if individuals still remained unwilling to send their negroes to the army, the force of public opinion in the States would soon bring about such legislation as would remove all obstacles. I think the matter should be left, as far as possible, to the people and the States, which alone can legislate as the necessities of this particular service may require.

This letter, apparently, is confused in the minds of some writers with that other written a month previously to Andrew Hunter, of Virginia. Those who confuse the two letters forget that the Hunter letter was addressed to a member of the Virginia legislature, while the letter to Barksdale was intended to guide a member of the Confederate Congress. Because Lee had concluded that emancipation was now the final hope of the South, it does not follow that he would have tolerated it if attempted by the Confederate Congress in defiance of his own state. The letter to Barksdale was written at headquarters on the eighteenth; the bill passed the House on the twentieth. Considered in the light of the Barksdale correspondence may it not be construed as the acceptance by Congress of what it understood to be Lee's wishes? If the House took the matter calmly, deliberately, so did Lee. If the House regarded the situation as one in which "experiment" was still possible, so did Lee. If the House carefully guarded the authority of the states and shut the door against overruling Confederate action, what else could be inferred as the settled conviction of the leader it trusted above all others? If, on one point—the definite invitation to the states to consent to manumission of slaves owned by the Confederate govern-

<sup>41</sup> McCabe, *Life of Lee*, p. 575.

ment—the House was silent, at least it did not set up any barriers to manumission but left the whole matter of the future of slave soldiers to state action. To charge it with studiously disregarding the advice of Lee is extravagant. The sin of the Congress in this connection remains its dilatoriness.

As we have seen, the passing of the act led to bitterness between the President and the Senate. When Davis wrote the message of March 13 reproving Congress for its delay, he was undoubtedly in an overstrained nervous condition. For this, besides the general tension of the moment, there are at least three causes clearly to be discerned. He was now anxious to enlist the slaves. He was involved in a diplomatic tangle from which he was not destined to emerge successful. But there was a third cause of anxiety which has not as yet received attention from any of his biographers. To understand it we must leave momentarily the politics of the Confederacy as a whole and glance at the politics of Virginia.

While Congress had fought to a finish its battle over the enrollment of slaves the same issue had been dealt with locally by Virginia. In the course of the latter discussion Lee fully revealed himself in his overlooked capacity of statesman. Whether his abilities as a statesman equalled his ability as a soldier does not here concern us. It is well known that he had no high opinion of them himself. However, in the advice he gave at this final moment of crisis he expressed a definite conception of the articulation of civil forces in a system like that of the Confederacy. He held that all initiative in legislation should remain with the separate states—that the function of the general government was to administer, not to create, conditions—and that the proper power to constrain the separate state legislatures was the flexible extra-legal power of public opinion. Therefore when Congress, accepting practically these views, threw the burden of the military problem on the shoulders of the states, the test of Lee's influence began. Here again, as at several other points in this singular drama, an erroneous tradition has become established. Even so careful a student as Mr. Bradford, whose fine work on Lee deserves such high praise, has for once affirmed an error, saying that "nothing shows more clearly Lee's immense influence than the fact that he was able to persuade his countrymen to accept his view" of the matter of negro enrollment. It will be plain in a moment that this statement is far too unconditional.

Long before the Barksdale act was passed—in fact even before it was introduced—Lee had formulated his programme, and a test of its adequacy to the conditions of the moment was going forward.

Side by side with the struggle in Congress, went the still more momentous struggle in the politics of Virginia. Its issue was the question—anticipating Lee's later words—whether "the force of public opinion in the States would soon bring about such legislation as would render effective the arming of the slaves". Obviously emancipation was the condition of its effectiveness. Without the promise of emancipation the scheme justified McCabe's sneer, "that it commanded the negro to fight for his own captivity". Whatever may be said on constitutional grounds, in defense of the refusal of Congress to demand emancipation, such defense had no significance in connection with a state. For the state no constitutional difficulty existed. A state legislature, considering what to do in response to the invitations of the act, had nothing to consider but a question of policy. Thus the issue ceased to be constitutional, and became purely political. Did the line of policy advocated by Lee carry sufficient weight to direct the political action of the states? Specifically, of his own state of Virginia?

Here it is well to refresh one's memory as to just what that policy was. Setting aside, now, all advice he gave to Congress, let us concentrate attention upon the advice he gave Virginia. Let us go back to the letter he wrote to Andrew Hunter, the Virginia senator. There we find Lee's view of the situation in terms of pure policy with all its constitutional bearings omitted. The letter which called forth Lee's reply is also well worth preservation.<sup>42</sup>

I refer [wrote Hunter] to the great question now stirring the public mind as to the expediency and propriety of bringing to bear against our relentless enemy the element of military strength supposed to be found in our negro population. . . .

But it is not to be disguised that public sentiment is greatly divided on the subject; and besides many real objections, a mountain of prejudices growing out of our ancient modes of regarding the institution of Southern slavery will have to be met and overcome before we can attain to anything like that degree of unanimity so extremely desirable in this and all else connected with our great struggle. . . .

Pardon me, therefore, for asking, to be used not only for my own guidance, but publicly as the occasion may require [various questions which fill the latter part of the letter].

To this Lee replied:

Considering the relation of master and slave, controlled by humane laws and influenced by Christianity and an enlightened public sentiment, as the best that can exist between the white and black races while intermingled as at present in this country, I would deprecate any sudden disturbance of that relation unless it be necessary to avert a greater calamity to both. . . .

<sup>42</sup> *Official Records*, fourth series, III. 1008, 1012-1013.

Should the war continue under existing circumstances, the enemy may in course of time penetrate our country and get access to a large part of our negro population. It is his avowed policy to convert the able-bodied men among them into soldiers, and to emancipate all. . . . His progress will thus add to his numbers, and at the same time destroy slavery in a manner most pernicious to the welfare of our people. Their negroes will be used to hold them in subjection, leaving the remaining force of the enemy free to extend his conquests. Whatever may be the effect of our employing negro troops, it cannot be as mischievous as this. If it end in subverting slavery it will be accomplished by ourselves, and we can devise the means of alleviating the evil consequences to both races. I think, therefore, we must decide whether slavery shall be extinguished by our enemies and the slaves be used against us, or use them ourselves at the risk of the effects which may be produced upon our social institutions. . . .

The reasons that induce me to recommend the employment of negro troops at all render the effect of the measures . . . upon slavery immaterial, and in my opinion the best means of securing the efficiency and fidelity of this auxiliary force would be to accompany the measure with a well-digested plan of gradual and general emancipation. As that will be the result of the continuance of the war, and will certainly occur if the enemy succeed, it seems to me most advisable to adopt it at once, and thereby obtain all the benefits that will accrue to our cause. . . .

I can only say in conclusion, that whatever measures are to be adopted should be adopted at once. Every day's delay increases the difficulty. Much time will be required to organize and discipline the men, and action may be deferred until it is too late.<sup>45</sup>

These words were penned, January 11. It is to be borne in mind that they urged immediate action by Virginia at a time when there was no certain evidence that Congress would act at all. It did not occur to Lee that Virginia should wait to receive the guidance of Congress. In urging the policy of emancipation through legislative action he spoke as a Virginian only. Too often this fact is forgotten.

During the next sixty days, Lee rejected two great opportunities—or, if you will, put aside two great temptations. Circumstantial evidence seems to affirm the tradition that a Congressional cabal definitely proposed to him some such rôle as that of Cromwell and the Long Parliament. If the proposition was really made, the remainder of the tradition—his somewhat haughty refusal—goes without saying. Thus Lee withdrew himself from active intervention in general Confederate politics. But there was going forward, at that same time, another political crisis which presented itself to Lee as a totally different matter. There was a crisis in Virginia politics, overlooked hitherto by historians, which was quite as far reaching as the other crisis in the general politics of the whole Confederacy.

<sup>45</sup> Surely Mr. Bradford errs in saying that Congress took action "in response" to this letter. He confuses it with the letter to Barksdale written a month later in a very different vein.

What if Virginia had accepted the views of Lee as outlined in the letter to Andrew Hunter? What if Virginia had thrown herself, with all her vast influence, vehemently on the side of instant execution of those views? A change in the balance of forces throughout the Confederacy must certainly have resulted. That the course of Southern history would have changed had Lee seen fit to seize either of his opportunities can hardly be doubted. "Wanted—a Cromwell", would not be inappropriate as a description of the Confederacy, and, incidentally, of Virginia, at the opening of 1865. Whether even a Cromwellian assumption could then have saved the day is a speculation the answer to which will test, probably, the degree of military audacity inherent in the speculator. To imagine, however, that Lee whether as militarist or as political manager, would ever have consented to play the rôle of Cromwell, is to miss the central law of his being. The arch-idealist, he was as incapable of accepting the power offered to him by circumstances as Cromwell, such a different type of man, would have been incapable of refusing it. Whether this was a fault in him or a virtue, a limitation or a sublimity, is not to be discussed in parentheses. All that here concerns us is the fact that he withheld himself from Virginia politics no less than from Confederate politics. He contented himself with drawing up his remarkable state paper, the letter to Hunter, and left the execution of his programme—or its defeat—to the unembarrassed action of his people. For himself, politically speaking, he maintained a splendid isolation at the head of the armies.

Virginia took position as to Lee's programme, March 6. While the Barksdale bill was still before the Senate, the Virginia legislature enacted a law providing for the enrollment of slaves as soldiers. It made no mention of emancipation. Of its three sections, only one was significant. It was phrased thus:<sup>44</sup>

Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That it shall be lawful for all free negroes and slaves, who may be organized as soldiers, now or at any time hereafter by the State or the Confederate Government, for the public defense during the present war with the United States, to bear arms while in active military service, and carry ammunition as other soldiers in the Army.

It would be interesting to know whether Davis was informed of this law when he sent his sharp rebuke to Congress on March 13. At that date emancipation was perhaps the chief article in his policy. He and Benjamin had decided upon that desperate last stroke of theirs, the proposition to free the slaves as the price of European

<sup>44</sup> *Official Records*, first series, vol. XLVI., pt. 3, p. 1315.

intervention. Davis was waiting daily, in tense anxiety, for news from Paris. The two laws—the Barksdale act and the Virginia act—between them demonstrated that his diplomatic bargain, if accepted by Napoleon and Palmerston, could not be carried into effect without a vigorous political campaign against great odds; it could not be put into instant effect without something amounting to a *coup d'état*.

As is well known Davis was still vainly watching for hopeful news from Europe when the Confederacy fell. There is also evidence that he was exerting himself to build up a party favorable to emancipation. In this it is plain that he had powerful allies, as is evinced by a letter from him to Governor Smith of Virginia: "I am happy to receive your assurance of success [in raising black troops], as well as your promise to seek legislation to secure unmistakable freedom to the slave who shall enter the Army, with a right to return to his old home, when he shall have been honorably discharged from military service."<sup>45</sup>

Had time permitted, the double political crisis of March, 1865, would not only have closed but opened a chapter in Confederate history. Paradoxical as it sounds, the Confederate government, at that moment, needed time even more than men—time to draw its people together in a new régime based on the programme of Lee, time to work out Lee's plan of gradually constraining the state legislatures through public opinion, time to bargain with Europe on the basis of emancipation. But time was just what the Washington government was determined the Confederacy should not have. The relentlessness with which it hurried events forward takes new meaning when, from within the Confederacy, in the light of Lee's programme, we reflect upon the value of a little more time to the Confederate cause.

N. W. STEPHENSON.

<sup>45</sup> *Official Records*, first series, vol. XLVI., pt. 3, p. 1366.



## DOCUMENTS

### *Correspondence of the Russian Ministers in Washington, 1818-1825, I.*

OF the following documents the greater number, to wit, numbers III., V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., XIII., and XIV. of the present installment, and all but the second and last two of the ensuing installment, have been placed at the service of the REVIEW by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, editor to the Massachusetts Historical Society, who some years ago obtained them, in copies, from the Central Archives at St. Petersburg. It appeared plain to the managing editor, upon examination of the documents thus kindly presented by Mr. Ford, despatches sent to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs by two successive ministers of Russia at Washington, that they required to be supplemented by printing with them any important communications which came during the same period from the ministry to the envoys. By the kindness of His Excellency the Imperial Russian Ambassador, Mr. George Bakhmétiqueff, to whom as well as to Mr. Ford grateful acknowledgments are here made, he has been permitted to make full search in the archives of the embassy for the years in question, and has extracted from them the documents numbered I., II., IV., XI., XII., XV., and XVI., together with the second and the last two documents appearing in the second installment of these papers.

Of the documents thus added, the instructions from Capodistrias and Nesselrode to Polética, numbered I., II., and XI., and those to Tuyll, numbered XV. and XVI., will doubtless be found most important and interesting. They cast a clear light upon the policy of Russia with respect to the Spanish-American colonies and with respect to the affairs of the Russian-American Company and the limits of Russian power upon the Northwest Coast. They have thus a certain value as contributions to the history of the genesis of the Monroe Doctrine.

The despatches of the envoys, on the other hand, present an interesting narrative of the negotiations upon these subjects at Washington, as they appeared to the representatives of Russia, and in a good number of instances give their versions of the same conversations which are reported to us, from the other point of view, in the *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*. Adams's former residence in St. Petersburg, 1809-1814, it may be observed, was of great advantage

toward amicable and intelligent discussion with the two Russian ministers.

Pierre de Polética was, like Capodistrias, of Greek extraction.<sup>1</sup> He had been at Washington in 1810-1812 as a secretary under Count Pahlen.<sup>2</sup> The first suggestion of his appointment had been made by Pozzo di Borgo, who, writing to Nesselrode in 1817 of some annoying indiscretions of the Russian minister in Brazil, which had compelled his recall, complains that Russia has not a man of sense to represent her in the whole New World, and proceeds to suggest that Polética be sent out to Washington.<sup>3</sup> He arrived in that capital on May 24, 1819.<sup>4</sup>

Major-General Baron de Tuyll van Serooskerken came from an ancient and noble Dutch family. He had been designated for the mission to the United States in 1817<sup>5</sup> and had received instructions for the purpose, but Polética was sent, and Tuyll went to the legation in Lisbon.

It may be proper to explain that Russian foreign affairs were in the joint charge of Nesselrode and Capodistrias. The former was "Secrétaire d'État dirigeant le Ministère des Affaires Étrangères"; Capodistrias was "Secrétaire d'État près de la personne de Sa Majesté Impériale".

It is believed that none of these documents has been published except a translation of most of number IV.<sup>6</sup> and a brief extract from number XV.<sup>7</sup>

# I. CAPODISTRIAS TO POLÉTICA.

VARSOVIE, 18 Avril 1818.<sup>8</sup>

Monsieur,

En prenant connoissance de Votre dépeche du 27 Fevrier, l'Empereur a daigné apprécier le zèle et la sagacité qui vous portent à désirer des directions supplémentaires sur l'objet que vous soumettez à Sa haute décision.

<sup>1</sup> Lane-Poole, *Life of Stratford Canning*, p. 313. Canning gives some amusing personal traits of the clever Greek.

<sup>2</sup> Rush, *Memoranda of a Residence at the Court of London* (ed. 1833), p. 140, and J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, II. 406.

<sup>3</sup> *Correspondance Diplomatique des Ambassadeurs et Ministres de la Russie en France et de la France en Russie avec leurs Gouvernements*, II. 315.

<sup>4</sup> Adams, *Memoirs*, II. 370.

<sup>5</sup> See XV., below, and Adams, IV. 68, who however speaks of 1818.

<sup>6</sup> *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 676, and *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1402.

<sup>7</sup> Martens, *Traité de Russie*, XI. 312-313.

<sup>8</sup> Apparently O. S., April 18/30. Capodistrias was at Warsaw in attendance upon the czar, who had just opened the diet of the kingdom of Poland with a famous speech. The letter bears a note in Russian indicating that it was received by Polética, presumably at Paris, on April 29/May 11, 1818.

Vos observations, jointes à celles que nous venons de recevoir du Ministre de Sa Majesté Impériale à Paris, et de son ambassadeur à Londres,<sup>9</sup> nous donnent assez la mesure de l'importance de votre Mission à Washington, surtout si les négociations vouées à l'arrangement du différend existant entre l'Espagne et le Portugal,<sup>10</sup> ainsi qu'à la pacification des Colonies, venoient à manquer complètement leur but.

La république des Etats Unis sympathise avec les Colonies insurgées; et son Gouvernement, comme vous l'observez avec justesse, se verra engagé, si ce n'est par son propre mouvement, du moins par l'influence de la volonté nationale, à soutenir les efforts, que feront les peuples du Midi de l'autre hémisphère, pour s'élever à la dignité d'Etats libres et indépendans.

Dans la supposition donc, que la médiation ne parvient à aucun résultat, et que les Cours intéressées et intervenantes, par la divergence inconciliable de leurs opinions, laissent encore longtemps indécises les deux questions dont elles semblent s'occuper actuellement, nul doute que le Gouvernement Américain, voyant ainsi un champ très-vaste ouvert aux combinaisons auxquelles les intérêts exclusifs et toutes les ambitions peuvent donner lieu, ne soit empressé de connoître:

1°. Si la Russie est libre de tout engagement quelconque, et si elle peut conséquemment rester spectatrice impartiale et inactive des événemens;

2°. Si elle seroit disposée à prendre part, même indirectement, au système des Etats-Unis, et à favoriser ainsi l'affranchissement des Colonies Espagnoles, en leur promettant de les reconnoître libres et indépendantes;

3°. Si une guerre venoit à éclater à ce sujet entre l'Espagne et les Etats-Unis ou bien entre cette république et l'Angleterre, quelle seroit l'attitude que prendra la Russie?

Ces trois questions semblent embrasser toutes celles, dont Mr. Adams d'une part, peut désirer de vous entretenir, et sur lesquelles, de l'autre, Mr. d'Onis, Ministre d'Espagne,<sup>11</sup> peut vouloir entendre ou faire entendre votre opinion.

Les erremens que nous allons tracer ici vous mettront à même, Monsieur, de parler à l'un et à l'autre le langage le plus conforme aux intentions de l'Empereur, et peut-être le plus utile à la cause commune.

#### *Première Question.*

La Russie n'a point d'engagemens particuliers avec aucune Puissance; —et n'est nullement disposée à en contracter, parce qu'elle veut demeurer pour sa part religieusement et invariablement fidèle à ceux, dont l'ensemble constitue le système général de l'Europe.

Les traités de Paris et de Vienne des années 1814 et 1815, ainsi que l'acte du 14/26 Septembre,<sup>12</sup> forment la base unique et immuable de la politique de Sa Majesté Imperiale.

<sup>9</sup> From Pozzo di Borgo and Lieven. That of the former is probably the despatch of March 24/April 5 to Capodistrias printed in *Correspondance Diplomatique des Ambassadeurs*, II. 633. These present instructions to Polética were communicated to Pozzo di Borgo. *Ibid.*, II. 716.

<sup>10</sup> Over the questions of Olivenza and the Banda Oriental.

<sup>11</sup> Don Luis de Onis, minister of Spain at Washington from 1809 to 1819.

<sup>12</sup> September 26, 1815. The document called the Holy Alliance.

En partant de là, il vous sera facile d'établir avec précision et droiture le principe que nous prenons pour régulateur de notre conduite, soit que les négociations déferées à la conférence de Paris<sup>12</sup> aient une issue satisfaisante, soit que, dans une hypothèse contraire, les cours intéressés et médiatrices embrassent des systèmes divergens ou opposés.

Reconcilier l'Espagne avec le Portugal, et ensuite pacifier les Colonies par l'ascendant seul de l'unanimité éclairée et impartiale des principaux Cabinets: telle est la pensée unique de notre mémoire du 17 Novembre.<sup>13</sup>

Elle ne pouvait point être d'une nature différente, attendu que le premier besoin, comme le plus grand intérêt de l'Espagne et du Portugal, aussi bien que des Puissances médiatrices, consiste à maintenir la paix et l'alliance générale, et à écarter soigneusement tous les motifs qui peuvent en relâcher ou rompre les liens.

Les résultats des conférences de Paris nous apprendront, jusqu'à quel point les Cabinets ont jugé convenable d'apprécier cette vérité.

C'est en puisant à cette source d'informations, qu'il nous sera permis de fonder notre opinion sur les futurs contingens.

Tant que Sa Majesté Impériale pourra espérer de faire prévaloir l'influence simultanée et unanime, mais impartiale et surtout désintéressée, des Cabinets Alliés, dans la décision de ces grandes questions, Elle ne négligera aucun moyen de persuasion pour atteindre ce but éminent.

Lorsque nul effort ne pourra plus être employé, nous aurons alors une somme suffisante de données, pour juger, de quel côté on diverge du système général, et quelles sont les prétentions qui rendent incompatible le maintien de ce système salutaire avec la conciliation des intérêts qui font l'objet de la médiation.

Où l'Espagne et le Portugal, ainsi que l'Angleterre, divergent également, en ne voulant point se désister de leurs prétentions exclusives et isolées,—ou bien l'une ou l'autre de ces Puissances fait preuve de modération.

Dans l'une de ces hypothèses comme dans l'autre, nous ne précipiterons aucune résolution. Mais en dernière analyse, s'il s'agira de se prononcer, l'Empereur n'hésitera point, dans le second cas, à soutenir les Puissances, dont l'adhésion au système général aura été invariable, et par l'intention et par le fait. Et dans le premier, fermement décidée à ne provoquer de son propre mouvement aucune combinaison exclusive, Sa Majesté Impériale prendra l'attitude qui pourra, par la force des choses, ramener, du consentement de Ses Alliés, l'accord général et unanime, que la force seule de la raison n'a pû maintenir.

### *Seconde question.*

Nous ignorons le système du Gouvernement Américain. Cet Etat ne fait point partie de l'association générale. Il n'a point témoigné le désir de participer à l'acte du 1<sup>er</sup>/<sub>2</sub> 4<sup>th</sup> Septembre. Il ne nous appartient point

<sup>12</sup> Conference of the ambassadors in Paris of Russia, England, Austria, and Prussia—Pozzo di Borgo, Stuart, Vincent, Goltz—which had been constantly maintained since 1815, and had of late been charged with mediation in the disputes between Spain and Portugal. Its protocols for the period of this letter are in *Correspondance Politique*, vol. II.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 474-482. "Mémoire à communiquer aux puissances intéressées, ainsi qu'aux cabinets des puissances médiatrices." See J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 446.

de relever ce fait, que lorsque le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis voudra prendre connoissance de la politique de Sa Majesté Impériale.

En se prononçant à cet égard, il vous donnera la mesure de la confiance qu'il désire vous inspirer. Ses réticences régleront les vôtres, comme la franchise avec laquelle Mr. Adams s'ouvrira avec vous à ce sujet, vous engagera à ne lui laisser ignorer aucune des observations qui sont consignées dans vos instructions générales.<sup>15</sup>

Du moment que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis accédera à l'association fraternelle et Chrétienne de tous les Etats Européens, c'est alors qu'il acquiert le droit de faire cause commune avec eux dans toutes les entreprises, qui tendent à faire prévaloir et respecter les principes consacrés par cet acte.

Hors de ce contact, le Cabinet de l'Empereur ne peut en avoir aucun autre avec les Etats-Unis, au moyen duquel il puisse, en cas de besoin, agir comme leur allié, sans nuire ou être en contravention à l'alliance générale.

Quelle que soit l'issue de cette partie délicate de Votre Mission, Vous répondrez, Monsieur, avec vérité et candeur, aux questions qui vous seront adressées relativement aux Colonies Espagnoles.

À cet effet le Ministère Vous munira de la Copie de notre mémoire du 17 Novembre, ainsi que des dépêches qui furent envoyées à cette occasion à Mr. de Tatischeff.<sup>16</sup>

Pénétré de leur contenu, vous serez à même de prouver au Gouvernement Américain, que l'Empereur, en prenant part à la médiation (si la médiation aura lieu) est bien loin de vouloir contribuer par son influence, à ce que les Colonies soient assujetties à leur Mère Patrie, comme par le passé, savoir, d'après un système mercantile, et pour les avantages éphémères du Commerce de Cadix.

D'autre part, en désirant faire obtenir à ces immenses et riches contrées une existence civile et politique analogue à leurs progrès dans la civilisation, Sa Majesté Impériale n'est nullement autorisée à faire prospérer par son intervention directe ou indirecte, une pareille entreprise, indépendamment du Gouvernement Espagnol, ou dans des vues étrangères aux véritables et légitimes intérêts de cet Etat.

En ami et Allié de Sa Majesté Catholique, l'Empereur ne cessera point d'insister, pour que les Colonies obtiennent de leur Mère Patrie une administration fondée sur les principes d'une représentation nationale, et des libertés qui en dépendent.

Cette opinion n'est point subordonnée aux calculs de la politique. Elle est pure. Sa Majesté Impériale la puise dans sa conviction intime. Et rien ne le prouve plus que les institutions dont jouit le Royaume de Pologne, et le discours par lequel Sa Majesté Impériale vient d'ouvrir la session de sa législature actuelle.<sup>17</sup> Vous en trouverez ci-joint des imprimés dont vous pouvez faire usage en cas de besoin.

Mais de cette conviction il ne dérive point le droit de forcer directement la volonté du Roi d'Espagne; moins encore de parvenir à ce résultat par une conduite oblique, c'est à dire en favorisant les progrès de l'insurrection de ses Colonies.

<sup>15</sup> In conformity with this injunction, Polética read the next ensuing document to Adams, May 29, and this present one on November 24, 1819. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 378, 446.

<sup>16</sup> Russian ambassador in Madrid. The despatch is summarized, *ibid.*, IV. 446.

<sup>17</sup> See its text in *British and Foreign State Papers*, V. 1114-1116.

Les opinions fondées en justice ne changent jamais. Aussi celle que Sa Majesté Impériale a déjà prononcée, quant aux moyens de ramener les Colonies à leur Mère-Patrie, semble de nature à inspirer quelque confiance aux Gouvernemens qui sont appelés, par leurs relations avec ces contrées, à désirer plus particulièrement leur pacification, et à y coopérer dans des vues éclairées et libérales.

Nous aimons à espérer, que le Cabinet de Madrid les partagera de bonne foi. Et dans ce cas Sa Majesté Impériale contribuera de tous Ses efforts à les faire prévaloir.

Dans le cas contraire, la Cour de Russie restera dans l'attente des événemens. Forte de la conscience de ne les avoir point provoqués, Elle aura la pleine latitude de les considérer alors dans leur essence et dans leurs rapports.

Nous répéterons ici ce que nous avons dit plus haut : La force des choses décideroit dans une pareille hypothèse du sort des Colonies. Cette même force, dirigée constamment par la sagesse des Cabinets vers un but conservateur, rameneroit la concorde et l'union,—et conséquemment l'aveu unanime du rang que, dans l'ordre politique, occuperoient ces nouvelles contrées.

### *Troisième question.*

Si la force des armes a terminé dans d'autres temps des questions politiques entre les Etats, nous doutons, qu'à cette époque elle puisse être employée comme *moyen sur* de terminer celles, que la voie des négociations n'auroit pu applanir.

Tous les Gouvernemens ont besoin de la paix et désirent la paix. Mais en est-il de même de cette grande majorité de la génération actuelle, qui est nourrie, élevée au métier des armes, et à laquelle les grandes catastrophes, qu'a subies l'Europe, donne une tendance excentrique, pour ne pas dire, révolutionnaire?

De cette situation générale il résulte, qu'une guerre quelconque, maritime ou continentale, peut provoquer un embrasement universel, durant lequel le Gouvernement, qui y auroit donné lieu, seroit peut-être le premier à expier sa faute, en ne recueillant aucun fruit de ses sacrifices.

Supposons que les Etats-Unis liés avec la Cour de Rio Janéiro,<sup>18</sup> enlèvent à l'Espagne les provinces sur la Rive Orientale de la Plata et les Florides, et que, par l'action combinée de la politique de ces deux Cabinets, les Colonies fassent des progrès véritables vers leur affranchissement,—pourquoi l'Espagne à son tour, en déclarant formellement la guerre au Brésil et aux Etats-Unis, ne tâcheroit-elle pas de s'emparer du Portugal, et de soutenir, autant que les moyens peuvent le lui permettre, l'honneur de son pavillon sur mer? Or, une guerre générale en Europe, peut elle convenir à la prospérité des Etats-Unis? Ignorent-ils que c'est de la guerre dont notre continent a été ensanglanté durant ce dernier quart de siècle, que l'Europe et tous les véritables et grands intérêts des nations relèvent à peine?

Nous nous arrêtons ici.—Il vous appartient, Monsieur, de développer ces considérations et de faire connoître le point de vue, sous lequel l'Empereur envisageroit toute guerre quelconque, ou toute conduite politique, conçue dans l'intention de motiver la guerre, ou de lui procurer des coopérateurs.

<sup>18</sup> John VI., king of Portugal and Brazil, still kept his court in Rio.

Ces directions sont générales. A Votre passage par Londres,<sup>19</sup> Vous tâcherez de Vous procurer des notions plus positives sur chacun des objets que nous venons d'examiner. Ce qu'il importe d'approfondir, est :

1°. Les rapports existans entre la Cour de St. James et celle de Rio Janéiro;

2°. Le système Britannique dans la grande question des Colonies Espagnoles;

3°. Enfin le parti que le Cabinet de St. James prendroit, si les Etats-Unis déclaroient la guerre à l'Espagne.

Nous attendrons sur ces trois points Vos observations. Elles motive-ront peut-être des instructions plus positives, que le Ministère, en cas de besoin, Vous fera parvenir à Washington.

La mission qui Vous est confiée, embrasse de grands intérêts.—Les intentions de l'Empereur Vous sont connues.—Il dépend de Vous de justifier la confiance dont il Vous honore.

Recevez l'assurance de la consideration très-distinguée avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur,

Votre très-humble et  
très-obéissant serviteur  
CAPODISTRIAS.

VARSOVIE

le 18 Avril 1818

À Mr. le Conseiller d'Etat Actuel de Polética.

## II. NESSELRODE TO POLÉTICA.

Monsieur,

Le Ministère Impérial ne regrette nullement les circonstances qui Vous ont retenu jusqu'à présent en Europe.

Appelé à Aix-la-Chapelle, à la suite du désir que Vous en avez témoigné, Vous avez, pour ainsi dire, assisté aux Conférences qui viennent de finir:<sup>20</sup> Vous en connaissez les résultats, ainsi que les discussions qui les ont heureusement amenés.

Dépositaire de toutes ces notions, il Vous est réservé de les utiliser dans Vos relations avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

L'aperçu des négociations d'Aix-la-Chapelle, ainsi que les directions générales dont Sa Majesté Impériale se plaît à munir tous Ses Ministres dans l'Etranger, et que Vous recevez, ci-jointes, ne nous laissent plus qu'à tracer ici quelques erremens plus particulièrement relatifs à Votre Mission.

Vous connaissez maintenant le système général de l'Europe dans ses élémens, comme dans son ensemble. Dépouillé de tous les prestiges dont

<sup>19</sup> Rush, *Memoranda of a Residence at the Court of London*, p. 321, under date of July 30, 1818, speaks of meeting Polética at the French ambassador's. "So strongly, he said, were his instructions imbued with this spirit [of friendliness], that he would not scruple to read them to Mr. Adams, when he got to Washington. I learned, not from Mr. Poleticca but otherwise, that they related in part to the United States joining the Holy Alliance." See also Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 394.

<sup>20</sup> The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle was in session from September 29 to November 22, 1818. Polética took his leave of the czar there. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 371.

la politique exclusive a souvent essayé de le revêtir, il se présente enfin dans toute la pureté de ses principes, et dans toute l'étendue de son influence conservatrice.

Il est dès lors fait pour être embrassé par tous les Etats civilisés, quelle que soit la nature de leurs institutions politiques, ou la place qu'ils occupent dans l'ordre des Nations.

Les Etats-Unis y sont appelés par leurs propres intérêts.

Les instructions antécédentes dont Vous avez été muni à différentes reprises depuis Votre nomination au poste que Vous allez occuper, Vous ont déjà suffisamment fait connaître les vues de Sa Majesté Impériale à cet égard. Le Ministère Imperial, tout en comptant sur Votre Zèle à les faire réussir aux Etats-Unis, ne se dissimule pas cependant les difficultés qu'opposeront à Vos efforts les préjugés populaires et les suggestions d'un intérêt mercantile mal-entendu. Le Ministère n'ignore pas qu'il existe aux Etats-Unis une opinion assez généralement répandue—qu'il ne convient nullement à ce pays de s'associer au système politique de l'Europe. On va même jusqu'à soutenir que les malheurs de l'Europe sont entrés pour beaucoup dans les causes de la prospérité progressive des Etats-Unis. On ne peut combattre les erreurs populaires que par les leçons de l'expérience, et celle-ci nous a déjà démontré, que si la longue tourmente politique que l'Europe a essuyée, fut au commencement favorable au développement des ressources naturelles des Etats-Unis, elle a fini par les atteindre et les froisser. Dans quel pays, à l'exception de la Russie, les vaisseaux et les propriétés Américaines n'ont-elles pas été arbitrairement saisies et confisquées? Et si la dernière guerre entre les Etats-Unis et l'Angleterre—qu'il faut considérer comme une conséquence inévitable du système d'isolement qu'ils ont voulu suivre, en dépit des circonstances—s'est terminée plus heureusement pour eux qu'ils ne l'avaient espéré eux-mêmes, on sent qu'ils en sont moins redevables à leurs forces, qu'à la présomption dédaigneuse qui a fait commettre tant de fautes à leur puissant adversaire.

Il nous paraît clair, Monsieur, que si les Etats-Unis persévèrent à se tenir éloignés du système politique Européen, dont ils finiront néanmoins toujours par ressentir et suivre l'impulsion—car telle est l'impérieuse loi de la nature des choses—les mêmes dangers qu'ils ont courus en 1812 peuvent se renouveler.

Dans cette supposition, on se demande: quel sera leur auxiliaire dans une lutte aussi disproportionnée? quelle Puissance se croira en droit d'élever sa voix en leur faveur?

Après Vous avoir développé ces aperçus généraux sur la direction qu'il serait à désirer d'imprimer à la politique Américaine, le Ministère Impérial Vous invite, Monsieur, à y vouer tous Vos soins. Il est d'avis toutefois qu'il ne Vous convient nullement de Vous mettre pour cela trop en évidence. Dans tout pays, gouverné par des institutions démocratiques, les préjugés politiques du Gouvernement sont d'autant plus difficiles à déraciner qu'ils sont ordinairement populaires. Et lorsqu'une fois les argumens, quelque spécieux qu'ils soient, ont manqué leur but, ils finissent toujours par renforcer les opinions qu'ils devaient renverser. Commencez par obtenir la Confiance des individus composant le Cabinet Américain; et lorsqu'ils Vous auront fait connaître leur véritable pensée, Vous verrez s'il Vous convient de l'appuyer ou de la combattre.

Un second point moins important, mais que le Ministère Impérial croit devoir Vous recommander particulièrement, a pour objet les relations actuelles des Etats-Unis avec l'Espagne.



Des avis réitérés et assez authentiques feraient croire que le Gouvernement Américain, cédant aux clameurs populaires, avait pris la résolution de reconnaître l'indépendance des Colonies Espagnoles, durant la session prochaine du Congrès.<sup>21</sup>—Tout ce qui porte atteinte aux principes de justice qui doivent régler les rapports politiques entre les États, ne saurait obtenir l'approbation de l'Empereur. D'ailleurs Sa Majesté Impériale est l'Allié du Roi d'Espagne, autant que tous les Souverains et Gouvernemens qui ont signé, ou accédé au Recès de Vienne, et aux actes de Paris de l'année 1815. C'est Vous indiquer en peu de mots, Monsieur, notre manière d'envisager l'acte du Gouvernement Américain dont il s'agit.

Si donc, à Votre arrivée à Washington, le Gouvernement Américain n'a point encore résolu la reconnaissance des Colonies Espagnoles insurgées, il Vous est très-expressément recommandé de chercher à dissuader le Cabinet de Washington de cet acte d'hostilité envers l'Espagne, en usant toute fois de la même circonspection qui Vous a été enjointe plus haut. Les argumens ne sauraient Vous manquer.

D'un côté, le Gouvernement Américain est sûr de s'attirer une guerre avec l'Espagne, qui, déjà par sa faiblesse, ne fournit aucune prise à la supériorité maritime de l'autre. Il y a toute probabilité que cette guerre partielle contre l'Espagne, finira par se communiquer à d'autres Puissances et peut-être par devenir générale. Qui peut alors calculer les chances? Est-il prudent de sacrifier tous les avantages que la paix générale offre aux Etats-Unis, à des contingens futurs et incertains, qui, après tout, peuvent n'aboutir qu'à créer des rivaux de plus à la puissance des Etats-Unis.

Le même esprit de conciliation, le même désir de préserver la tranquillité générale de toute atteinte, portent l'Empereur à désirer que les Etats-Unis puissent s'arranger à l'amiable avec l'Espagne relativement à la possession des Florides. C'est ainsi que Vous Vous expliquerez sur cette question lorsque Vous en serez interpellé.

Du reste, le Ministère Impérial, se référant aux instructions qui Vous ont été tracées précédemment, se flatte qu'il Vous a fourni tous les moyens qui étaient à sa disposition pour Vous mettre à même de Vous acquitter de la Mission qui Vous est confiée, à la satisfaction de l'Empereur notre Auguste Maître.

Recevez l'assurance de la considération très distinguée avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

NESSELRODE.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

le 9/21 Novembre 1818.

A Mr. le C. d'Et. Act. Poetica.

<sup>21</sup> Adams on August 15 had sent a circular to the American ministers at London, Paris, and St. Petersburg, asking in what light those governments would view such recognition. It did not in fact take place till June 19, 1822 (Colombia). For the whole story, see Paxson, *The Independence of the South American Republics*, pp. 124-177.

## III. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

À Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

WASHINGTON, le 6/18 Novembre 1819.

Quelques jours avant mon retour ici<sup>22</sup> toutes les gazettes du pays avaient retenties des succès obtenus dans le Courant d'Avril dernier par les troupes des insurgés de Vénézuëla sous les ordres de Bolivar, sur les détachements Royalistes dans le royaume de la Nouvelle Grenade. D'après les bulletins imprimés par les autorités insurgés à Angustura, le Général Bolivar ayant avec lui 3000 hommes, après avoir complètement défait les forces Royalistes qui voulurent s'opposer à son passage, a occupé Santa Fé de Bogota le 10 Août n. st. et doit y avoir trouvé des munitions considérables, des approvisionnements en tout genre, et des espèces métalliques, s'élevant à de très grandes sommes.

Quoique ces nouvelles portassent un caractère assez positif, je ne me suis pas hâté de les mander à Votre Excellence, craignant de me trouver dans le cas, ainsi que cela m'est déjà arrivé quelque fois, sinon de démentir ensuite complètement ces nouvelles, du moins de les réduire à des proportions beaucoup plus minces.

Dans la vue d'obtenir quelques données certains sur ces événements, ainsi que sur l'ensemble de l'état actuel des choses dans l'Amérique Méridionale, j'allais hier voir Mr. Adams à son bureau.<sup>23</sup>

Je le questionnai en premier lieu sur ce qui se passait présentement à Angustura, qu'un bâtiment de guerre Américain avait visité depuis peu, lui demandant si les assertions que j'avais trouvées il y a quelque temps dans les gazettes à l'égard des dissensions, existantes entre les Chefs de ce Gouvernement, étaient exactes. Mr. Adams me répondit, que ces nouvelles étaient absolument fausses; que le Gouvernement à Angustura était parfaitement unanime; que le dernier changement que s'y était opéré, l'avait été paisiblement, Mr. Zea, Vice-Président de la République, ayant de plein gré cédé sa place au général Arismondi; que les dissensions intestines se réduisaient à une inimitié personnelle entre ce dernier et l'Amiral Brion, Commandant en Chef des forces navales de Vénézuëla; Que le général Bolivar continuait à être à la tête de toutes les affaires de la République en qualité du Président et qu'il jouissait de la confiance générale.

N'ayant aucune raison de suspecter l'exactitude de ces renseignements, du moins en ce qui concerne les circonstances principales, je ne puis me dispenser de réclamer de nouveau l'indulgence du Ministère Impérial relativement aux nouvelles qui terminent mon rapport sub No. 31.

Mr. Adams me confirma ensuite les succès du Général Bolivar dans la Nouvelle Grenade; en y ajoutant, que l'esprit d'insurrection avait pénétré dans toutes les provinces espagnoles de l'Amérique méridionale qui sont encore fidèles à la Mère Patrie. Il est allé jusqu'à avancer, que, si le Général Bolivar se présente au Mexique, que tout le pays se soulèverait spontanément. Je me suis permis quelques objections sur la probabilité de ce dernier résultat, de même que sur l'idée générale, qu'il

<sup>22</sup> Polética arrived in Washington May 24, 1819. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 370. From August to November he appears to have been absent.

<sup>23</sup> The news was correct. For Adams's version of the conversation of November 17 reported below, see *Memoirs*, IV. 441-443.

s'était formée des dispositions des habitants dans les provinces attachées à la cause Royale. Mr Adams tout en soutenant ses opinions, convint cependant avec moi, que les rapports des insurgés avaient toujours été fort exagérés et que le Général Morillo avait montré une habileté peu commune en se maintenant pendant si longtemps avec des forces comparativement faibles, dans un pays où il avait à combattre les hommes, les élémens et les opinions exaspérées au dernier point par des cruautés réciproquement commises durant une longue guerre civile.

Au milieu de cette conversation le secrétaire d'Etat Américain me dit, que, puisque nous étions sur ce chapitre, il était bien aise de s'en faire une occasion pour me faire une communication confidentielle, afin que j'en fis part à mon Gouvernement.

Le Gouvernement Américain, me dit Mr. Adams, intimement convaincu que la lutte présente entre l'Espagne et les colonies se terminerait définitivement par l'indépendance pleine et entière de ces dernières; persuadé en outre que l'intérêt de l'humanité, celui de l'Europe en général, sans en excepter l'Espagne elle même, l'intérêt manifeste des Etats Unis et des provinces insurgées de l'Amérique Espagnole réclamait impérieusement qu'on mit le plus tôt possible un terme à une guerre aussi atroce dans ses détails qu'elle était impolitique dans son objet—qu'en conséquence le Gouvernement Américain avait pensé qu'un des moyens les plus propres à cet effet serait celui de faire la proposition aux principales puissances européennes de reconnaître l'indépendance de celles des colonies insurgées, qui avaient réussi à régulariser leurs Gouvernemens intérieurs, en commençant par la République de Buenos Ayres, qu'à cette proposition on joindrait celle que ces mêmes Puissances réuniraient leurs efforts pour déterminer la cour de Madrid à faire aussi ce sacrifice en faveur de l'intérêt général.

Il y a à peu près deux ans, continua Monsieur Adams, que des ouvertures analogues ont été faites ici par lui aux Ministres d'Angleterre et de France. Le premier (Monsieur Bagot) tout en convenant des faits s'abstint néanmoins d'émettre une opinion, tandis que le second, Monsieur Hyde de Neuville, se prononça de la manière la plus positive au nom de son Gouvernement contre une proposition que sa Cour ne pouvait faire à l'Espagne sans blesser toutes les convenances et cette intime alliance qui unit les deux Cours sous le double rapport de la politique et d'une proche parenté.<sup>24</sup>

Il ne fut donc plus question de faire à la France la proposition conçue par ce Gouvernement. Mais elle fut faite peu après au Cabinet Britannique par l'envoyé Américain à Londres dans la supposition que l'Angleterre, plus directement intéressée que les autres puissances européennes à la pacification de l'Amérique Espagnole, accueillerait aussi plus favorablement l'ouverture de ce Gouvernement. Ces suppositions furent déçues; le Ministère Anglais ayant décliné la proposition comme incompatible avec les relations existantes entre l'Angleterre et l'Espagne.

Mr. Adams, après m'avoir mis au fait de la marche de cette affaire, mit un soin tout particulier à m'expliquer comment l'ouverture dont il s'agit n'a pas été faite dans le temps ni au Ministère Impériale directement, ni à l'Envoyé de Russie ici. Il m'était aisé de voir que le Secrétaire d'Etat Américain avait fort à cœur de me convaincre que la méfiance n'avait aucune part à cette réticence. Mr. Adams m'assura très solennellement que son Gouvernement était dans la persuasion que la proposi-

<sup>24</sup> Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 186-187, 190, December 7, 12, 1818.

tion relative à la reconnaissance de Buenos-Ayres ne serait pas agréable à l'Empereur notre Maître, et qu'elle aurait été indubitablement faite à Sa Majesté Impériale dans une supposition contraire. Il s'attache à me faire remarquer ces nuances dans les motifs du silence que le Gouvernement américain avait gardé à notre égard.

Je répliquai que l'Empereur savait trop bien apprécier la sagacité des Etats Unis pour douter de leur sincérité, que Sa Majesté Impériale était persuadée par l'idée que lui suggérait la connaissance des intérêts les plus évidents de ce pays qu'après la France, la Russie était la puissance pour laquelle le Gouvernement américain devait se sentir le plus favorablement disposé. Qu'au surplus je n'éprouvais aucun embarras à lui déclarer que je me félicitais de n'avoir pas été sur les lieux à l'époque où l'ouverture relative à la reconnaissance de la République de Buenos-Ayres avait été faite aux Ministres de France et d'Angleterre. Que pour ma part je n'aurais pas hésité à la décliner au nom de l'Empereur mon Auguste Maître, vu qu'elle été [était] contraire aux pactes qui servent de base à la Grande Confédération Européenne, à la formations de laquelle Sa Majesté Impériale avait voué tant de soins et voua encore une si vive sollicitude.

Mr. Adams sans faire aucune objection à ma déclaration, continua à soutenir que l'émancipation finale des colonies Espagnoles était dans les décrets d'une impérieuse nécessité, qu'aucune volonté humaine ne pouvait changer. Qu'un peu plus tôt, un peu plus tard, cette nécessité deviendra un fait positif qu'il sera impossible de récuser. Que le Gouvernement Américain, par égard pour l'opinion qui prévaut en Europe, s'était abstenu jusqu'à présent de reconnaître les Républiques de l'Amérique Méridionale, mais que sa conviction sur ce point était toujours la même et que le Message du Président au Congrès qui va s'ouvrir contiendra des allusions conformes à cette façon de penser.

Sur cela je me suis permis d'observer à Mr. Adams que puisqu'ils étaient persuadés de l'émancipation forcée des Colonies Espagnoles à une époque plus ou moins éloignée, opinion qu'individuellement je partage pleinement avec lui, il me semblait que la prudence commandait d'attendre les événements plutôt que de les provoquer. Que l'Espagne poussée à bout pourrait bien par un acte désespéré déclarer la guerre aux Etats Unis et que cette lutte en raison de la faiblesse même de l'Espagne, qui la soustrait aux coups qu'on voudrait lui porter, serait toute à son avantage.

Le Secrétaire d'Etat Américain me répondit, avec un mouvement de vivacité qu'il ne put réprimer, que c'était à eux seuls à examiner la question de prudence. Qu'on ne cherchait point ici une guerre avec l'Espagne, mais qu'on envisageait la reconnaissance de la République de Buenos Ayres comme un moyen propre à terminer au plus tôt une guerre horrible et désastreuse et que ce moyen avait pour lui cette force morale qu'on invoquait si souvent en Europe.

Pour tranquilliser Mr. Adams je l'assurais que dans tout ce que je venais de lui dire en dernier lieu, il ne devait voir que l'expression de mes opinions individuels. Que rien n'était plus éloigné de la pensée de mon Gouvernement que de vouloir influencer les déterminations des Etats Unis, mais que je m'étais fait une règle de répondre à sa confiance par la plus grande franchise de ma part. Que pour le convaincre de la libéralité des vues de l'Empereur mon Maître relativement à l'important

question de la pacification des Colonies Espagnoles, je me proposai de lui faire incessamment lecture de notre mémoire sur cet objet.<sup>25</sup>

Dans le cours de cette conversation, dont je crois avoir exactement rendu les points les plus essentiels, il est arrivé à Mr. Adams de me dire que la proposition de reconnaître Buenos Ayres a été faite aux Ministres de France et d'Angleterre peu avant l'ouverture des négociations pour la cession de la Floride entre le Secrétaire d'Etat d'Amérique et Mr. d'Onis. Il est par conséquent très vraisemblable que ce Gouvernement, moins étranger aux finesses permises en politique qu'on ne le croit communément, aura imaginé cet expédient pour rendre l'Espagne plus traitable. Mais dans l'explication que Mr. Adams, sans aucune provocation de ma part, a cru devoir me donner à ce sujet, il m'est impossible de voir autre chose que le désir bien sincère de réparer une omission involontaire à notre égard.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de Votre Excellence,

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLETICA.

P. S. WASHINGTON 11/23 Novembre 1819.

Quelques jours s'étant écoulés avant l'expédition du présent rapport, je me suis trouvé à même de transmettre ci-joint à Votre Excellence une gazette de Philadelphie qui contient les bulletins du Général Bolivar sur les derniers événements militaires dans le Royaume de la Nouvelle Grenade.

POLETICA.

#### IV. NESSELRODE TO POLÉTICA.<sup>26</sup>

*Monsieur,*

L'Empereur a pris lecture de vos rapports en date du  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>6</sup>/<sub>8</sub> Mai et du  $\frac{5}{1}$ <sup>5</sup>/<sub>7</sub> Juillet et a trouvé avec plaisir dans la justesse de vos observations et dans l'importance des renseignements que vous nous transmettez, une nouvelle preuve de la sagacité et des talents qui vous distinguent.

Ces talents, Monsieur, vous serviront à remplir avec succès une tâche que Sa Majesté Impériale vous confie.

Vous avez sans doute été dans le cas d'apprendre combien sont positives les dernières instructions expédiées à M<sup>eur</sup> de Forsyth par le Président du Congrès.<sup>27</sup> L'Empereur ne prendra point ici la défense de l'Espagne; mais Il vous charge de plaider auprès du Cabinet de Washington, la cause de la paix et de la concorde. Ce gouvernement est trop éclairé pour précipiter ses démarches, ses titres semblent trop réels pour qu'il ne les affaiblisse par une manière de procéder violente: et d'un autre côté tel est le caractère des considérations qui commandent à l'Espagne de ratifier l'arrangement relatif aux Florides, qu'il faut espérer qu'Elle cèdera enfin à la force de l'évidence. Les Etats unis auront alors joint à la gloire d'une politique habile, celle d'une politique modérée et recueilleront avec sécurité les fruits de leur sagesse.

<sup>25</sup> See note 15 above.

<sup>26</sup> A translation of most of this letter will be found in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 676, and in *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1402.

<sup>27</sup> Instructions of August 18, 1819, no doubt. *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 657-660.

Sa Majesté Impériale souhaite par conséquent que vous engagiez, S'il en est tems encore, le Cabinet de Washington à donner au Ministère Espagnol la preuve d'une patience que doit inspirer peut-être le malheur même de sa position. Toutefois L'Empereur n'intervient pas dans cette discussion. Il ne prétend point surtout exercer d'influence dans les Conseils d'une Puissance étrangère. Il se borne à exprimer un vœu que Lui dicte l'amour du bien général, un vœu, digne de la loyauté qui caractérise le Gouvernement des Etats Unis.

Agrérez, Monsieur, les assurances de ma considération très distinguée.  
NESSELRODE.

ST. PETERSBOURG

le 27 Novembre 1819.

À Mr. de Poletica.

V. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON 31 Janvier 1820.  
12 Février

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

*Monsieur le Comte,*

Le Gouvernement Américain a reçu ces jours ci des avis de Madrid et il m'était revenu aussitôt qu'on n'en était point satisfait et que la Mission de Forsyth touchait à sa fin sans avoir réalisé aucune des espérances qui l'avait motivée. Le même jour, ayant rencontré Monsieur Adams chez le Président, je lui demandais tout simplement, ainsi que j'ai agis toujours avec lui, s'il pouvait, sans compromettre le secret des affaires, me communiquer quelque chose pour l'information de ma cour, du contenu des nouvelles qu'il venait de recevoir d'Espagne. Je ne lui dissimulai pas ce que j'avais appris à cet égard.

Monsieur Adams me répondit, avec un air d'indifférence qui n'avait rien d'affecté, que les dernières dépêches de Monsieur Forsyth ne contenaient rien de particulièrement intéressant. Qu'il était probable que ce Ministre reviendrait ici bientôt, mais que je n'ignorais pas qu'à l'époque de son départ, il avait été entendu qu'il retournerait pour chercher sa famille.<sup>28</sup>

Je ne pressai pas davantage Monsieur Adams, quoique j'avais tout lieu de suspecter une reticence de sa part et notre entretien en resta là.

Aujourd'hui un simple hasard m'a fait connaître d'une manière positive la circonstance principale des dernières nouvelles de Madrid et quoiqu'il soit très vraisemblable que votre Excellence en ait été instruite par notre Chargé d'Affaires en Espagne, je ne m'en fais pas moins un devoir de lui en parler dans ce rapport.

Mr. Forsyth, voyant qu'après ces [ses] dernières explications avec le Ministre Espagnol au sujet de la ratification du traité relatif à la cession des Florides, cette affaire restait dans une stagnation complète, crut devoir interpellier de nouveau le Gouvernement Espagnol et lui adressa à cet effet une note qui lui fut renvoyée, sans avoir même été ouverte.

Mr. Forsyth, jugeant avec raison, qu'il n'avait plus rien à faire à Madrid, doit avoir écrit à Mr. Adams qu'il allait quitter cette capitale, et que ses premières lettres seraient datées de Bordeaux.

<sup>28</sup> See Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 519, February 9.

Quelque triviale que puisse paraître cette affaire chez nous [vous?], elle ne manquera pas de produire chez nous, une assez forte sensation, lorsque le moment arrivera d'en faire part au Congrès.

J'ai déjà eu l'honneur d'informer Votre Excellence que le public américain a eu le temps de revenir de cette irritation que les premières nouvelles de la non ratification du traité de cession avaient produites dans le pays. Une plus juste appréciation des chances d'une guerre avec l'Espagne dans les circonstances actuelles ont fait succéder des dispositions plus modérées à ces velléités belliqueuses, que les journalistes avaient provoquées dans le public, en excitant la vanité nationale. Le ton de la correspondance de Mr. Forsyth avec le Ministre Espagnol est maintenant presque généralement désapprouvé et l'on attribue la faute à Mr. Adams, qui en avait donné le premier exemple dans sa correspondance avec le Chevalier Onis antérieurement à la conclusion du Traité.

Une motion a été faite au Congrès, il y a quelques jours, qui aurait fort embarrassé le secrétaire d'Etat Américain.<sup>29</sup>

Elle avait pour objet d'obtenir des explications sur une assertion, contenue dans une de ses dépêches à Monsieur Forsyth, et par laquelle Monsieur Adams se permettait de dire que le Gouvernement Espagnol n'oserait pas nier qu'il avait autorisé Monsieur Onis à faire des concessions plus fortes, que celles qu'il avait faites dans le Traité en question. Cette motion n'est tombée que parce qu'on l'avait jugée prématurée. Mais à présent que la grande question de l'introduction de l'esclavage dans le nouvel Etat du Missouri va être bientôt décidée au congrès, il faut s'attendre que cette assemblée s'occupera de l'affaire des Florides, qui tient toujours fort à coeur à la Nation. Il est malheureux pour Monsieur Adams d'y compter des ennemis très influents dans les deux Chambres et d'avoir en même temps à se garder contre des antagonistes même dans le Cabinet.

Depuis quelque temps Monsieur Adams paraît fort abattu et plus réservé que jamais: personne ne doute que ses chances pour arriver un jour à la Présidence ne soient presque entièrement détruites. On s'attend même à le voir déplacé après la réélection du Président actuel l'année prochaine. Dans ce cas je serai du nombre de ceux qui auront quelques raisons de le regretter.

Mes relations personnelles avec ce Ministre continuent à être très amicales: mais depuis la réunion du Congrès elles sont devenues très rares. Les nombreuses occupations attachées au Département d'Etat, absorbent tout son temps durant la session du Congrès. D'ailleurs ayant déjà fait à Mr. Adams toutes les avances qui m'ont paru devoir provoquer sa confiance j'ai pensé que je devais m'arrêter et attendre, d'après mes instructions, que Mr. Adams vint de son côté au devant de moi.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLÉTICA.

<sup>29</sup> Resolution by Senator Walker of Georgia. *Ibid.*

## VI. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON  $\frac{25 \text{ Décembre } 1820.}{6 \text{ Janvier } 1821.}$

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

*Monsieur le Comte,*

Par un navire tout récemment arrivé de Gibraltar le Gouvernement Américain a reçu des dépêches de son Ministre à Madrid, qui lui ont appris la ratification du traité des Florides par S. M. Catholique. L'instrument du traité ratifié, ayant été expédié par la voie de Bordeaux, n'est point encore arrivé, mais on l'attend incessamment ici vu qu'on sait déjà par les gazettes anglaises que le "Messager Espagnol", porteur de la ratification, était arrivé à Bordeaux et devait s'y embarquer sans perte de temps.

Mr. le Comte Bulgari<sup>80</sup> a profité de la même occasion pour me donner avis de ce dénouement de l'affaire des Florides, en me transmettant une copie de la note, que le Chevalier Perez de Castro<sup>81</sup> lui avait adressée à ce sujet. J'allai aussitôt voir Mr. Adams au bureau des Affaires Etrangères et je le complimentai sur la conclusion d'une négociation commencée depuis si longtemps. Je lui glissai quelques mots sur les motifs que le Gouvernement Américain avait à se féliciter maintenant d'avoir préféré le système de modération à tout autre dans la conduite de cette affaire.

Mr. Adams a reçu mes félicitations comme un homme qui se les avait déjà adressées à lui-même. Tout son maintien, ainsi que les paroles, indiquaient le contentement complet. Et lorsque je lui donnai à lire la copie de la note du Chevalier Perez de Castro au Comte Bulgari, il me dit, en l'achevant, que le Gouvernement Espagnol avait bien raison de remercier l'Empereur Alexandre, car sans les bons offices de Sa Majesté Impériale, l'affaire des Florides aurait pu prendre une tournure moins favorable à l'Espagne.

Tout en remerciant le Secrétaire d'Etat Américain de la justice qu'il venait de rendre à l'Empereur, justice à laquelle, je dois le dire, j'ai trouvé Mr. Adams disposé dans toutes les occasions qui se sont présentées,—je lui répondis, en prenant le ton de la confiance, qu'ayant toujours considéré le traité des Florides comme également avantageux pour les deux parties contractantes, je continuai à l'envisager sous ce point de vue et je ne pouvais par conséquent que désirer de voir cette affaire irrévocablement terminée. Que j'espérais aussi qu'elle passerait au Sénat, malgré les délais qu'elle avait éprouvée, délais qui, d'après le texte de la ratification américaine, ont rendu une seconde confirmation de la part du Sénat indispensable.

On attend ici avec la plus vive impatience l'arrivée du "Messager Espagnol" et le Gouvernement est d'autant plus sollicité à cet égard, qu'on craint que les Députés des Etats de l'Ouest au Congrès ne réussissent à organiser au Sénat une forte opposition à la ratification du traité des Florides.

Les motifs d'opposition de ces derniers s'expliquent aisément.

<sup>80</sup> Chargé d'affaires of Russia at Madrid.

<sup>81</sup> The Spanish minister of foreign affairs. The conversation which follows is mentioned in Adams, *Memoirs*, V. 230.



Les grands spéculateurs en terre publique, et la totalité des aventuriers dans les Etats de l'Ouest, s'étant accoutumés à l'idée que la province de Texas finirait par échoir tôt ou tard aux Etats Unis, voyent à regret cette riche Province assurée à l'Espagne par les clauses du Traité si souvent mentionné.

Le présent rapport termine la seconde série qui se compose de 62 Nos. J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence Le très humble et obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLÉTICA.

VII. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

[WASHINGTON, February 15, 1821.]

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

*Monsieur le Comte,*

Je crois avoir déjà eu l'honneur de prévenir Votre Excellence en son temps que le premier terme de quatre ans de la Présidence de Mr. Monroe devant expirer le 4 Mars suivant, une nouvelle élection d'un Magistrat Suprême de la République avait eu lieu dans le courant de l'Automne dernier au milieu de tous les Etats de l'Union. D'après les formes et les règles, établies à cet égard par la Constitution fédérale, les deux chambres du Congrès devaient se réunir à une époque désignée dans un même local pour y procéder en commun au dépouillement des votes, émis par les électeurs qui sont expressément choisis par le peuple à chaque renouvellement du Président, et Vice-Président, des Etats Unis. Cette formalité a eu lieu hier, dans la chambre des représentants, où le Sénat s'était rendu en corps. Le résultat du dépouillement a fait connaître que, sur la totalité des 231 votes,<sup>32</sup> Mr. Monroe les avait réunis tous, à l'exception d'un seul, qui a été donné en faveur de Mr. Adams. Le Président actuel fut en conséquence proclamé comme tel pour le second terme de 4 ans, à commencer du 4 Mars prochain. La même unanimité, à quelques voix près, a été obtenue par Mr. Daniel Tompkins de New York, Vice-Président actuel.

On s'attend assez généralement que Mr. Monroe, se voyant maintenant dégagé des ménagements individuels que lui imposait le soin de la réélection, n'ayant plus rien à demander à la faveur populaire et possédant les mêmes moyens pour augmenter le nombre de ses amis, profitera de son affranchissement pour imprimer au système politique des Etats Unis un caractère plus prononcé et développer en même temps ses vues personnelles, quant à l'administration des affaires intérieures du pays.

Je suis disposé à croire, Monsieur le Comte, que ces conjectures ne sont point sans quelque fondement. Cependant il est assez curieux d'observer à ce sujet, que le Président Monroe, quoique unanimement réélu pour le second terme de la Magistrature Suprême, rencontra dans la chambre des représentants une majorité de plus de 30 Membres, constamment opposés à toutes les mesures, dans lesquelles ils croient apercevoir des vues particulières de la part de l'exécutive. Cette espèce d'anomalie dans la marche du Gouvernement fédéral surprend d'autant plus, que la réélection du Président était connue d'avance.

<sup>32</sup> 232.

Le jour de l'inauguration du Président réélu est fixé au 4 Mars prochain et par le discours qu'il doit, selon un usage établi, prononcer à cette occasion, on pourra former sur ses vues politiques des conjectures plus positives. Je m'empresserai de le transmettre à Votre Excellence aussitôt qu'il paraîtra.

On ignore encore si le Corps Diplomatique sera invité à assister à cette cérémonie. Lors de la première élection de Mr. Monroe, les Ministres et autres agents étrangers s'y trouvèrent comme simples particuliers, à la suite d'un malentendu avec le Secrétaire d'Etat. Cette absence totale de formalité est d'après mon humble opinion ce qui convient le mieux au Corps Diplomatique, vu l'extrême susceptibilité républicaine, qui s'effarouche à la moindre apparence de distinction.<sup>23</sup>

Les compétiteurs futurs à la Présidence ne tarderont pas à se mettre à l'évidence. La voix publique continue à indiquer comme tels Mr. Quincy Adams, Secrétaire d'Etat, et Mr. Crawford, Secrétaire de la Trésorerie. La popularité du premier a fait des progrès considérables depuis quelques temps et il n'y a pas de doute que l'heureuse conclusion de l'Affaire des Florides ne l'étende encore plus. Cependant la faveur populaire est par la nature tellement versatile qu'il n'est guère possible de prévoir, sur lequel des deux compétiteurs mentionnés elle s'arrêtera dans quatre ans d'ici. Cela dépendra également de ce qu'ils feront comme ce qu'ils chercheront d'éviter dans le maniement des affaires publiques.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLÉTICA.

#### VIII. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON 6 Mai 1821.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

*Monsieur le Comte,*

J'ai l'honneur de transmettre ci-joint à Votre Excellence un exemplaire imprimé du rapport de Mr. Adams, secrétaire d'Etat, sur les poids et mesures,<sup>24</sup> que j'ai déjà annoncé au Ministre Impérial dans un de mes précédents rapports. Cet ouvrage, intéressant par les soins que Mr. Adams y a mis, les renseignements historiques qu'il contient, et les principes généreux qu'il établit sur une matière d'une si haute importance pour la science de l'administration, n'a paru que tout récemment de sous presse, quoiqu'il ait été transmis au Congrès quelques jours avant la clôture.

Mr. Adams s'est offert lui-même à faire tenir une exemplaire de son rapport à Mr. le professeur Schoubert, secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie

<sup>23</sup> The members of the diplomatic corps were duly invited, though they had physical difficulties in entering. See Lane-Poole, *Life of Stratford Canning*, I. 318, and Adams, V. 317-318.

<sup>24</sup> *Report on Weights and Measures* (16 Cong., 2 sess., House Doc. no. 109, Washington, 1821, pp. 245), on which Adams had been at work for more than three years, and which he regarded as his chief literary performance.

Impériale des sciences à St.-Petersbourg,<sup>35</sup> et je n'ai pas manqué d'en exprimer à Mr. Adams tous mes remerciements.

Connaissant les occupations aussi multipliées qu'importantes, qui réclament sans cesse l'attention du Ministre Impérial, je puis à peine me flatter qu'il ait le loisir nécessaire pour prendre connaissance du travail volumineux de Mr. Adams sur les poids et les mesures. Mais alors se [ce] serait déjà ce me semble en tirer quelque parti que de le communiquer à Mr. le Ministre des finances comme un objet de curiosité scientifique, qui entre plus naturellement dans le cercle de ses occupations.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec une haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLÉTICA.

IX. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

PHILADELPHIA 12 Juillet 1821.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

*Monsieur le Comte,*

Dans mon rapport sub No. 22 du 14 Juin dernier, j'ai eu l'honneur de prévenir Votre Excellence que Mr. Adams s'était chargé de prononcer un discours analogue à la circonstance le jour de la célébration de l'anniversaire de la Déclaration de l'Indépendance des Etas Unis, qui se renouvelle tous les ans au 4 Juillet n. s. Je m'empresse aujourd'hui de soumettre ci-joint au jugement du Ministère Impérial ce discours tout récemment sortie de la presse.<sup>36</sup>

Ainsi que l'avaient prévu tous ceux qui connaissent l'impétuosité naturelle de Mr. Adams, il lui a été impossible d'observer en cette occasion solennelle cette mesure que son âge, le respect dû aux convenances, mais surtout sa place et ses rapports officiels avec le Corps Diplomatique lui commandait si impérieusement. Le discours de Mr. Adams, prononcé dans la salle du Congrès, au milieu d'un auditoire très nombreux, auquel le secrétaire d'Etat s'est présenté en chaire, revêtu de la toge doctorale, n'est d'un bout à l'autre qu'une diatribe virulente contre l'Angleterre, entremêlée d'exagérations républicaines, qui s'adressent non à la classe instruite et éclairée de la Nation, mais à la majorité numérique du public américain.

Je me suis permis, Monsieur le Comte, de marquer au crayon les passages qui m'ont paru manquer le plus au bon goût et aux convenances et je prie Votre Excellence de remarquer celui qui donne la clef de la politique américaine. Il me paroît contenir en peu de mots tout le système.

L'opinion de tous les individus, connus par leur modération et leur prudence, s'accorde à condamner Mr. Adams d'abord pour s'être

<sup>35</sup> Friedrich Theodor Schubert (1758-1825), director of the astronomical observatory of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Adams had known him in St. Petersburg; *Memoirs*, II. 220, 366.

<sup>36</sup> *An Address delivered at the Request of a Committee of the Citizens of Washington . . . on the Fourth of July, 1821* (Washington, 1821). It deserves the censures expressed in the letter.

volontairement chargé d'un rôle qu'on avait vu jusqu'à présent rempli par de jeunes avocats débutant dans la profession; en second lieu pour s'en être acquitté avec tant d'indiscrétion et de violence.

Il est très probable que les rapports futurs entre Mr. Adams et le Ministre d'Angleterre se ressentiront de cet incident.<sup>37</sup> Quant à moi, il m'a fourni un motif additionnel de me féliciter de ma résolution de m'éloigner à Toms de Washington et je me sais maintenant d'autant plus gré de n'avoir point assisté au banquet du 4 Juillet dernier, que parmi les toasts volontaires qui y furent portés, il s'en est trouvé un qui consistait en un misérable calembourg sur la Sainte Alliance.<sup>38</sup>

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLÉTICA.

#### X. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

NEW YORK  $\frac{23 \text{ Septembre.}}{5 \text{ Octobre,}}$  1821.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

*Monsieur le Comte,*

L'Assesseur de Collège Baron de Maltitz<sup>39</sup> est arrivé ici de Londres il y a environ quinze jours, mais il n'a pu me remettre l'expédition, dont il a été chargé, qu'à mon retour en cette ville du Canada le 21 Septembre (3 Octobre) courant.

Je dois avant tout faire observer à Votre Excellence qu'une partie de cette expédition, originairement confiée au Chasseur Messer, est restée en route près d'une année, et qu'il n'a pas été par conséquent en mon pouvoir, d'en accuser plus tôt la réception. Ce délai extraordinaire s'est porté principalement sur les différentes dépêches de Votre Excellence du 18/30 Juillet et 3/15 Décembre 1820.

Lorsque les membres composant le Cabinet Américain se seront réunis de nouveau à Washington, je m'empresserai de m'acquitter auprès de Mr. Adams des communications qui me sont prescrites par les dépêches de Votre Excellence, datées de Laybach du 12/24 Mars, 18/30 Mars et 28 Avril/10 Mai de cette année. J'aurai l'honneur de lui rendre compte en temps et lieu.<sup>40</sup>

La ville de Washington est absolument déserté dans ce moment. Le Président des Etats Unis est dans sa terre en Virginie. Mr. Adams se trouve avec son père aux environs de Boston. Les autres secrétaires

<sup>37</sup> Canning says in his memoirs, "The diplomatic body formed a portion of the audience and I avoided my share, *the lion's*, of the annoyance, only by making a short holiday excursion to Harper's Ferry. I had fortunately seen enough of the orator to anticipate the turn which his unbridled eloquence was likely to take." Lane-Poole, p. 309.

<sup>38</sup> The jest was harmless enough. "By George Hay, Esq. of Virginia [son-in-law of President Monroe]. Perpetuity, prosperity, and glory, to the Holy Alliance —of these United States." *National Intelligencer*, July 5, 1821.

<sup>39</sup> A new secretary of legation.

<sup>40</sup> Adams, V. 445. The instructions here mentioned have not been found.

d'Etat continuent à voyager dans l'intérieur du pays, à l'exception de Mr. Crawford de la trésorerie, qui commence à se rétablir d'une violente fièvre bilieuse, dont il a pensé être la victime et qui a prévalu cette année à Washington avec une malignité extraordinaire.

Le temps qui s'est écoulé depuis la clôture du Congrès de Laybach, ainsi que les affaires hideuses de la Turquie,<sup>41</sup> ont dû avoir refroidi l'intérêt, que le Gouvernement et le public Américain avaient pris aux transactions si hautement importantes de la dernière réunion des Souverains Alliés. Ici comme en Europe tous les regards sont tournés vers le Bosphore, le Danube; mais surtout vers le Prouth. Dans l'attitude imposante de notre armée du Sud, les Américains se plaisent à voir déjà la première étincelle d'une guerre continentale en Europe, objet de leurs plus ardents souhaits, que la sagesse des Souverains Alliés a su jusqu'à présent tromper. Tous les agriculteurs et armateurs de vaisseaux-marchands aux Etats Unis, attendent avec la plus vive impatience la déclaration de la guerre entre la Russie et la Porte Ottomane, ayant calculé d'avance tout ce que la clôture du port d'Odessa leur fera gagner par le réhaussement du prix de leurs grains, et du frêt de leurs navires, qui sont à pourrir dans les ports en très grand nombre, calculs impies, que la modération de l'Empereur ne manquera pas de déjouer, comme tous les autres rêves de l'avarice et de l'égoïsme, qui les ont précédé.

Ces considérations réunies me confirment, Monsieur le Comte, dans la résolution que j'ai prise de persévérer à mon retour à Washington dans la même ligne de conduite vis-à-vis de Mr. Adams, que j'ai uniformément suivie jusqu'à présent.

Après m'être acquité auprès de lui des communications qu'il m'a été commandé de lui faire, j'attendrai pour lui faire des ouvertures plus confidentielles qu'il m'en exprime le désir de son propre mouvement, après lui avoir fait cependant entrevoir mes dispositions à en user avec franchise avec lui. Il me sera alors fort aisé de le convaincre que ma réserve ne tenait qu'à des motifs de délicatesse et nullement à quelques sentimens de méfiance ou de bouderie.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLÉTICA.

#### XI. NESSELRODE TO POLÉTICA.

Recu à Wash. le 27 Janv. 1822.<sup>42</sup>  
6 Fevr.

*Circulaire.*

No. 8.—

St. PETERSBOURG le 7 8bre 1821.

*Monsieur,*

Au moment de renouveler le privilège de la compagnie Russe-Américaine, et de soumettre à une révision les réglemens concernant ses opérations commerciales, le Gouvernement a dû vouer une attention

<sup>41</sup> The revolt of the Morea and the ensuing massacres.

<sup>42</sup> It will be noted that these instructions were received by Polética after the writing of no. XIII. below.

particulière aux plaintes auxquelles ont plus d'une fois donné lieu les entreprises de contrebandiers et d'aventuriers étrangers sur les côtes Nord Ouest de l'Amérique appartiennent à la Russie. Il a été reconnu que ces entreprises n'ont pas seulement pour objet un commerce frauduleux de pelleteries et d'autres articles exclusivement réservés à la Compagnie Russe-Américaine, mais qu'elles paraissent souvent même trahir une tendance hostile; attendu que des gens sans aveu viennent fournir des armes et des munitions aux naturels dans nos possessions d'Amérique, et qu'ils les excitent en quelque sorte à la résistance et à la révolte contre les autorités qui s'y trouvent établies. Il étoit donc essentiel d'opposer des mesures sévères à ces menées, et de garantir la compagnie contre les préjudices sensibles qui en résulteroient pour elle; et c'est dans cette vue, que le règlement ci-joint<sup>43</sup> vient d'être publié. Les missions Impériales sont invitées à le porter à la connoissance des Gouvernemens auprès desquels elles sont accréditées, et à leur exposer les motifs qui l'ont dicté en y ajoutant les explications suivantes:

Le nouveau règlement n'interdit point aux bâtimens étrangers la navigation dans les mers qui baignent les possessions russes sur les côtes Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique et Nord-Est de l'Asie. Une défense pareille, qu'il n'eût pas été difficile d'appuyer d'une force navale suffisante, aurait été, à la vérité, le moyen le plus efficace de protéger les intérêts de la Compagnie Russe-Américaine, et elle semblerait en outre fondée sur des droits incontestables. Car, d'un côté, éloigner une fois pour toutes, des plages indiquées ci-dessus, les navires étrangers, c'étoit faire cesser à jamais les entreprises coupables qu'il s'agit de prévenir. D'un autre côté, en considérant les possessions Russes qui s'étendent, tant sur la côte Nord Ouest de l'Amérique, depuis le détroit de Bering jusqu'au 51° de latitude septentrionale, que sur la côte opposée de l'Asie et les îles adjacentes, depuis le même détroit jusqu'au 45°, on ne sauroit disconvenir, que l'espace de mer dont ces possessions forment les limites, ne réunisse toutes les conditions que les publicistes les plus connus et les mieux accrédités ont attachées à la définition d'une mer fermée, et que par conséquent le Gouvernement Russe ne se trouve parfaitement autorisé à exercer sur cette mer des droits de Souveraineté, et nommément celui d'en interdire l'approche aux étrangers.<sup>44</sup>—Cependant, quelque importantes que fussent les considérations qui reclamaient une semblable mesure, quelque légitime qu'elle eût été en elle-même, le Gouvernement Impérial n'a pas voulu, dans cette occasion, fair usage d'une faculté que lui assurent les titres de possession les plus sacrés, et que confirment d'ailleurs des autorités irréfragables. Il s'est borné au contraire, comme on a lieu de s'en convaincre par le règlement nouvellement publié, à défendre à tout bâtiment étranger, non seulement d'aborder dans les établissemens de la Compagnie Américaine, comme dans la presqu'île du Kamtchatka et les côtes de la mer d'Ochotsk, mais aussi de naviguer le long de ces possessions, et en général, d'en approcher à une distance de 100 milles d'Italie.

<sup>43</sup> The ukase of September 4/16, 1821. Translation in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 857-861. A printed copy, in English, accompanied these instructions.

<sup>44</sup> Speransky, governor general of Siberia, told the American minister, Middleton, that it had at first been the intention of the Russian government to declare the North Pacific *mare clausum*. Adams, VI. 93, and *Proceedings of Alaska Boundary Tribunal*, II. 42.

Des vaisseaux de la marine Impériale viennent d'être expédiés pour veiller au maintien de cette disposition. Elle nous paroît aussi légale, qu'elle a été urgente. Car, s'il est démontré que le Gouvernement Impérial eût eu à la rigueur la faculté de fermer entièrement aux étrangers cette partie de l'Océan Pacifique, que bordent nos possessions en Amérique et en Asie, à plus forte raison le droit en vertu duquel il vient d'adopter une mesure beaucoup moins généralement restrictive, doit ne pas être révoqué en doute. Ce droit est en effet universellement admis, et toutes les Puissances maritimes l'ont plus ou moins exercé dans leur système colonial. Enfin, l'usage que le Gouvernement Impérial vient d'en faire en faveur de la Compagnie Russe-Américaine, ne sauroit préjudicier aux intérêts d'aucune nation, attendu qu'il n'est guère à supposer, qu'outre les exceptions spécifiées dans notre règlement, un vaisseau étranger quelconque puisse avoir des motifs réels et légitimes pour relâcher aux établissemens russes. Nous aimons donc à espérer que les Puissances, auxquelles ce nouveau règlement va être communiqué, reconnoîtront les considérations majeures qui lui ont servi de base, et que, par une suite de relations de paix et de bonne harmonie qui subsistent entr'elles et la Russie, elles n'hésiteront pas à imposer à leurs sujets respectifs le devoir des s'y conformer strictement, afin de prévenir les inconvéniens auxquels une contravention de leur part donnerait lieu nécessairement.

Sa Majesté L'Empereur désire que Ses Missions obtiennent ce résultat, en s'acquittant de la communication que leur prescrit la présente circulaire.

Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma considération très distinguée.

NESSELRODE.

P. S. En dressant les instructions pour les officiers commandans les bâtimens de guerre Russes qui sont destinés à veiller, dans l'Océan Pacifique, au maintien des dispositions nouvellement arrêtées à l'égard des établissemens de la Compagnie Russe-Américaine, le Gouvernement Impérial est parti de la supposition qu'un navire étranger qui auroit fait voile d'un des ports de l'Europe après le 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 1822, ou d'un des ports des Etats-Unis après le 1<sup>er</sup> Juillet de la même année, ne pourroit plus légalement prétexter l'ignorance du nouveau règlement. Nos marins ont donc reçu l'ordre de régler en conséquence leur conduite, quant à l'époque à dater de laquelle ils auroient à mettre en vigueur les dispositions susmentionnées.

Nous croyons devoir communiquer ces notions additionnelles aux Missions Impériales, en les invitant à les porter également à la connoissance des Gouvernemens auprès desquels elles sont accréditées, afin de compléter ainsi les informations renfermées dans la circulaire de ce jour.

Ut in litteris,

NESSELRODE.

## XII. NESSELRODE TO POLÉTICA.

Recu à Wash. le 27 Janv. 1822.  
8 Fevr.

No. 9.

ST. PETERSBOURG le 7 Octobre 1821.

Monsieur,

En Vous adressant, ainsi qu' aux missions Impériales près les autres Puissances maritimes, la circulaire de ce jour qui accompagne le règle-

ment concernant la compagnie Russe-Américaine, nous croyons devoir y ajouter quelques observations qui se rapportent plus particulièrement au Gouvernement auprès duquel vous êtes accrédité.

Il vous sera aisé de vous convaincre, Monsieur, que les dispositions qui font l'objet du nouveau règlement, ont principalement été motivées par les tentatives coupables de quelques marins américains dans nos établissemens sur la côte Nord-ouest de l'Amérique, et que c'est contre ces individus surtout qu'il a été jugé nécessaire ici d'adopter les mesures prohibitives dont nous venons de vous faire part. La mission de Washington ayant déjà été dans le cas de s'expliquer sur cet objet avec le Gouvernement américain, Vous connaissez, Monsieur, le point de vue sous lequel il l'envisage, et Vous serez par conséquent à même de choisir les formes que Vous jugerez les plus convenables, afin de porter à sa connaissance les nouvelles communications qui Vous sont prescrites par notre circulaire. Mais tout en préférant à cet égard le mode le plus confidentiel et le plus amical possible, il nous semble que vous pourriez néanmoins observer à Mr. Adams, avec la franchise que Vous êtes habitué à faire présider à Vos relations avec ce Ministre, que, du moment où le gouvernement américain s'est déclaré hors d'état de surveiller les opérations commerciales de ses sujets, et de leur interdire nommément des entreprises qui blessent les intérêts d'une Puissance étrangère quelconque, il a par-là-même reconnu à celle-ci le plein droit d'adopter les mesures les plus efficaces pour réprimer des entreprises de ce genre, et de se garantir, fut-ce même par des moyens coercitifs, contre des préjudices réels.

Il Vous sera d'ailleurs facile de convaincre Mr. le Secrétaire d'Etat pour les affaires étrangères, que les dispositions arrêtées à cet effet chez nous, ne sont nullement de nature à préjudicier aux intérêts des Etats Unis, qu'elles n'ont d'autre but que de prévenir les tentatives illégales de quelques spéculateurs, sujets américains, et d'obvier ainsi aux discussions qui pourraient en résulter, entre les cabinets respectifs;—que par conséquent, loin d'entraver les vues justes et éclairées que la politique commerciale du Gouvernement américain peut lui suggérer, elles sont au contraire une nouvelle preuve du désir constant de l'Empereur de maintenir et voir se resserrer de plus en plus les liens d'amitié qui subsistent si heureusement entre Son Empire et les Etats-Unis.

En s'occupant du travail, dont Vous recevez aujourd'hui communication, Monsieur, le Ministère n'a pas perdu de vue les informations renfermées dans votre dépêche du <sup>21 Janv.</sup><sub>2 Fevr.</sub> No. 3.<sup>45</sup> Il a surtout voué une attention particulière au rapport du comité chargé de rendre compte au Congrès des établissemens existans sur la côte de l'Océan pacifique.<sup>46</sup> Mais quel que soit le jugement de ce comité à l'égard des possessions de la compagnie Russe-américaine, il n'a rien pu faire changer à des déterminations hautement réclamées par les circonstances; car nous le répétons, en plaçant les intérêts de cette compagnie à l'abri de toute atteinte, le Gouvernement Impérial n'a cru léser les droits d'aucune Puissance, et d'ailleurs l'effet des dispositions arrêtées ne s'étend guère au Sud, le long de la côte Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique, au delà du degré de latitude où, d'après votre dépêche, se bornent les droits que les

<sup>45</sup> Not found.

<sup>46</sup> Report on the Pacific Ocean Settlements, 16 Cong., 2 sess., *Reports of Committees*, no. 45, January 25, 1821, reprinted in *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, II. 629-634.



Américains peuvent avoir acquis sur cette même côte, par leurs transactions avec l'Espagne.

Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma considération très distinguée.  
NESSELRODE.

XIII. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON, 8/20 Décembre 1821.

A Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

*Monsieur le Comte.*

Ce ne fut que ces jours-ci et par des extraits insérés dans les gazettes du pays, que j'ai eu la première connaissance de l'oukase Impérial du 4/16 Septembre dernier, concernant la démarcation des limites des possessions de notre Compagnie Américaine sur la côté Nord-Ouest de cet hémisphère, ainsi que les réglemens relatifs au Commerce étranger dans ces parages.

Ayant appris en même temps que Monsieur Adams venait de recevoir des dépêches de Monsieur Middleton, je me suis empressé d'adresser au Secrétaire d'Etat pour lui demander, si l'envoyé américain à St-Petersbourg ne lui avait pas transmis un exemplaire de ce document important. Monsieur Adams me dit, qu'il l'avait en sa possession, et il eût l'obligeance de me communiquer le "Conservateur Impartial" du 30 Septembre /2 Octobre de cette année, qui renfermait cette pièce in extenso.

Je m'attendais, Monsieur le Comte, à quelques observations à ce sujet, de la part de Monsieur Adams; mais il n'en fit aucune, il eut même l'air de n'y attacher aucune importance.

Les mêmes gazettes du pays ont également glissé, pour ainsi dire, sur une mesure de notre Gouvernement, qui devait par sa nature intéresser particulièrement les Etats Unis, que les gazettes Anglaises n'ont pas manqué de relever.

L'indifférence avec laquelle elle a été reçue dans ce pays m'a étonné d'autant plus qu'en comparant les limites des possessions de notre Compagnie Américaine, telles qu'elles avaient été fixées par la Charte du 27 Décembre 1799, avec celles qui leurs sont tracées par la nouvelle Charte, j'ai trouvé que les dites possessions ont obtenu une extension en latitude de près de six degrés.

Il est toutefois heureux que, malgré cet accroissement, les nouvelles limites ne touchent point encore à celles que les Etats Unis se sont appropriées par suite du Traité de Cession des Florides, et qui s'arrêtent au cinquantième degré de latitude du Nord à quelque chose près.

Je ne me permettrais point d'examiner ici, Monsieur le Comte, si le nouveau règlement de Commerce adopté par notre compagnie d'Amerique a été sagement conçu ou non. J'avoue toute fois mon incompétence absolue à prononcer sur des matières de ce genre, mais je ne dois point laisser ignorer à Votre Excellence, que je me suis réjoui de voir la Compagnie Américaine proclamer hautement ses droits sous la sanction du Gouvernement Impérial, et quoiqu'il puisse arriver par la suite, ce

"Translation in *Proceedings of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal*, II. 23-25. This charter gave limits "from the fifty-fifth degree of north latitude", the new ukase "to the fifty-first". Polética was soon undeceived as to the "indifference" of Adams or the public.

ne sera jamais par le Gouvernement Américain que ces droits pourront être contestés avec quelque droit de plausibilité, car il est notoire que la Russie avait des établissements sur la côte de Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique, longtemps avant que les Etats eussent obtenu une existence politique indépendante.<sup>48</sup>

C'est dans ce sens, Monsieur le Comte, que j'ai répondu jusqu'à présent, quoique en affectant un ton de plaisanterie, à toutes les questions qui m'ont été adressées à ce sujet dans des conversations particulières, et c'est toujours la même réponse que je me prépare à donner à toutes celles, qui pourraient m'être faites par la suite.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la plus haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLÉTICA.

#### XIV. POLÉTICA TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON  $\frac{21 \text{ Mars}}{2 \text{ Avril}}$  1822.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

*Monsieur le Comte,*

J'ai l'honneur de transmettre ci-joint à Votre Excellence un office que j'ai reçu hier de la part de Mr. Adams, en reponse à celui que je lui avais adressé en date du 16/28 Février. J'y joins aussi ma reponse qui lui sera remise demain.<sup>49</sup>

En examinant la substance de ce second office du secretaire d'Etat Américain le Ministère Impérial jugera peut être comme moi, qu'il n'a été conçu que pour donner au Gouvernement Américain l'apparence de n'être pas resté court dans la discussion qu'il avait lui-même provoquée avec tant de précipitation touchant la nouvelle délimitation de nos possessions sur la côte Nord Ouest de l'Amérique et le règlement concernant la navigation étrangère dans ces parages.

Je serai heureux d'apprendre à mon retour en Europe, qui aura probablement eu lieu déjà, lorsque ce rapport arrivera à sa destination,<sup>50</sup> que mon langage dans cette discussion intéressante avec le Gouvernement Américain a été conforme aux vues du Ministère Impérial. Mais si quelque erreur m'a échappée, Votre Excellence observera que, dans ma dernière reponse à Mr. Adams, je n'ai point manqué de réserver au

<sup>48</sup> Polética's published statement to this effect, in his letter to Adams of February 28, 1822, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 861-862, was controverted at once in the *North American Review* for October, 1822 (XV. 370-401), in an article "written apparently by Captain William Sturgis".

<sup>49</sup> On February 11, N. S., 1822, Polética addressed to Adams the note printed in *American State Papers*, IV. 856, covering a copy of the ukase and mentioning the supplemental instructions set forth in the postscript to no. XI., above. Adams replied, requesting explanations, on February 25; *ibid.*, 861. Polética's letter of explanation, February 28, is printed *ibid.*, 861-862, and in *North American Review*, XV. 376-380. Notes of Adams, March 30, and of the Russian minister, April 2, followed; *ibid.*, 863-864.

<sup>50</sup> Polética returned soon to Russia, for reasons of health, and retired from his post at Washington. Adams's despatch to Middleton of May 13, 1822, *Proceedings of Alaska Boundary Tribunal*, II. 39, was sent by hand of Polética.

Gouvernement Impérial, la faculté de faire retomber sur moi la faute toute entière par le moyen [de] désaveu.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte, de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

PIERRE DE POLETICA.

XV. NESSELRODE TO TUYLL.<sup>51</sup>

Rec. 29 Juillet.  
10 Août.

ST. PÉTERSBOURG, le 13 Juill. 1822.

*Monsieur le Baron,*

La situation intérieure de la Monarchie Portugaise ne permettant pas de croire que Vous puissiez retourner de sitôt au poste que Vous occupez près la Cour de Lisbonne, L'Empereur a résolu de Vous donner une nouvelle preuve de la confiance qu'il place dans vos talens et dans Votre zèle pour Son service, en Vous appelant aux fonctions d'Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire auprès des Etats Unis d'Amérique.<sup>52</sup>

Ces fonctions ont été remplies jusqu'à présent par Mr. de Poletica à l'entière satisfaction de Sa Majesté Impériale. Mais comme la santé de ce Ministre lui a fait éprouver le besoin de revenir en Europe, c'est vous que notre Auguste Maître charge de le remplacer, et Sa Majesté Impériale vous invite, Monsieur le Baron, à vous rendre à Washington aussitôt que vous aurez pu terminer les préparatifs nécessaires pour traverser l'Océan.

En vous confiant cette mission importante, l'Empereur compte d'autant plus sur les succès par lesquels vous justifierez Son choix, que devant, il y a plusieurs années, Le représenter auprès des Etats Unis, Vous avez, dès cette époque, pu connoître et méditer l'application qu'Il fait des maximes de Sa politique à Ses relations avec le Gouvernement de l'Amérique du Nord.

Cette politique continue toujours à être basée sur un sentiment de bienveillance naturelle, sur l'invariable désir de contribuer au maintien de la tranquillité, dont jouit le monde, sur la résolution de respecter tous les droits reconnus, et pour ce qui est plus spécialement des Etats-Unis, sur celle d'entretenir avec eux des rapports de paix et de bonne intelligence.

Nous ne pouvons donc à cet égard que nous référer aux dépêches qui vous ont été adressées en Juin et Juillet 1817 et que vous avez ensuite remises à Mr. de Polética, ainsi qu'aux instructions générales que ce dernier a successivement reçues depuis son départ de Moscou.

Il est d'un autre coté trois questions particulières, que vous aurez

<sup>51</sup> A despatch of the same sense as the part of these instructions combating the American position in regard to the rights of Russia in the North Pacific was sent on the same day to Prince de Lieven, ambassador at London. Martens, *Traité de Russie*, XI. 312.

<sup>52</sup> Tuyll was at first destined to the Washington mission in 1817 (see note 5 above) but went instead to Lisbon. On August 16, 1821, he demanded from the Portuguese government his passports for London, maintaining that that government would not protect his house against insult if he did not illuminate it on the revolutionary anniversary of August 24, as he was determined not to do. The correspondence may be seen in *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. IX. He seems to have been in Paris at the date of nos. XV. and XVI.

à discuter avec le Cabinet de Washington, et nous allons vous indiquer le point de vue sous lequel l'Empereur les envisage.

La première concerne les intérêts de notre Compagnie Américaine.

Vous vous rappellerez, Monsieur le Baron, qu'au moment où vous alliez partir pour l'Amérique, les plaintes de cette Compagnie contre des aventuriers Américains, qui lui apportèrent un préjudice notable, avaient déterminé l'Empereur à vous charger de vous entendre avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis sur les moyens de préparer un terme à des entreprises hautement condamnées par le droit des gens, et de placer le commerce de notre société Américaine sous des garanties réciproquement convenues, qui ne puissent, par là même, donner lieu à aucune réclamation.

Les ouvertures que nous avoit faites alors Mr. de Pinkney, Ministre des Etats-Unis,<sup>53</sup> sembloient autoriser l'espoir que cette négociation se termineroit sans difficulté. Mais le résultat que demandent tous nos vœux, tarda malheureusement à s'accomplir. Les choses en vinrent au point que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale, voyant l'année dernière la compagnie Russe-Américaine près de perdre tous les profits du commerce dont elle possède le légitime privilège, la chasse et la pêche se détériorer de plus en plus par les incursions continuelles de quelques sujets des Etats-Unis, et même un dangereux esprit de révolte se propager parmi les naturels de la côte N. O. de l'Amérique, grâce aux secours d'armes et de munitions qu'ils recevoient incessamment par la voye de la contrebande, prit enfin la résolution d'adopter des mesures sévères pour réprimer ces désordres.

Ce fut avec le plus vif regret que Sa Majesté Impériale eut recours à des moyens de rigueur. Toutefois Elle ne pouvoit ni refuser Sa protection à des établissements d'une haute importance pour la prospérité commerciale de la Russie, ni permettre, qu'à force de se répéter et de s'étendre, des tentatives coupables finissent un jour par détacher de Son Empire jusqu'aux contrées qui Lui appartiennent à tous les titres qu'assurent une première découverte, une première occupation et une possession non interrompue. L'Empereur résolut, par ces motifs, de soumettre la Compagnie Américaine à un nouveau règlement; et pour qu'elle ne fût plus troublée dans l'exercice de son privilège, pour que les sources qui alimentent son trafic de pelletterie pussent et se conserver et s'accroître, pour qu'en un mot, la stabilité des Colonies Russes sur la côte Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique, cessât d'être compromise, l'Empereur rendit un Oukase qui parut le 14<sup>th</sup> Septembre 1821.

Vous trouverez ci-près copie de cet Oukase [Litt. A],<sup>54</sup> qui fut communiqué à toutes les Puissances maritimes. Nos Ministres eurent ordre de leur communiquer également la circulaire ci-jointe [Litt. B], qui en justifiait les principales dispositions. Mr. de Polética reçut en outre les instructions ci-annexées qu'accompagnait un mémoire explicatif [Litt. C, D.] concernant les droits de la Russie sur toute l'étendue de côtes désignée dans l'Oukase de Sa Majesté Impériale et la nécessité où nous nous trouvions de reculer à cent milles d'Italie du continent les bornes de la surveillance confiée aux croisières que nous allions organiser dans ces parages.

<sup>53</sup> William Pinkney, envoy to Russia, 1816-1818.

<sup>54</sup> These references to accompanying documents are, in the original, written in the margin; "Litt. A" is the ukase (see note 43, above), B is our no. XI., C our no. XII., D a "Mémoire Explicatif" tracing the history of Russian enterprise in the North Pacific from the time of Peter the Great.

Nous le répétons, l'Empereur n'avoit adopté qu'à regret ces mesures rigoureuses, mais c'étoient les seules qui eussent été jugées capables de prévenir les pertes réelles et de mettre fin à des invasions qui se renoueloient journellement.

Porté à la connoissance du Cabinet de Washington le nouveau règlement provoqua néanmoins quelques observations de sa part. Dans un système de surveillance que des violations antérieures de nos droits sembloient rendre indispensables, on crut voir le désir de s'arroger sur les mers une juridiction plus étendue que celle qui est consacrée par l'usage entre les Puissances maritimes. Dans la fixation du degré de latitude jusqu'au quel cette surveillance devoit s'exercer pour devenir efficace, on prétendit signaler des vues d'agrandissement et de conquête. On alla même jusqu'à avancer dans des Journaux Anglois,—(*Quarterly Review*, No. LII, Mars 1822),<sup>55</sup> que depuis longtems des établissemens Britanniques s'étoient formés sur l'extrémité meridionale des côtes dont la Russie s'attribuoit la souveraineté exclusive.

Nous vous transmettons, Monsieur le Baron, copie de la correspondance [Litt. E, F, G, H],<sup>56</sup> qui a eu lieu à ce sujet entre Mr. Adams et Mr. de Polëtica. Quoique dans sa réponse en date du  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>6</sup>/<sub>8</sub> Fevrier celui-ci nous paroissoit avoir établi de la manière la plus plausible, nos droits sur tout le littoral Américain jusqu'au degré de latitude marqué dans le règlement du  $\frac{1}{16}$ <sup>4</sup>/<sub>8</sub> Septembre 1821, quoiqu'il ait invoqué avec autant de raison que de force le témoignage des faits qui démontrent, qu'aucune idée d'ambition ne dirige la politique de la Russie, cependant, comme d'une part, les Etats-Unis réclament pour leurs sujets le pouvoir de visiter les côtes N. O. de l'Amérique avec plus de liberté que n'en comporte le règlement du  $\frac{1}{16}$ <sup>4</sup>/<sub>8</sub> Septembre, que de l'autre, des vaisseaux de la marine Impériale, expédiés depuis l'année dernière, ont ordre de veiller à la stricte exécution de ce même règlement, et qu'un tel état de choses pourroit facilement amener des collisions fâcheuses, l'Empereur qui désire avant tout que la meilleure intelligence continue de présider à tous Ses rapports avec les Puissances étrangères, va leur offrir dans cette conjoncture une preuve irréfragable de Sa constante modération.

Le véritable, l'unique but de l'Oukase du  $\frac{1}{16}$ <sup>4</sup>/<sub>8</sub> Septembre étoit d'arrêter des tentatives que toutes les loix des nations reconnoissent pour injustes, de protéger des intérêts dont certes aucun Etat ne contestera la légitimité. En effet, si le Gouvernement Américain réclame pour ses sujets une plus grande liberté de navigation, assurément il ne peut y comprendre celle de nuire au commerce de notre Compagnie d'Amérique; s'il avance que nos possessions ne s'étendent point de ce côté jusqu'au 51° de latitude septentrionale, il ne peut disputer à la Russie la souveraineté des pays et des parages que les Russes exploitent paisiblement depuis près d'un siècle; enfin si la Compagnie d'Amérique demande à Sa Majesté Impériale, pour le commerce de ses pelleteries, toute la protection que son privilège l'autorise à demander, le Gouvernement Américain ne sauroit même émettre le voeu de voir l'Empereur se refuser aux mesures tutélaires que Ses sujets sont en droit d'attendre de Sa sollicitude et de Son autorité.

Maintenir ce qui a été sous ce rapport, et empêcher ce qui ne doit point être, voilà tout ce que Sa Majesté Impériale Se proposoit en

<sup>55</sup> The reference is to the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1822, not March. The article is in vol. XXVI., pp. 341-364.

<sup>56</sup> Notes of February 25, 28, March 30, April 2; see above, note 49.

rendant Son Décret du  $\frac{4}{16}$  Septembre. C'est ce qu' Elle Se propose encore, et pour prouver que Ses désirs n'iront jamais plus loin, Elle vous charge, Monsieur le Baron, de déclarer au Gouvernement des Etats-Unis à votre arrivée, que puisqu'il élève des plaintes contre les mesures prises l'année dernière dans la seule vue d'obtenir le résultat dont nous venons de parler, et puisqu'il a manifesté, par l'organe de Mr. Adams, dans sa lettre à Mr. de Polética en date du 25 Fevrier, le regret de n'avoir pu concerter avec la Russie, au moyen d'une négociation préalable, un arrangement propre à concilier les intérêts des deux Puissances, Sa Majesté Impériale consent aujourd'hui même à l'ouverture de cette négociation, pourvu que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis s'engage à y apporter la volonté ferme et sincère, de faire cesser les réclamations qu'ont excitées les entreprises de ses sujets contre les établissemens que nous avons formés sur la côte N. O. de l'Amérique.

Afin que la négociation dont il s'agit, ne soit point entravée par les voyes de fait, qui pourroient survenir entre les vaisseaux de la marine Impériale chargés de l'exécution du décret rendu le  $\frac{4}{16}$  Septembre, et les batimens marchands que des sujets Américains auraient expédiés dans des intentions légitimes pour la côte ci-dessus mentionnée, nous venons d'adresser au Ministère des Finances, d'ordre de Sa Majesté Impériale, l'office dont copie ci-jointe [Litt. I].<sup>27</sup>

Nous y établissons en principe que les vaisseaux de la marine Impériale exerceront leur surveillance aussi près des côtes que le permettront d'une part la nécessité d'empêcher le commerce interlope, les provocations à la revolte et les fournitures d'armes et de munitions, qui seroient faites aux naturels du pays à l'insçu des autorités constituées; de l'autre, l'obligation d'écarter les chasseurs ou pêcheurs étrangers des parages que fréquentent ceux de notre compagnie, ou qu'ils gardent après les avoir exploités, afin de laisser aux poissons et aux animaux à fourrure, le tems et la tranquillité qui leur sont nécessaires pour se reproduire.

Malgré ces considérations même, nos croisières ont ordre de s'éloigner des côtes le moins possible et de ne point pousser leurs courses au delà des latitudes sous lesquelles notre Compagnie Américaine a effectivement exercé son privilège de chasse et de pêche, depuis le renouvellement de sa charte en 1799.

Du reste il leur est prescrit de se conformer aux dispositions du règlement du  $\frac{4}{16}$  Septembre 1821 en tout ce qui concerne les vaisseaux égarés, battus par la tempête ou entraînés par les courans. C'est aussi d'après les principes de ce règlement que continueront à être jugées les prises que les vaisseaux de la marine Impériale seroient encore dans le cas de faire malgré les nouvelles instructions qu'ils vont recevoir.

Il nous semble impossible de mieux démentir les projets d'envahissement que nous a prêtés la malveillance de quelques feuilles publiques. L'Empereur fonde toutes les dispositions provisoires dont nous avons tracé l'aperçu, sur la hâse incontestable d'une possession paisible et réelle. Nos mesures de précaution sont aussi modérées qu'elles peuvent l'être, et ce qui doit achever de convaincre les Etats-Unis de la pureté de nos intentions, c'est l'offre de convenir avec eux mêmes des garanties que nous réclamons contre les dommages que nous occasionneroit l'esprit trop souvent hostile de leurs navigateurs.

<sup>27</sup> "Copie d'un office au Comte Gourieff". The substance of this document is repeated in instructions issued by Gourieff, minister of finance, and printed in the *Proceedings of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal*, II. 40.

En combinant les ouvertures faites dans le tems par Mr. de Pinkney, et dont vous avez eu connoissance par nos dépêches du mois de Juillet 1817, avec le passage cité plus haut de la lettre que Mr. Adams a adressée à Mr. de Polética le 25 Fevrier de l'année courante, nous ne saurions révoquer en doute que le Cabinet de Washington ne s'empresse d'accueillir les propositions que vous allez lui porter et d'entamer une négociation sur les moyens de procurer à notre Compagnie Américaine la sécurité que nous demandons avec elle pour son commerce et pour nos possessions sur la côte N. O. du continent d'Amérique.

Après avoir démontré par la teneur des nouvelles instructions dont le Ministère de la marine va munir les vaisseaux, qui veillent à l'exécution de l'oukase du 4 Septembre, que de notre côté les vues les plus conciliantes hâteront autant que possible le terme de cette négociation, il nous resteroit à Vous faire connoître les bases de l'arrangement dont vous êtes chargé de convenir avec les Etats-Unis.

Vous aurez remarqué, Monsieur le Baron, que pour vous fournir sous ce rapport toutes les notions dont vous aurez besoin, nous avons fait inviter le Compagnie Américaine à nous envoyer un travail raisonné sur les mesures que pourroit prendre le Gouvernement des Etats Unis, pour que nos établissemens sur la côte N. O. du continent d'Amérique jouissent de toute la tranquillité que devoit leur assurer le règlement du  $\frac{4}{16}$  Septembre et pour que le commerce qu'ils entretiennent avec la Russie n'ait plus d'attaque directe ni indirecte à écarter ou à craindre.

Dès que ces notions auront été recueillies nous aurons soin de Vous les transmettre. En attendant il nous semble que Votre négociation avec le Cabinet de Washington doit en tout état de cause, avoir un double objet.

1°. Puisque les dispositions de notre règlement du  $\frac{4}{16}$  Septembre, qui interdisent l'approche de la côte jusqu'à la distance de 100 milles d'Italie, ont excité des plaintes de la part du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, que néanmoins nous ne pouvons permettre que les spéculations d'étrangers avides, minent sans obstacle notre commerce et nos établissemens, et que l'Empereur, quoiqu' autorisé à prémunir Ses possessions contre de semblables entreprises, consent de Son plein gré à restreindre provisoirement la surveillance dont Il a chargé Ses vaisseaux, et à éloigner des côtes le moins possible les croisières qu'exige le soin de leur défense, il est juste qu' aujourd'hui le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis prenne l'initiative des propositions et qu'il Vous fasse part des mesures aux quelles il se prêteroit dans la vue de nous garantir une complete sécurité, sans nous forcer à remettre en vigueur le règlement de l'année dernière.

Vous inviterez donc, Monsieur le Baron, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis à combiner et à Vous faire parvenir ces propositions. Nous espérons que dans l'intervalle Vous aurez déjà sous les yeux les renseignements complémentaires dont il a été question plus haut; mais quand même Vous ne les auriez point encore reçus lorsque le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis Vous communiquera le premier aperçu des mesures préventives qu'il s'offrira d'adopter afin que l'Empereur puisse consentir définitivement à la modification de son décret du  $\frac{4}{16}$  Septembre, Vous pourrez toujours les juger et les apprécier en les comparant, d'une part, avec l'exposé des griefs de la compagnie Américaine joint au mémoire, que nous vous avons transmis à ce sujet sous la date du 30 Juin 1817, de l'autre, avec le but indiqué dans ce même mémoire, but simple et incontestablement légitime, que nous avons défini en ces termes.

"La série des faits démontre jusqu'à l'évidence que la Compagnie d'Amérique n'a pas négligé les occasions d'établir des relations commerciales permanentes et réciproquement lucratives avec d'autres associations marchandes des Etats-Unis, occupées de trafic des pelleteries; que ces tentatives n'ont pas eu le succès qu'on s'en étoit promis; enfin qu'au défaut de combinaisons de ce genre, ce qui seroit à désirer, c'est que les sujets Américains voulussent s'abstenir de vendre les armes blanches, des armes à feu et des munitions de guerre dans les îles et le long des côtes, où la Compagnie possède des établissements et entretient un commerce d'échange avec les naturels du pays."

Cette idée générale des sûretés qu'il s'agira d'obtenir et tout ce que nous avons déjà dit ailleurs relativement à la nécessité de réprimer un commerce frauduleux et d'empêcher que des spéculateurs étrangers ne détruisent la chasse et la pêche dans les parages exploités par la Compagnie Américaine, Vous suffira sans doute pour déterminer, même sans autre information, jusqu'à quel point seront satisfaisantes et acceptables les propositions que Vous recevrez de la part du Cabinet de Washington, en ce qui concernera la tranquillité de nos Colonies et de notre commerce.

2°. Le second objet de Votre négociation sera de fixer au moyen d'une convention de limites, comme nous avoit proposé Mr. de Pinkney, le point où s'arrêteront les possessions respectives de la Russie et des Etats-Unis sur la côte N. O. du continent de l'Amérique.

Le règlement du  $\frac{1}{16}$  Septembre marquoit ce point pour la Russie au 51° de Latitude Nord. Bien qu'en portant nos limites à cette latitude nous n'ayons eu aucun projet d'invasion, ni de conquête, qu'au contraire le 51<sup>me</sup> degré de latitude Nord ne fût, comme l'a observé Mr. de Polética dans sa lettre du  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{6}{8}$  Février, qu'un terme moyen entre l'établissement Russe de Novo-Archangelsk,<sup>58</sup> situé sous le 57<sup>me</sup> degré, et la colonie Américaine de la rivière de Columbia qui se trouve sous 46<sup>me</sup> parallèle,<sup>59</sup> et que le principe d'après lequel nous avons établi ce terme moyen eût été invoqué par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis lui même, ainsi que le prouve le mémoire explicatif qu'accompagne la pièce jointe à la présente dépêche sous la lettre D, nous n'avons négligé aucune recherche pour nous convaincre si c'étoit à tort ou avec raison qu'on s'étoit élevé contre la désignation du 51° de latitude Nord, comme extrémité méridionale de nos possessions sur la côte N. O. du continent de l'Amérique.

Un des Employés les plus distingués et les plus instruits du Ministère des Affaires étrangères nous a soumis à cet égard un travail, que nous nous fesons un devoir de Vous communiquer [Litt. K].<sup>60</sup>

Les doutes qui en résultent ont engagé l'Empereur à faire donner pour instruction à Ses vaisseaux, l'ordre provisoire de ne point étendre leur surveillance au de là des latitudes sous lesquelles la Compagnie Américaine exerce ou a effectivement exercé ses droits de chasse et de pêche.

D'un autre côté, comme les Etats Unis nous ont offert, par l'organe de Mr. de Pinkney, de conclure avec nous *une convention de limites destinée à prévenir toute collision entre les occupants de quelques parties de la côte N. O. de l'Amérique sous l'autorité de la Russie et des Etats*

<sup>58</sup> Sitka.

<sup>59</sup> Astoria.

<sup>60</sup> "Opinion de M. de Blondoff", on the rights of the Russian-American Company.



*Unis respectivement.* Vous engagerez le Cabinet de Washington à vous faire connoître les bâses, sur lesquelles il désire arrêter cette Convention et le degré de latitude jusqu'auquel devroient, selon lui, s'étendre nos possessions territoriales.

Pour que Vous puissiez déterminer cette ligne sans léser aucun droit, Vous ne la fixerez pas définitivement sans avoir reçu des informations, que nous demandons à la Compagnie Américaine et qui sont relatives :

1°. Aux parages dans lesquels elle a exercé jusqu'à présent son droit de chasse et de pêche, et à leur latitude.

2°. Aux établissemens que d'autres compagnies pourroient avoir formés sur la même côte, et nommément à ceux qui appartiendroient aux sociétés Britanniques du Nord-Ouest et de la baie de Hudson (North-West et Hudson-Bay Compagny).

3°. Au point qui pourroit être assigné comme frontière que les établissemens et la juridiction territoriale de la Russie ne devroient franchir dans aucun cas, afin de ne pas envahir des territoires qui appartiendroient *de droit et de fait* à d'autres Puissances.

Nous engageons d'un autre coté Mr. le Comte de Lieven, à nous communiquer également toutes les notions qu'il pourra recueillir sur l'origine et l'époque des acquisitions faites par les Compagnies Anglaises du Nord-Ouest et de la Baie de Hudson, sur la nature de leurs rapports avec le gouvernement Britannique et sur la question de savoir si la Grande Bretagne réclame, et dans ce cas, en vertu de quels titres elle se croit autorisée à réclamer, la souveraineté des parages de la côte N. O. de l'Amérique, où l'on prétend que ces associations ont aujourd'hui des établissemens de commerce.

Tels sont, Monsieur le Baron, les deux objets de la négociation que vous ouvrirez avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis. Nous croyons pouvoir espérer qu'il ne méconnoitra point l'esprit de justice et de paix qu'attesteront vos démarches.

Au surplus, l'Empereur abandonne à Votre discernement d'entamer d'abord la question des limites, ou celle des mesures de police, ou bien même de les entamer simultanément l'une et l'autre, dès que Vous aurez fait la déclaration relative à la suspension provisoire du règlement rendu le  $\frac{4}{14}$  Septembre 1821. Arrivé sur les lieux Vous pourrez juger du plan qu'il Vous sera plus avantageux de suivre et de la partie des négociations que Vous pourrez aborder la première avec une plus grande probabilité de succès.

Nous terminerons l'article qui regarde la Compagnie d'Amérique, en Vous prévenant que l'Empereur Vous invite à considérer comme subsistant dans toute leur force, les instructions renfermées dans notre mémoire du 30 Juin 1817 au sujet des renseignemens que Vous aurez à nous transmettre sur la conduite des Agens de cette société, tant envers les étrangers qu' envers les naturels du pays. Au cas que ceux-ci eussent des plaintes à élever, l'autorité toujours bienveillante de l'Empereur devroit en être avertie par Vous, afin de faire cesser aussitôt tous les actes d'inhumanité et de violence.

Outre les questions que nos droits et les intérêts de notre commerce nous commandoient de discuter ici, nous en avons mentionné deux autres que Vous aurez probablement occasion d'agiter avec le Cabinet de Washington.

Le Congrès des Etats Unis a formellement reconnu l'indépendance et l'existence politique des Colonies de l'Amérique Espagnole.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> House resolutions of March 28, 1822.

Il n'appartient pas à la Russie d'entrer dans l'examen des motifs qui ont porté le Congrès à cette résolution. Sans doute il n'aura fait qu'obéir à la loi d'une nécessité impérieuse en votant une mesure dont l'exemple tendroit à invalider les droits les plus légitimes, quand même ils seroient consacrés, comme ils le sont dans cette circonstance, par une possession de plusieurs siècles. Pour ce qui est de la politique Européenne, elle a été heureusement libre de suivre d'autres principes, et quels que soient les rapports, où une déplorable révolution ait placé l'Espagne avec les principales Puissances de l'Europe, ces dernières se sont empressées de lui donner un nouveau témoignage de la sincérité des vœux qu'elles forment pour son véritable bien être. Les ouvertures de Mr. de Zéa, prétendu Agent de la république de Columbia,<sup>62</sup> n'ont été accueillies par aucune des Cours Alliées. La France paroît décidée à ne pas préjuger l'issue des tristes différends qui se sont élevés entre l'Espagne et ses provinces d'outre-mer. L'Autriche et la Prusse ont annoncé les mêmes déterminations. L'Angleterre, tout en accordant à ses intérêts commerciaux ce qu'elle a cru ne pouvoir leur refuser, va néanmoins notifier au Cabinet de Madrid, qu'elle l'engage à combiner encore, s'il le juge possible, à mettre en oeuvre les moyens qui lui restent pour faire reconnoître par les Colonies insurgées l'autorité de leur ancienne métropole. Nous mêmes enfin, nous venons d'adresser à l'Espagne, la réponse dont copie ci-jointe [Litt. L], et nous en avons développé les motifs dans la circulaire ci-annexée [Litt. M], qu'ont reçue à cette occasion, les Ambassadeurs et Ministres de Sa Majesté Impériale près les Cours de Vienne, de Paris, de Londres et de Berlin.<sup>63</sup>

Ce sera sur le texte de ces deux pièces que Vous réglerez Votre langage. Les Etats-Unis devoient s'attendre à voir l'existence politique des Colonies Espagnoles considérée en Europe d'un point de vue bien différent de celui sous lequel leur Gouvernement et leur Congrès l'avoient envisagée. Mais au moins ont-ils déclaré qu'ils seroient loin d'empêcher l'Espagne de s'entendre avec ses peuples d'Amérique et de ressaisir l'exercice de ses droits, si elle en trouvoit le pouvoir. Nous nous plaisions à espérer qu'ils persisteront dans ce système de neutralité, et peut être une semblable résolution fidèlement accomplie de leur part, préviendra-t-elle tout acte d'hostilité directe entre la Cour de Madrid et l'Amérique du Nord. Si la connoissance du désir qu'auroit l'Empereur de voir cet état de paix se prolonger, pouvoit porter le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis à ne modifier en rien les dispositions qu'il a manifestées envers l'Espagne et à ne pas s'armer contre elle dans la lutte que soutiennent ses provinces d'Outre-mer, vous n'hésiteriez point à exprimer les vœux de Sa Majesté Impériale. Dans des circonstances qui présentent plus d'une analogie, et lorsque la guerre étoit prête à éclater au sujet des Florides, Votre prédécesseur a eu le bonheur de contribuer à prévenir une rupture. Nous n'avons pas besoin de Vous dire, combien il seroit agréable à l'Empereur que vos représentations amicales fussent couronnées du même succès.

Le dernier objet sur le quel nous ayons ordre d'appeler aujourd'hui Votre attention, a rapport aux conséquences de la décision arbitrale émise en dernier lieu par notre Auguste Maître sur le vrai sens de

<sup>62</sup> Francisco Antonio Zea (1770-1822), the same mentioned in no. III., above.

<sup>63</sup> A note to Argais, ambassador of Spain, June 13, and a despatch sent at the same time to Golovkin, Pozzo di Borgo, Lieven, and Alopeus.

l'Article 1 du Traité signé à Gand le 24 Décembre 1814 entre les Etats-Unis et la Grande Bretagne.<sup>64</sup>

A la suite de cette décision dont les deux Parties nous ont paru également satisfaites, et que nous avons communiquée, tant à Mr. de Polética qu'au Lieutenant Général Pozzo di Borgo, par nos dépêches en date du 24 Avril, l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre et le Ministre des Etats-Unis d'Amérique ont témoigné le désir de conclure, sous la médiation de la Russie, une convention sur le mode d'après le quel leurs Gouvernemens procéderaient à la fixation des indemnités que la Grande Bretagne se trouveroit devoir aux citoyens des Etats-Unis.

Cette convention est sur le point d'être signée:<sup>65</sup> les deux Puissances nommeront chacune un commissaire et un arbitre. Ceux-ci commenceront par fixer suivant les témoignages les plus authentiques, la valeur moyenne des esclaves aux Etats Unis à l'époque de l'échange des ratifications du Traité de Gand, et s'ils ne parviennent point à s'accorder, ils auront recours à l'arbitrage du Ministre de Russie, résidant à Washington. Lorsque la valeur moyenne des esclaves aura été déterminée, les Commissaires respectifs examineront la légalité des réclamations qui leur seront soumises. S'ils ne peuvent pas s'entendre sur le mérite d'une réclamation ils tireront au sort le nom d'un des deux arbitres, formeront avec lui un comité spécial chargé de discuter itérativement la prétention litigieuse, et toutes les questions seront décidées à la majorité des voix.

Nous ignorons encore, si la Russie sera partie contractante dans la convention dont il s'agit, ou si l'Empereur se contentera d'y accéder; mais Sa Majesté Impériale vous autorise, Monsieur le Baron, à accepter l'office d'arbitre s'il Vous est déféré dans le cas indiqué ci-dessus, dès qu'une copie authentique de cette même Convention Vous aura été remise au nom du Gouvernement Anglais et du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis.

Pour compléter la présente expédition, nous joignons ici Vos lettres de créance [Litt. N] et les lettres de récréance de Mr. de Polética [Litt. O].

L'Empereur Vous laisse maître de Vous embarquer soit en Angleterre, soit dans un des ports de France, selon que Vous le jugerez plus convenable.<sup>66</sup>

Sa Majesté Impériale désirerait néanmoins que Vous puissiez accélérer Votre départ autant que possible, et nous ne doutons point que Vous ne Lui offriez ce premier gage de l'empressement que Vous

<sup>64</sup> Award of April 22, 1822. *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 220. See Moore, *International Arbitrations*, I. 350-363, and Martens, *Traité de Russie*, XI. 282-298. Bagot, the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, writes to the British Foreign Office, February 10/22, 1822, that Nesselrode and Capodistrias had disagreed about the interpretation of article I. of the treaty of Ghent, and that a third person had been called in who disagreed with both. P. R. O., F. O. Russia, 135. On April 24/May 6, he writes that the emperor has made a personal examination of the case, and decided it. *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>65</sup> Convention of June 30/July 12, 1822. Malloy, *Treaties*, I. 634-638. See Moore, I. 363-382.

<sup>66</sup> Tuyl was at Liverpool at the beginning of November. *Proceedings of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal*, II. 112. That his failure to hasten to America was strongly disapproved at St. Petersburg, will appear from no. XVIII., in the second installment of these papers.

mettez à remplir Ses ordres. Elle compte sur Votre zèle comme sur Vos talens, et Se félicite de Vous fournir une nouvelle occasion de les déployer.

Recevez, Monsieur le Baron, l'assurance de ma considération très-distinguée.

NESSELRODE.

XVI. CAPODISTRIAS TO TUYLL.

Rec.  $\frac{29}{10}$  Juillet.  
10 Août.

ST. PÉTERSBOURG, ce 13 Juillet 1822.

Votre lettre du  $\frac{9}{21}$  Juin m'est parvenue, mon cher Baron, au moment même où l'Empereur venoit de prendre à Votre égard une décision entièrement conforme à Nos désirs, et qui Vous présente les moyens de Lui donner encore une fois la preuve des talens qui Vous distinguent et du zèle que Vous apportez à Son service. Je Vous en offre mes plus sincères félicitations, et fidèle à mes anciennes habitudes, je vais, avant que l'Atlantique Vous sépare de notre vieille Europe, causer un instant avec Vous, des affaires que Vous confie notre Auguste Maître. La plus importante de toutes, est celle qui concerne notre Compagnie d'Amérique. Dans sa correspondance avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, Mr. Poletica a fait un emploi habile et judicieux de tous les argumens, que le Ministère Impérial s'étoit fait un devoir de lui fournir en faveur de notre règlement du  $\frac{4}{16}$  Septembre de l'année dernière. D'après les ordres que Vous recevez, il est probable que Vous ne serez plus dans le cas de poursuivre la même discussion. Cependant il seroit bon qu'avant de quitter Paris, Vous Vous donnassiez la peine de consulter les publicistes et de recueillir toutes les citations des anciens principes de droit maritime, qui peuvent nous justifier d'avoir assigné un ressort de cent milles d'Italie à notre juridiction sur la mer qui baigne les côtes N. O. du continent Américain. Vous pourrez entre-autres Vous appuyer de l'exemple du Traité d'Utrecht entre l'Angleterre et la France. L'article XII. de cette transaction avoit interdit aux sujets français l'exercice du droit de pêche dans les mers voisines de l'Isle de Terre-neuve et de la nouvelle Ecosse jusqu'à la distance de trente lieues.<sup>a</sup> On pourroit Vous objecter, il est vrai, que dans ces trente lieues se trouve compris le banc de Terre-neuve et qu'il est physiquement impossible de s'approcher d'un banc de sable avec des bâtimens de quelque grandeur. Cependant, si l'on considère que notre défense et celle que porte l'Art. XII. du Traité d'Utrecht tendent au même but, si d'autre part on calcule la différence de la lieue ou mille d'Italie, on trouvera qu'il existe entre les deux cas une analogie réelle, que l'étendue où les deux actes interdisent l'exercice du droit de pêche comprend un espace presque égal; et il restera surtout prouvé, qu'une interdiction de ce genre n'est point une chose entièrement nouvelle comme on l'a prétendu, et que dans le dernier siècle une grande Puissance maritime s'y est soumise de son plein gré. Au surplus, mon cher Baron, la déclaration que Vous êtes chargé de faire dès Votre

<sup>a</sup> Of Nova Scotia, but not of Newfoundland: "that the subjects of the Most Christian King shall hereafter be excluded from all kinds of fishing in the said seas, bays, and other places, on the coasts of Nova Scotia, that is to say, on those which lie towards the southeast, within 30 leagues, beginning from the island commonly called Sable, inclusively, and thence stretching along towards the southwest."

arrivée en Amérique, doit nécessairement applanir toutes les difficultés. Nous avons lieu d'espérer, qu'à la suite de cette déclaration, Vous négocierez avec succès. Vos antécédens nous en répondent, la modération et la prudence qui Vous caractérisent, sont connues, et d'ailleurs, autant que nous pouvons juger des intentions du Gouvernement Américain par le langage de son Ministre, il nous semble permis de croire à la réussite de vos démarches. Il y a quelques jours que Mr. de Middleton, diplomate peu communicatif en général, et qui ne s'écarte probablement jamais des instructions qu'il reçoit, fit tomber sur le règlement du 1<sup>er</sup> Septembre un entretien que j'avois avec lui.<sup>68</sup> D'après cette conversation, je présume que les Etats-Unis ne demandent pas mieux que de convenir avec nous des limites à tracer entre leur territoire et le notre; qu'ils ne sont pas dans l'intention d'étendre leurs Colonies sur la côte N. O. de l'Amérique; qu'ils finiront par reconnoître les frontières définitives que nous jugerons convenable d'assigner à nos possessions sur cette même côte, enfin que dans cette partie de Vos négociations Vous n'aurez pas de très-grands obstacles à vaincre. Il me paroît même, toujours d'après mon entretien avec Mr. de Middleton, que ce ne sont pas nos mesures de police qui ont motivé les réclamations des Etats-Unis. Ils ne se dissimulent pas la nécessité où nous sommes, d'aviser aux moyens de réprimer et de prévenir la contrebande. Leur intérêt est aussi d'empêcher qu'elle ne paralyse le commerce régulier dans ces parages, et par une conséquence de cet intérêt commun, peut-être les engagerez-Vous sans beaucoup de difficultés, à nous assurer les garanties que nous demandons contre des entreprises qui compromettent la sécurité de nos établissemens, et qui bientôt rendroient de nulle valeur le privilège de notre Compagnie Américaine. Dès lors il nous seroit possible de révoquer définitivement les dispositions relatives aux cent milles d'Italie, où la navigation étoit interdite à tout vaisseau étranger, et de ne surveiller que l'espace de mer, qu'un usage général place sous la juridiction de toute Puissance maîtresse d'une côte. Dans cette hypothèse nos différends avec les Etats-Unis seroient complètement ajustés. Vous en auriez l'honneur, mon cher Baron, et, je Vous le répète, nous espérons que Vous l'aurez, car tout ce que je Vous mande, m'a été dit par Mr. de Middleton, qui certainement ne se seroit pas avancé aussi loin, s'il n'étoit sûr d'être approuvé par son Gouvernement.

Je ne Vous parle pas des grands intérêts de l'Europe. Vous avez eu le temps de les méditer sur un des points où ils se décident en grande partie. Puissiez Vous dans l'autre hémisphère oublier tous les maux dont celui-ci offre, ou l'affligeant spectacle, ou la trop légitime appréhension.

Adieu, mon cher Baron, mes vœux Vous suivront partout, et notre mutuelle amitié saura, j'aime à le croire, franchir encore une fois l'Océan.

Votre dévoué Ami,

CAPODISTRIAS.

A. Mr. C. Gl. Baron de Thuyll, etc., etc.

(To be continued.)

<sup>68</sup> A review of the negotiations to August 8 of this year, by Middleton, is to be found in his despatch of that date to Adams, *Proceedings of Alaska Boundary Tribunal*, II. 42-44.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*Allgemeine Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsgeschichte.* Von ALFR. VIERKANDT, LEOP. WENGER, MART. HARTMANN, O. FRANKE, K. RATHGEN, ARN. LUSCHIN VON EBENGREUTH, O. HINTZE. Erste Hälfte. [Die Kultur der Gegenwart, II., ii, 1.] (Berlin and Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1911. Pp. vii, 373.)

THIS work is a part of that enormous structure known as *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, now in the process of erection. As the general announcement of the series has it, the object is to "furnish in generally understandable language, and from the pens of the intellectual leaders of our age, a systematically arranged and historically grounded presentation of the culture of the present, by bringing together in their main outlines the fundamentals of each department of culture, according to their significance for the culture of the present and its future development".

So we are to have in a single series a summary of the knowledge to which the twentieth century is heir. It does not probably fall within the present reviewer's task to discuss the advantages or disadvantages of this scheme; and yet the judgment of the present volume is in some way conditioned by one's attitude toward the plan as a whole. It is apparent from the volume before us that the work belongs somewhere between an encyclopaedia (such as the *Britannica*) and a collection of popular works on the fields here treated. It can, after all, be a work of reference only; on the one hand, the scope of each volume precludes original investigation and treatment of its material; and, on the other, the work as a series is too extensive to give that impression of the oneness of our knowledge and of our civilization which seems to be the basis and the conception of the project. It may be an advantage to have all the sources of our civilization brought together in a single series and presented in an authoritative way; but the American reader, temperamentally, perhaps, not unsatisfied with a "pluralistic universe", will be more likely to be repelled than attracted by the necessity of fitting each part into the concept of knowledge as a whole.

The field of knowledge is divided in the plan of the series into four main parts: philosophy, literature, and art; political and social sciences; mathematics and natural sciences; technical or applied sciences. The compartment into which the present volume fits is labelled the first half of the second section of part two. The whole work of which this is the first volume is a general history of political and constitutional develop-

ment. This volume deals with the forms of society in Oriental states, with the origin of European political society in the Greek and Roman states, and with the constitutional history of Germany from the tribal days to 1806. The second volume presumably will deal with the constitutional history of the other states of Europe.

The material treated in this volume is as follows: first, a general introduction, by Alfred Vierkandt, dealing with the beginnings of political life among primitive peoples. This is an interesting essay on the natural tendencies which produce political organization, the gradual evolution of the idea of the state, the principal types of government, and the beginnings of state justice, state economic control, and state finance. Section A deals with political and constitutional development in the Orient in two main parts: first, in ancient times (Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and India) by Leopold Wenger, and secondly, among the still existing Oriental states (Islam, by Martin Hartmann, China, by Otto Franke, and Japan, by Karl Rathgen). The second main division, section B, deals with the constitutional and political history of European peoples. First is a treatise by Leopold Wenger on the state in antiquity, which means the Greek and Roman institutions: the beginnings of the Graeco-Roman city-state, tribal kingship, government by nobles, democracy, monarchy; the particular forms of sovereignty (machinery of government, state finance, state military control, and economic control). The rest of the volume (150 pages) is devoted to the constitutional and political development among the Germans and in the Germanic empire (the "Holy Roman Empire of the German race", as the Germans like to call it).

Judged by those parts of the present volume in regard to which the reviewer has any competence at all, the work presents in a well-organized way the present generally accepted views on all these subjects. It is obvious that it cannot well contain new and original matter (as, for example, in a constitutional history of the Germans and the empire in 150 pages), nor indeed matter not otherwise easily accessible. The work therefore is a summary of existing knowledge, and as such is very well done and is useful and acceptable.

E. H. M.

*Papers on Inter-Racial Problems: communicated to the First Universal Races Congress, held at the University of London, July 26-29, 1911.* Edited, for the Congress Executive, by G. SPILLER. (London: P. S. King and Son; Boston: The World's Peace Foundation. 1911. Pp. xlvii, 485.)

THE amazing and confusing variety of the contents of this volume forms a monument to the indefatigable versatility of the organizer of the congress. It is doubtful if the collection possesses any real, permanent value as an instrumentality for promoting either the harmony of races or the peace of the world.

The object of the congress is stated to be the discussion, "in the light of science and the modern conscience, [of] the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called coloured peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings, and a heartier co-operation". This is a most worthy purpose, but the very terms in which it is stated would seem to preclude the participation of anyone not in sympathy with it as something within the realm of practical accomplishment. It is natural, then, that these papers should present, as a whole, a rather one-sided view of the general subjects which they discuss. There could be no place in such a congress for the cold-blooded individual who would insist upon suggesting the possible instability of the vision of universal racial brotherhood, as a workable reality. Yet there is an occasional discordant note in the papers themselves, while the press accounts of the meeting suggested that there was much genuine discussion, which brought to light wide differences of opinion.

In the absence of a report of the actual proceedings of the congress, we are limited to a consideration of what is merely a collection of detached papers, each representing an individual view of a particular subject. A review of such a collection in its entirety, within any reasonable restrictions of space, is a hopelessly impossible undertaking. A glance at the list of subjects will support this suggestion, made after a faithful reading of the entire contents of the volume. A session on "fundamental considerations" was given to papers on the Meaning of Race, Tribe, Nation; Anthropological View of Race; Race from the Sociological Standpoint; the Problem of Race Equality. Another session, on "conditions of progress", embraces papers of the following titles: the Rationale of Autonomy; Influence of Geographic, Economic, and Political Conditions; Language as a Consolidating and Separating Influence; Religion as a Consolidating and Separating Influence; Differences in Customs and Morals, and their Resistance to Rapid Change; On the Permanence of Racial Mental Differences; the Intellectual Standing of Different Races and their Respective Opportunities for Culture; the Present Position of Woman; Instability of Human Types; Climatic Control of Skin-Colour; the Effects of Racial Miscegenation.

These two sections alone would constitute a pretty formidable programme for the average learned society in this country, but they are merely preliminary. A second session is given to "conditions of progress", in which the subjects discussed are: Tendencies towards Parliamentary Rule; China; Japan; Shintoism; Turkey; Persia; the Bahai Movement; East and West in India; Egypt; the People and Government of Haiti; Hungary; the Role of Russia in the Mutual Approach of the West and the East. This is sufficiently appalling, but it is not all. Some thirty additional papers are presented, under the following general heads: Special Problems in Inter-Racial Economics; Peaceful Contact between



Civilisations; the Modern Conscience in Relation to Racial Questions (General); the Modern Conscience in Relation to Racial Questions (the Negro and the American Indian); Positive Suggestions for Promoting Inter-Racial Friendliness.

It is unlikely that any symposium ever boasted a list of more eminent contributors. Fouillée, Reinsch, Sergi, Boas, Wu Ting-Fang, Kato, David Lubin, Felix Adler, Zangwill, Olivier, Sir Charles Dilke, Sir Harry Johnston, Du Bois, are a mere handful out of a bewildering array of internationally distinguished names. That of Booker T. Washington is conspicuous by its absence. As a collection of the opinions of such men on their respective subjects, the volume has an unquestioned value. As a means to the end of promoting brotherly love, universal concord, and world peace, the Universal Races Congress must yet justify its creation and existence. Race and color and creed still remain race and color and creed. The dismemberment of Persia is not stayed by resolutions of a harmony congress held in London and participated in by St. Petersburg. Turkey and Italy scarcely cease to fight before Turkey and the Balkans begin. Human nature is human nature still.

ALFRED HOLT STONE.

*L'Arbitrage International chez les Hèlènes.* Par A. RAEDER. [Publications de l'Institut Nobel Norvégien, Tome I.] (Christiania: H. Aschehoug and Company; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912. Pp. 324.)

THIS is the first of a series of publications to be issued by the Nobel Institute in the interest of international peace. It is not, however, a partizan work. The author has wisely contented himself with stating and analyzing the facts. He does not even let the reader know whether or not he himself favors resort to a court in all cases of international disagreement.

Impartiality of this sort is all the more praiseworthy in that the record which he lets speak for itself does not tell a clear story. International arbitration is a branch of international law and the Greeks were the originators of the one as of the other. Most of what this gifted people produced we may trace to their method of political organization in city-states—their systems of domestic law, for example, without which their international law is inconceivable. The city-states, however, were formed into loose groups by the existence of various comprehensive *ethne*, and into a visionary nation by linguistic, religious, and cultural affinities. The bonds were not strong, but they fostered the growth of interurban, that is to say, international law. International arbitration has thus no lowly origin, but takes its rise in some of the highest yearnings of the Greek people. This mode of averting war is shown by Raeder to be also a concomitant of political progress in that among the Greek states Athens particularly championed its application. It was often ineffectual. Thus Raeder does not fail to note that despite the

inclusion of a stipulation for compulsory arbitration of all differences in the treaties made by Athens, Sparta, and Argos between 445 and 418 B. C. it was by a resort to the arbitrament of war that the great national questions of that epoch were settled. He even emphasizes the fact that the successive *hegemons* of Greece frequently constrained their allied or subject cities to arbitrate disputes, to the end (certainly with the result) that they themselves tyrannized with less disturbance and danger. He does not gloss over the five notorious instances in which the same controversy was "settled" by arbitration again and again, the case being reopened every time a change in the political constellation gave the defeated party hope of a different issue. In general Raeder thinks that arbitration proved successful as a solution of grave international problems in the seventh and sixth centuries B. C., when there existed in Greece a group of autonomous states—before the growth of irreconcilable antagonism between Sparta and Athens had divided the whole civilized world into two hostile camps. Thereafter nothing could avert war. It again achieved many peaceful triumphs in the Hellenistic age, and, as *arbitrage compromissoire*, it reached its largest application in this, the culminating epoch of Greek political development. Rome used it merely as an instrument of government.

The value of Raeder's book does not consist in the novelty of the conclusions reached. These may be found much more quickly, for example, in Westermann's brief article on "Interstate Arbitration in Antiquity" (*Classical Journal*, II. 197 ff., 1907). The work has other merits. Over three-eighths of it is really a case book of the subject, a critical account of the eighty-one known instances of the successful, unsuccessful, or merely mooted application of judicial treatment to international troubles in Greece. Most of the remainder is devoted to a classification of the instances from various standpoints—their chronological and geographical distribution, their connection with imperial and federal schemes, their subject-matter. Procedure before, during, and after the trial is carefully examined.

The work seems as a whole well done. Occasionally an instance is not dated as precisely as it might have been, no. XXXVIII, for example. Few omissions have been noticed. The case of the dispute between Hiero of Syracuse and Thero of Agrigentum in which Simonides, the poet, officiated as arbitrator is missing in the catalogue. The *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (II. 4) ought to have been cited for the permanent board of dicasts in the Boeotian League. Some readers may perhaps think an allusion to Phillipson's big work on *International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome* (II. 127 ff.) desirable. No one will fail to censure the absence of an index. The translation into French was made by M. Synnestvedt, *docteur en droit* of the University of Paris.

W. S. FERGUSON.

*Early History of the Christian Church.* By Monsignor LOUIS DUCHESNE, Membre de l'Académie Française. Volume I., *From its Foundation to the End of the Third Century.* Volume II., *From its Foundation to the End of the Fifth Century.* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909, 1912. Pp. xx, 428; xix, 544.)

IN spite of its remarkable title-page, the second of these volumes begins where the first leaves off and covers no more than the fourth century. The author is not responsible for the designation. The unnamed translator has been very successful in producing an English version which affords the same pleasure as the French original. There is no apparent reason for some bold simplifications in the rendering, which do no injury, however, to the idea, but we can only applaud many slight and adroit intensifications of phrase (I. 355, "The good folk of Laodicea", *les gens*, etc.; II. 11, "clearly faked", *prétendu évidemment*; III. 305, "even to the last stiver", *jusqu'à la dernière obole*). This is the way to avoid the lagging effect which a translation often has and this is the way to convey the impression of Mgr. Duchesne's vivacity.

With so good a translation there need be little hesitation in commending Duchesne's work as superior to all other accounts of the early Church for those who wish a readable book and not a painful manual. Professional students would in any case weigh it carefully as expressing the judgment of an accomplished investigator of scientific spirit, but they will also have the pleasure which the general reader demands.

The second volume, which deals with the fourth century, is specially admirable. To grasp the confused and wearisome controversies of that age a student is often glad to be able simply to chart the general movement with whatever loss of the concrete conditions and personal characteristics of the actors. This brilliant exposition not only makes the development of things intelligible but refreshes the starved imagination and kindles interest by pictures of definite neighborhoods and of the actual people who lived in them and conditioned one another's action. We may not be satisfied until the tale of these human actions and passions and faiths gratifies the reflective needs of sociological or doctrinal inquiry, but the first thing is to know the story which excites these argumentative interests and it is the story that Duchesne offers us. His constructive effort is that of the painstaking historian who has also the eye of an artist and plastic skill in conveying what he has learned to see. Who will forget why Gregory of Nazianz had a horror of Sasima? "It was a desolate place, only a few houses round a posting station. There was no water, no vegetation: nothing but dust, and the never-ceasing noise of passing carts. As to inhabitants, there were only vagabonds, strangers, or executioners with their victims who could be heard groaning and clanking their chains" (II. 314). What reader can fail to feel the emotions of the hesitating throng that saw Theodosius restore

orthodoxy in St. Sophia? "The weather was grey; autumn clouds veiled the morning sky. Was the rain going to fall upon the Council of Nicaea? Arians and Catholics looked up to the heavens with very different desires. Gregory entered the darkened basilica, and while the imperial procession took its place in the tribunes, he sat down in the apse beside the episcopal throne. Just at that moment, the sun, bursting through the clouds, shed its rays through all the windows; it saluted the victory. Shouts rang out: 'Gregory, Bishop!' But Gregory, bewildered and speechless, proved unequal to the greatness of the occasion. In his stead, another bishop called upon all those present to recall their thoughts for the celebration of the sacred mysteries" (II. 341). The vivid little vignette of Arius (II. 99) is another illustration of this graphic power, and the piquant humor with which Duchesne narrates such matters as the career of Jerome or the "ascetic indiscretions" of the early monks is a delightful and effective substitute for comment.

In accordance with this habit of seeing things concretely we have a valuable geographical treatment of the subject. In the first volume, very naturally, the reader finds himself viewing the development in Rome as the central point and when he is led to other scenes in Africa or the East descriptive touches and historical remark make them scenes and not mere names of localities.

There can be no question of the scientific candor with which this account is written. The discussion of the origins of the episcopate (I. 66 ff.) has been read by some as betraying deference to ecclesiastical constraint but the only apparent constraint lies in the facts which are to be explained. Frankness and absence of bias appear in the clear, decisive way in which the Roman see is shown to have had no central authority in the fourth century: "the Papacy, such as the West knew it later on, was still to be born". The primacy of the Roman Church in the first two centuries is justly expressed. The treatment of the obscure and difficult case of Pope Marcellinus (II. 72) is evidence enough of scientific conscience and frankness.

If we look for limitations, we may venture to think that Mgr. Duchesne is not the man to write a history of doctrine. The doubt occurs when we find that he derives Gnosticism from the Jewish Philo, or when he accepts Photius's misrepresentation of the Alexandrian Clement, or when he deems Origen's system "scarcely recognizable as Christianity". For the Alexandrian school he has no sympathy, and he fails to measure justly its importance in the development of theology. With theologians and their schools, indeed, Mgr. Duchesne deals a little superciliously, regarding their work as an effort to compromise religion and philosophy. Religion here is the tradition of the Church—not a tradition of blind feeling but a tradition of faiths requiring intellectual statement. Mgr. Duchesne is able to state the faith of present-day Christians and to identify it with that of the generality of Christians in the Apostolic age (I. 32), but at this point, it may be feared, the caution

of the critical historian has been somewhat relaxed. There are many indications that under the control of his conception of the tradition he overstrains many an early utterance. It would not be difficult to dispute, for example, his understanding of II Clement I. 1, and in that connection to challenge his whole view. It is more profitable, however, to emphasize the positive merits of this important work, and the gratifying fact is that a master in historical study presents his results with such lucidity and charm.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

## BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte.* (DAHLMANN-WAITZ.)

Herausgegeben von PAUL HERRE. Achte Auflage. (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler. 1912. Pp. xx, 1290.)

THE slender guide to books on German history which Dahlmann published for his students in 1830, and which was given by Waitz in 1869 a new and improved arrangement, has, after more than fourscore years, reached proportions of which its original author never dreamed. In its new eighth edition, this "handbook" of 1290 pages, solidly bound, classifies over 32,000 separate works (as nearly as one can judge by several calculations), grouped under 13,380 numbers. It has been prepared under the experienced editorship of Paul Herre, assisted by forty-two co-workers, most of whom are already men of note. Such subdivision of labor has made possible intensive expert work in each field. A full table of contents shows the subjects for which each contributor is responsible, and at the same time makes clear the general plan according to which the books are classified. It contains nearly 10,000 more items than the seventeenth edition, published only six years ago. The general plan of the book remains the same, but there are a few modifications of a minor character: improvements have been made in the marginal catch-words and the page-headings so that the user finds his place more easily; space is saved by using a much smaller type for less important works; new sections on *Methodologie* by Bernheim, on *Landeskunde und Topographie* by Kötzschke, and on *Bibliothekskunde* by Brandt have been introduced; and the space devoted to works dealing with the history of Germany and Austria in the nineteenth century has been considerably increased. As the editor succeeded in getting the last page through the press before the first pages were eight months old, he has been able, so he says, to include practically all important books which appeared before the spring of the present year.

One regrets the absence of the asterisks which, in some of the earlier editions, and in such bibliographies as those of Gross and Monod, give the beginner a clue to the works which are most important; this innocent, helpful device, which takes practically no space, has been eschewed by the editors with the same scientific severity as in the seventh edition,

"um die hier unvermeidliche Subjektivität des Urteils der einzelnen Bearbeiter möglichst auszuschalten". That a bibliography which gives some very brief characterizations of the books mentioned is desired and used, is evidenced by the popularity of Victor Loewe's little, critical guide which has reached a third edition (1910) within ten years. Even the very briefest critical notes, however, are unfortunately quite out of the question in a one-volume work which aims at such comprehensiveness as this eighth edition of *Dahlmann-Waitz*.

The editors have not felt obliged by any means to rescue from oblivion all doctoral dissertations and *Schulprogramme*; they have exercised wise discrimination. On the other hand, they do not appear to have paid great attention to works in other languages than German. Important works in the Slavic languages (with the exception of some bibliographies) are not given. "Andrew White", author of *Aus meinem Diplomateneben*, is indexed as being a different person from the author of the *Geschichte der Fehde zwischen Wissenschaft und Theologie*. In cases of translations from familiar modern languages it is a question whether in bibliographical works it would not be better to follow the practice of Professor Gross and give the title and date of the edition of the original language, adding the fact of its translation, rather than to give only the data of the translated edition.

In spite of any differences of opinion as to omissions or inclusions, no student of German history can have any feeling except that of profound gratitude for the care and comprehensiveness with which Dr. Herre and his forty-two *Mithelfer* have accomplished the burdensome task of bringing up to date this indispensable historical guide.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*An Introduction to the Sources relating to the Germanic Invasions.*

By CARLTON HUNTLEY HAYES, Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Columbia University. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XXXIII., no. 3.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909. Pp. 229.)

THE title of this volume of the *Studies* reveals its nature. It is a review of the sources of our knowledge about the Germans before the migrations and about the migrations themselves. It consists of discussions of all the Greek and Latin writers whose works deal with this movement, with frequent translated extracts from their writings, and with brief (but adequate) sketches of the historical background. It makes very clear the impression which the author seeks to convey, "of the fragmentary character, the irrelevancy, the lack of critical insight, the hopeless inadequacy, which distinguish almost all the existing material".

The writers discussed range in time from Caesar to Paul the Lombard. The writers before Theodosius the Great are disposed of rather

summarily in about sixty pages, in chapters on Plutarch, Caesar, Tacitus, the early historians and geographers, and the narrative sources of the second, third, and fourth centuries. The larger part of the work deals with writers contemporary with the invasions, from Theodosius to Justinian, with a chapter on the sources from Justinian to Pippin, and a brief final chapter on documentary sources.

A review of these sources in a single treatise is well worth having, and (allowing for certain tendencies to be mentioned later) the work is very satisfactory. It is not particularly original; the exposition and criticism is not much in advance, for example, of that in Hodgkin's short treatises on authorities at the heads of his chapters. The extracts from the writers are some of them rather long, but for the most part they illustrate very well the character of the work under discussion. Not a few of them are taken, as the author indicates, from English works such as Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, or Hodgkin. The author rather disarms the critic in advance by insisting on the introductory nature of the work, which grew out of a scheme to present a narrative of the migrations "culled from the sources" and "done into English". This work proving to be a larger task than was anticipated, the author decided to offer the work done in preparation for this as an introductory study. Whether such a summary deserves a place in a series of *Studies* may be questioned, but it would be ungracious not to accept it as useful and welcome.

It is fair criticism, however, to consider the tone and the tendencies of the author. The work smacks somewhat of the seminar, in which we get our first taste of historical criticism and try it out on the most venerable theories and authorities. One has a feeling (not easy to justify) that the criticism is rather easy and off-hand, and frequently suggests that there is only one side to the question under discussion. For instance, the fact that the references in Caesar and Tacitus have been overworked by the earlier "Germanists" is admitted; to say that "we have been painfully victimized by many German critics" is true, or suggests a truth; but it is not new. Moreover it is overstated; no allowance is made for the fact (too well established, one would think, to be ignored) that the Germanic tribal laws do reveal the existence from of old among the Germans of features which corroborate the very sketchy outline of Tacitus. But the author's treatment of the documentary sources is purely perfunctory.

So also the author destroys again the theory that the Western Roman Empire fell in 476: "The year 476, which was marked by a little revolution in Italian politics that has been most preposterously exaggerated into the fall of the western empire—as if there were a western empire to fall—and which, judged by the average entries in the various chronicles, is neither more nor less important than any other year". Certainly no one would now speak of that event as the "fall of the western empire", but the event was of critical importance, which is a quality very often not recognized by contemporary chroniclers.

Again, no one would take Jordanes very seriously as an authority; but it is a little "casual" to call him "a modest liar". And if he was a liar for saying that he digested the work of Cassiodorus in three days, how can the character of his narrative serve as "*prima facie* evidence in support of his contention that he had studied his chief source but three days"?

These objections may seem trifling; the reviewer makes them only to justify an impression he was not able to escape: an impression of a criticism of sources and writers which is easy and off-hand, and often not quite fair.

E. H. M.

*The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century.* The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1911, by REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A., LL.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. Pp. xi, 195.)

THERE is a hint in Mr. Poole's preface of an apology for the form of his book, lectures printed as delivered. Surely none was called for. Repetition, clearness, and even to some extent the absence of illustrative material, are not more welcome in a popular work than in one of scholarship, which this certainly is. It is to be hoped that writers in English, in spite of some tendencies seemingly in that direction, are not going to acquire the feeling that scholars must write for scholars only, as writers in German are losing it. Germany has suffered enough from that false standard to be a warning to us against it. While the lectures are printed substantially as delivered, the foot-notes supply many details and a full apparatus.

The book is not a treatise on the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, like Liebermann's *Einleitung*, but is rather an account of the Exchequer system in practical operation. It deals first with the sources of our knowledge, considering the Pipe Rolls, and the Black and Red Books of the Exchequer, in addition to the *Dialogus*; then the older treasury system down to the introduction of the Exchequer; the method of the Exchequer and the source from which it was derived; and the two parts or divisions of the Exchequer, the lower, or treasury of receipt, and the upper, or Exchequer of audit, the Exchequer proper. Lecture VI. treats of the accounting of the sheriff; lecture VII. of the Exchequer records, the great roll of the year, and lecture VIII. of the Exchequer and the king's court.

The discussion of the introduction of the Exchequer system of reckoning and of the source from which it was derived is the portion of the book which has the greatest general interest and importance. The establishment of the Exchequer as something new was "the introduction of a precise system of calculation worked out by counters on a chequered table and recorded on rolls" (p. 40), or in other words "the system of the Exchequer is a system of reckoning based upon the abacus" (p. 56). If this is true, the introduction of the Exchequer could not have been a



gradual process but "must have been a definite act which operated at a definite date" (p. 41, note). This date Mr. Poole thinks to have been somewhere about the middle of the reign of Henry I., and not later than 1118, and that the introduction took place first in England and not in Normandy. It is not possible here to summarize the argument by which these conclusions are reached, or the history of the introduction of the use of the abacus, which occupy a large part of lecture III., but it may be said that it is an interesting combination of fragments of evidence and that it is entirely convincing. We may now regard these questions, which have been so long debated, as definitely settled. In matters of minor detail, the careful accuracy for which the author is distinguished enables him to make a number of corrections in the work of his predecessors, in the publications of the Pipe Roll Society, in the Rolls edition of the Red Book, and in the Oxford edition of the *Dialogus* in text as well as in the editorial work.

It is in the last lecture only that Mr. Poole considers the Exchequer in the other function besides financial in which it became constitutionally of permanent importance, the judicial. In a study of the twelfth-century Exchequer, this is probably the right proportion, for it is only with the thirteenth, and perhaps the later thirteenth, that we begin to have definite information about a clearly defined Exchequer court. Mr. Poole evidently felt obliged, as others have, to decide, if possible, whether the twelfth century regarded the Exchequer in its capacity as a court as having any specific and exact judicial sphere. It is of value to have the result reached by him, which is virtually that it did not. This is undoubtedly a correct conclusion. The men of that time did not reason about their institutions, or make constitutional distinctions and classifications. These things were for a long time still beyond them. The Exchequer was the small *Curia Regis*, acting in a special capacity to be sure, but not thereby made into a new institution. Whatever it could do anywhere, it could do *ad scaccarium*. This phrase in accounts of judicial proceedings, Mr. Poole concludes, means place, and this is the only meaning we can with certainty attach to it, in the opinion of the reviewer, until the process of differentiation has far advanced in the thirteenth century.

It must have been by a slip of memory that Mr. Poole says that the Exchequer court did not acquire jurisdiction in equity until Tudor times (p. 184, see Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, I. 106-107). It would of course be difficult to show by specific references that it possessed such a jurisdiction in the twelfth century because of the failure of the records of that century to note clearly almost all distinctions of function. The same thing may very likely be true for the thirteenth century, or nearly all of it, but it would be an extraordinary fact, very difficult to account for if, as small *Curia Regis*, small council, the Exchequer did not always possess equity powers. It is to be hoped that Professor James Baldwin's forthcoming book on the King's Council will throw some light on this point.

G. B. ADAMS.

*The English People Overseas.* By A. WYATT TILBY. In four volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1912. Pp. x, 302; viii, 286; vii, 441; viii, 452.)

HERE is only half of what is apparently intended for an eight-volume history of the British Empire. Ultimately, therefore, the present lack of indexes and maps may be remedied by the reputable firm which has undertaken the publication of these books in this country. In view of the necessities and longings both of students and more casual readers the whole enterprise on such a scale arouses optimistic interest. Certainly here are problems of research, condensation, and style which would task a modern Gibbon. With respectful appreciation of at least some of the difficulties which inevitably confronted the author and with wrath stirred by some of the revelations here involved, the writer is obliged to continue this review.

A catholic style and range are suggested in the notice that with the end of the Victorian Age, by October 11, 1899, when the South African War began, Tennyson "had crossed the bar" and "Swinburne's songs had all been sung" (IV. 451-452). In the course of like imperial and poetic comment the author discovers his teleological conviction (III. vi) that each generation "sailing quickly or slowly, with resignation or with sorrow, on that solitary voyage over mist-bound and shadow-stricken seas", has left behind a chore for the student of history. Fortunately the student has a strong stomach. At all events we are henceforth and without regret concerned with the demonstration of the author's melancholy conviction and the possibly moist accomplishment of his task.

By a cleverly scheduled itinerary the author in his imperial boots tiptoes from island to island in his chapter on the Ocean Highway of Britain (vol. II.). His two concluding chapters (vol. IV.) on Victorian Britain: 1832-1899, though containing abundant reference to "anti-imperial politicians" and the "little Englanders" who "hated the modern Empire of Britain", fail curiously to supply an adequate appreciation of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. But such notice may lurk in volumes reserved to the Edwardian Age. Otherwise the plan is clear. Volume I. (*The American Colonies, 1583-1763*) is here revised from an edition of 1908 into which "one or two errors" had "crept" (p. viii). Volume II. (*British India, 1600-1828*) is a second and augmented version; volume III. (*British North America, 1763-1867*) is virgin and also volume IV. (*Britain in the Tropics, 1527-1910*), which includes treatment of the West Indies, Northern and Central Africa, Mauritius, Ceylon, Malaya, the Far East, etc. By elimination we may gauge the scope of the four remaining volumes which are not at present under consideration.

Secondly, comes the author's frank fear lest "to specify the exact ingredients and composition of every dish upon the menu" may "also provoke indigestion" (I. viii). This is not impossible, though the writer confesses to a domestic interest in recipes. But Mr. Tilby has been per-

sueded to make occasional foot-notes and at the beginning of a number of chapters are automatic bibliographies. They compel attention. To examine a few of them may help us to see what chance the author has given himself to tell his eight-volume story truthfully. Thus, for the First Puritan Colonies: 1620-1658, are noted (I. 65, note) Doyle and Bancroft. "Both mention many original writers" concerning whom the material on the Winthrops cited in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is apparently for the use of further investigators. But "Justin Winsor is also useful". Again we have a chapter on the English East India Company: 1600-1700 (vol. II., bk. VI.). Unfortunately the English East India Company did not receive a royal charter till 1698 and its controversy to 1708 with the London East India Company, founded in 1599-1600, stands even in ordinary general histories as an affair of note. We, therefore, shall not be surprised to learn (II. 21, note) that "there is no history of the East India Company which can be regarded as authoritative; the official series of Indian records and Indian texts now being published promise to be of great value; but every other writer has been superseded by the monumental works of Sir W. Hunter". The preface to this revised second volume is dated in 1910 from Wimbledon, not nine miles from the hospitable archives, whence during the last fifteen years and more, volume after volume of priceless records for the period and subject to which the author refers have issued under the patient editorial direction of Mr. William Foster and his collaborators. We recall, nevertheless, in the year 1910 that these Indian records "promise to be of value". Indeed they do. At least the introductions to these volumes might have been "of value" to our author. To be sure he speaks of pamphlets in that inconvenient treasure-store of material—the Guildhall Library—and says they are "of interest". They are. The bibliographies on Canadian and West Indian subjects indicate a wider range. However, when the scale and scope of this work are considered, its pretensions and the general result compel the doubt whether the author as historian of the British Empire can justly require further notice at this time and in these pages.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

*Les Sources de l'Histoire de France, XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle (1494-1610).* Par HENRI HAUSER, Professeur à l'Université de Dijon. Tome III., *Les Guerres de Religion (1559-1589)*. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1912. Pp. xiii, 327.)

THREE years have elapsed between M. Hauser's second and third volumes, but every one will quickly agree with him that the work could hardly have been done in less time. In certain particulars the task has been easier than in the earlier volumes, for the field has been more worked. The labor of "discovery" has been less. On the other hand, the polemical literature of the period is so great, like the *Mémoires de*

*Condé*, the *Mémoires de la Ligue*, etc., and so little critical study has been made of it—the very texts differ—that the problem of selection has been difficult.

Broadly speaking, this survey falls into two parts. The first part deals with memoirs, biographies, general histories, and the foreign sources. Here the classification, save of documents, is confessional—Catholic and Protestant, with the exception of local and provincial sources, where this method proved impracticable and a geographical classification is substituted instead. In the second part (sections 2–6) we find a departure from the method of classification which has hitherto prevailed, for the classification is by important subjects under each reign.

It is interesting to observe the historiographical revolution which takes place in France after 1559. There are no more chronicles. Instead we have *mémoires-journaux*. Every town has its local diarist, often several. Every shade of politics and faith is represented, Catholics, Huguenots, royalists, leaguers, politiques, Navarrists. The personal element is strong in all these writings. The personality of the author is not hid behind the anonymity of a “bourgeois de Paris” as in preceding reigns, but is known. The change in the “grand” historians is no less. The “gentleman humanist” disappears with the decline of culture during the civil wars and the retreat of the Renaissance. Another new class of writers comes in with the legists, like Bodin and Hotman, whose methods, unlike those of their predecessors, are historical in their nature. M. Hauser makes the interesting point that Catholic historiography is distinctly inferior to Protestant, at least before 1589. This inferiority has had important consequences, for modern historians have generally written “en un sens réformé ou semi-réformé”, or, owing to the prestige of De Thou, from a “politique” point of view.

France of the Huguenot wars is rich in documentary sources, but there is a paucity of purely administrative documents. There is great need of catalogues of the acts of Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III. Apropos of the diplomatic sources the author makes a statement that at first startles. Since Ranke, he observes, “Il y a . . . chez certains historiens, une sorte de superstition du document diplomatique” (p. 24). But one recovers his equanimity a little farther on (p. 27) when it is explained that what is wanted is a critical study of the sources of the wars of religion similar to Ranke's searching analysis of the historians of the wars in Italy in his *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtsschreiber*. M. Courteault has made a study of Monluc. But Aubigné, La Popelinière, De Thou, and many others still await critical examination.

M. Hauser has the ability to make his subject interesting as well as scientific. His observations all along the line are suggestive. On the famous hypothesis raised by Lord Acton as to whether there was *intentional* destruction of state papers which dealt with the Massacre of St. Bartholomew he does not pronounce. But the reader may compare the cautious statement on pages 236–237 with item 1684, where it is said

that the archives of the Frari in Venice have a lacuna between February 24, 1572, and April 6, 1573.

One naturally expects information of an economic nature from M. Hauser and two items of this kind are noteworthy—no. 1589, which is valuable for the history of French commerce in the Baltic, and no. 2465 which relates to a commercial treaty in 1587 between the czar and the Parisian merchants. It is singular, however, that there is no mention of the remarkably valuable economic material in Claude Haton (no. 1430).

The thoroughness of the work done in this volume is beyond praise. Nothing of importance either in sources or literature has been omitted, so far as I have observed.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

*Le Cœur d'une Reine: Anne d'Autriche, Louis XIII. et Mazarin.*  
Par PAUL ROBIQUET. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1912. Pp. xiv, 307.)

THE apprehensions aroused in the reader's mind by the title of this book are confirmed by the preface, in which the author disclaims any responsibility for the fact that "History is often the most extraordinary of romances". After that one is prepared.

M. Robiquet's fundamental idea is that the conduct of Anne of Austria during her troubled regency can be explained only by assuming in her a violent and invincible passion for Mazarin. The thesis is not new, and hardly stands in need of further proof. But, at any rate, here for the first time we have a monograph devoted to a detailed investigation of the *liaison* between the queen and the cardinal.

The first of the author's four chapters deals with the conjugal unhappiness of Louis XIII. and Anne, the bearing of which upon the main theme of the book would seem to be summed up in the dictum, "Tout savoir, c'est tout pardonner". The following chapter contains the real kernel of the book—a close study of the relations of Anne with Mazarin, chiefly on the basis of the correspondence between the two during the cardinal's exile in 1651. The third chapter is given up to the affair of Marie Mancini, which occupies nearly half of the book, although its direct bearing upon the *liaison* between the queen and Mazarin is not very obvious. Finally one is given an account of the deaths of the cardinal and Anne, with no lack of detail.

No one will dispute M. Robiquet's industry. While not professing an exaggerated cult for *documents inédits*, he has ransacked the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Mazarine, etc., in the effort to collect every scrap of existing material. The harvest was most abundant for the year 1659; hence the amount of space given to the episode of Marie Mancini. Here, agreeing with Chéruel and differing from Chantelauze, the author holds that Mazarin from the start opposed the project of a marriage between the young king and his niece, from enlightened calculations as to his own interest. In general, however, M.

Robiquet does not pretend to establish new conclusions on the larger questions, but confines himself to correcting or supplementing his predecessors on details.

What is objectionable in this book, what has aroused criticism in France, is the author's over-indulgence in anecdotes and details more salacious than important. And, even granting that it is the historian's duty to tell everything, there was no need to rehearse discredited old scandals, such as the apocryphal episode at Amiens (p. 29), or the tale about Richélieu's relations with Anne (pp. 26-27)—on the authority of two such reputable witnesses as Retz and "cette bonne langue de Talemant"! There was no need to drag in the wretched adventure of Mme. de Beauvais no less than four times (pp. 73, 86, 122, 134), or to repeat the abominable story from the diary of La Porte (pp. 70-71), which was refuted as long ago as the time of Voltaire. Furthermore, the author's taste for "romance" sometimes leads him into egregious blunders. For example, on page 109 he quotes from Mazarin's letter to the queen of August 8, 1651 (the correct date of which, by the way, is August 15), the following sentence: "Si, pour l'avantage du père de 21 [21 is the king], il est nécessaire de sacrifier H [H = Mazarin], il le faudrait faire. . . ." The phrase "le père de 21" is certainly not clear at first sight, but our author hastens to comment: "Ce père du Roi ne serait-il pas Mazarin lui-même, et ne veut-il pas dire ici que l'intérêt du Ministre doit fléchir devant l'intérêt de son fils, qui est le Roi?" This seems sheer nonsense. Some study of the rest of this correspondence and especially of Mazarin's letter to Anne of July 6, 1651 (Ravenel, p. 137), would show that "le père de 21" is only a cryptic designation for the queen, who is commonly referred to throughout by such masculine pseudonyms as "Monsieur Zabaot", "Monsieur Serafin", "l'Espagnol", "le père de la Barque" (la Barque = the king), etc. Mazarin the father of Louis XIV. on such evidence!

M. Robiquet is an historian whose solid contributions to learning, notably his *Histoire Municipale de Paris*, entitle him to general respect; but when he lapses into his lighter vein, the results are a bit distressing.

R. H. LORD.

*Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft.* Von JOHANNES DIERAUER. Vierter Band. Bis 1798. [Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten, vol. XXVI.] (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes. 1912. Pp. xvii, 551.)

THE fourth volume of Dierauer's comprehensive history of the Swiss Confederacy has for its subject the period from the middle of the seventeenth to the close of the eighteenth century. The author is not of the type of the venerated poet-historian Tschudi or the ardent Johannes von Müller, who mingled truth and fiction in the attempt to picture an heroic past to serve as a "spur" unto succeeding generations. Dierauer belongs

to the modern school, as his great forerunner and contemporary Karl Dändliker; the pursuit of truth outweighs the ideal of patriotism. Dierauer did not attempt a popular history; his careful and cautious statements are the result of a maximum of investigation; the general reader is not fascinated by the sober style of this accurate chronicler.

A nation founded upon democratic principles is frequently expected to furnish in its history the realization of an ideal of human liberty. America was thus for many generations viewed from abroad through the glass of romanticism, and woe to the nation if political independence and self-government were found an insufficient guarantee for perfection, or for the unattained union of the varied but essential forms of human liberty, political, religious, social, and intellectual. If an American reader should hold a similarly romantic view of the Swiss democracy, his illusion would be dispelled by the very first chapter of Dierauer's volume. It treats of the genesis of the aristocracy in the Swiss Confederacy.

The democratic spirit of the original Swiss League, dating back to the close of the thirteenth century, began to break down in the Swiss Confederacy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The original forest cantons, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, had given the tiller of the soil access to the popular governing bodies and the right to hold office; the cantons, when controlled by cities, had given the countryman the right to settle in the city for a nominal sum and to avail himself of all political privileges. Gradually as wealth accumulated in the cities, the price of citizenship became higher, soon prohibitive, naturalization for those entering from the rural districts became possible only after twenty years of residence, then only after a generation, finally the privilege was abolished altogether. The patrician class of the cities encroached more and more upon the ancient rights of the country population, reduced them to ever increasing dependence and finally to a state of serfdom. Peasant wars arose in consequence and after a desperate struggle resulted, as elsewhere in Europe, in the victory of the patrician classes. The disenfranchisement and bondage of the Swiss peasants, once so proud and jealous of their liberties, lasted until the period of the French Revolution. When the social war was over, religious intolerance had a free hand, engaging all classes alike in terrible conflicts. Zürich and Bern, unfortunately not united, were soon at war with the Catholic cantons Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden. Because of a lack of co-operation the forces of the reformers were quite generally worsted in the earlier period, until after a struggle of sixty years the principle for which they fought, equality for the two denominations where they existed together, was established in 1718.

The particularism of the individual cantons was the besetting sin that prevented the Confederacy from assuming a firm position of independence between the traditional foe, the House of Hapsburg on the east and south, and the ambitious and aggressive neighbor, France, at the

west. The danger was ever present of being ground up between the warring powers at either hand. The policy of neutrality was maintained with great difficulty and at humiliating cost. France and Austria both succeeded by treaties, bribes, and threats in extracting tens of thousands of mercenary soldiers from the cantons as individuals, while the Confederacy as a whole was avowing its neutrality. Dierauer estimates that 60,000 Swiss soldiers were serving in the contending European armies in 1748. At no time was the weakness of the Confederacy more apparent than in the period of Louis XIV. (1661-1715), whose intrigues fostered the petty dissensions among the cantons and whose bribes and personal honors showered upon influential Swiss citizens kept the ruling parties subservient to his will. Had the tens of thousands of Swiss troops that were sold to Louis XIV., and as many others that served the allied enemies of France, been united for the defense of the Swiss borders, then the Confederacy need not have feared Austrian aggressions, or trembled when the French king invaded the Palatinate, annexed Strassburg, or threatened Geneva because the Huguenots were granted a place of refuge in Swiss territory. The gold that flowed into Swiss coffers in payment for mercenaries was a poor requital for the loss of national prestige and the draining of the best blood of the people.

An inspiring chapter, contrasting markedly with the unsparing account of internal dissensions and political stagnation, is the description of the intellectual awakening in Switzerland during the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century. In Bern there resided Albrecht von Haller (before and after his professorship in the University of Göttingen), the greatest anatomist of his day, and author of the poem *Die Alpen*, which gave expression before Rousseau to the principle of the return of man to nature; in Zürich Bodmer and Breitinger became the centre of a reform movement in German literature, and for some years entertained successively as their guests the German poets Klopstock and Wieland. In Basel lived the philanthropist Isaac Iselin, forerunner of Pestalozzi, and Johannes von Müller, whose eloquent history inspired national pride and patriotism. In Geneva there lived a number of savants and men of letters, among them the explorer of the Alpine highlands Benedict de Saussure, and greater than all others Jean Jacques Rousseau, the power of whose pen stirred all Europe. The same epoch witnessed the establishment of patriotic societies, *e. g.*, the Helvetische Gesellschaft, which contributed to the rise of a sentiment for closer union and national dignity, but the historian regrets that their oratorical efforts were not transmuted into deeds.

The last chapters are devoted to the influence of the French Revolution and Napoleon upon Switzerland. April 12, 1798, was the decisive day which brought the end of the Swiss Confederacy, that had had its beginnings half a thousand years before. The Confederacy was laid low, says Dierauer, by the iron hand of a foreign conqueror, who had no understanding for its historical institutions, and was concerned only with



forcing upon it a form of government best calculated to serve his selfish interests. But the fault lay mainly, he continues, in the old Confederacy itself, the internal conditions of which had become impossible, yet the ruling parties, in this blind feeling of security, neglected all attempts at reform, and refused to adjust themselves to the new social order. The author nevertheless sees in the fall of the old Confederacy the foundation for the political development of modern Switzerland.

One serious omission must be noted in the comprehensive work of Dierauer. There is no mention whatever of the emigration of Swiss people from their native country, yet we know that during the period which he treats tens of thousands of Swiss left their native land to seek homes in distant America. Mingled with the Palatines they settled in Pennsylvania, trekked to Maryland and Virginia, or established independent settlements, as Newbern (1710) and Puryburg (1732), in the Carolinas. All the conditions skillfully portrayed by the historian made for a large emigration: destructive wars, tyranny of rulers, religious intolerance, economic bankruptcy of the farming class. In amount and certainly in lasting effect those that left Switzerland to build permanent homes in the American colonies contributed far more in the world's history than the hosts of mercenary troops who shed their blood on the battlefields of Europe, destroying one another in the service of clashing interests. About one-third of them only returned to their homes to share the glory of success or to utilize the compensation for which they so readily took up arms. The faithful and heroic stand of the Swiss guard during the attack on the Tuileries (called by Dierauer the last appearance of the Swiss mercenary soldier in history) is spectacular, yet the upholding of crumbling dynasties is a pursuit that cannot be measured as high as the nation-building of the faithfully drudging fearless Swiss pioneers in America. This principle Dierauer would probably concede, and he is but following the custom of European historians who consign to oblivion the record of the surplus population that has drifted away to foreign shores. They are regarded as a loss to be forgotten. Lost they were politically to the fatherland, but as surely were they a gain to humanity, a contribution of which the fatherland might well be proud.

A. B. FAUST.

*La Diplomatie de la Gironde: Jacques-Pierre Brissot.* By H.-A. GOETZ-BERNSTEIN, Docteur ès Lettres de l'Université de Paris. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1912. Pp. xx, 450.)

THE object of M. Goetz-Bernstein is not to rewrite the history of the Girondins but merely to set forth the ideas of Brissot and the other Girondin leaders upon foreign affairs and to trace their influence upon the diplomacy of the Revolution. While his work lies in the same field as that of M. Sorel, it is by no means a duplication. What M. Sorel, in his task of far larger scope, has necessarily treated with brevity M.

Goetz-Bernstein considers in detail. Like his predecessors in similar studies he bases his work on material found in foreign as well as in French archives, but lays more stress on the former, and in particular he utilizes for the first time in this connection the correspondence of Goltz, the Prussian minister at Paris during the years 1789 to 1792.

The same difficulty confronts M. Goetz-Bernstein which every writer on the subject has had to face, namely: the difficulty which comes from the fact that the foreign policy of the Girondin ministry was never directed immediately by the Girondins in person; but, on account of the exclusion of the deputies of the Legislative Assembly from executive office, had to be exercised indirectly and often through secret means. Such indirect influence is always hard to estimate. This difficulty M. Goetz-Bernstein seems to appreciate more fully than have earlier students of the Girondins and so is on his guard against drawing inferences without a solid basis of fact.

As for his conclusions, he agrees with earlier writers in making the Girondins in general, and Brissot in particular, largely responsible for the foreign war. What is new in his treatment is the emphasis which he puts on the propagandist character of that war. The propagandist idea is familiar in religious wars, but its application to the realm of politics is, he declares, the distinguishing characteristic of the diplomacy of the French Revolution. The main object of his work is in fact to trace the genesis and development of this method as worked out by the Girondins. And in conclusion he pays a glowing tribute to the ideals which they were trying to propagate: "Leur œuvre sombra dans le néant, mais leurs nobles aspirations restèrent immortelles. Ils voulaient conquérir l'univers, moins par la force des armes que par la puissance d'un idéal d'émancipation. Ils répandirent dans le monde entier leurs principes, qui ne tarderont pas à germer et qui fourniront les bases sur lesquelles s'édifiera l'État moderne. La Gironde avait fait don de ses idées à l'Europe; celle-ci, d'abord réservée et prudente, les adopta par la suite avec empressement, et l'on vit se produire le miracle lent mais certain de son rajeunissement: l'absolutisme mourait, la féodalité disparaissait, et la loi, égale pour tous, les remplaçait. Si jamais l'on songe à perpétuer la mémoire des Girondins, c'est à Berlin, à Vienne, à Rome et même à Saint Pétersbourg et à Constantinople qu'il faudra leur élever des statues, car leur plus beau titre de gloire est d'avoir été des pionniers de la civilisation."

Considering that in the course of his book M. Goetz-Bernstein lays constant stress upon the selfish and unworthy aspects of the chief Girondin leader such a paean of praise, while it impresses the reader with M. Goetz-Bernstein's ability to see the good as well as the ill in the Girondins, also leaves the reader with an idea of the author's conclusions which is not exactly clear-cut. This lack of consistency is the chief fault of the book.

ELOISE ELLERY.

*Histoire du Peuple Anglais au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle.* By ÉLIE HALÉVY, Professeur à l'École Libre des Sciences Politiques. Tome I. *L'Angleterre en 1815.* (Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1912. Pp. viii, 620.)

THIS volume is the first of four projected by M. Halévy as a history of the English people in the nineteenth century. The undertaking is monumental. It deserves notice because M. Halévy is one of the first writers to essay a definitive synthesis of the monograph material for the period. But, to judge from this first installment, his interpretation will disregard traditional views and offer suggestions that are quite new. Already, in this introductory volume, dealing with English society at the close of the Napoleonic struggle, he advances a theory the originality of which is apparent. He is trying to determine why England, in contrast to the Continental states of Europe, has enjoyed throughout the nineteenth century a public opinion that invariably maintains itself within conservative and non-revolutionary limits. The question draws from M. Halévy an exhaustive review of the institutional side of English life—this being the substance of the first volume.

The commonplace view that English political institutions make for stability he rejects entirely: in the sphere of economics he sees in distribution, based upon contract, only a provocation to anarchy; whilst towards the Established Church he betrays the prejudice of the philosophical radicals. How then, if not through these, is the non-revolutionary character of English society in the nineteenth century to be explained? M. Halévy answers: by religious nonconformity—nonconformity evincing itself subjectively in the mental attitude induced by evangelicalism, and objectively in the institution of Dissent, or the freedom of religious association.

The view is novel; in fact, almost startling. Admit it, and we shall be obliged to rewrite one of the more important chapters of English history. Probably many critics will disregard the theory entirely, especially those for whom the canon of the nineteenth century is already determined. Others may dispute the theory, and perhaps reject it on the reasoning that M. Halévy offers; for, with every wish to do justice to the originality that M. Halévy displays, it is impossible to absolve him altogether from the charge of logical incompleteness. The theory would seem to have come from a brilliant stroke of divination; but it has not been subjected to the usual tests of verification. M. Halévy leaves his readers with the impression that he is attributing much too definite a causal relation to phenomena for which the most that can be alleged at present is an accidental association. This is not to say that M. Halévy has placed Dissent and its social influence in a wrong light. He has thrown out a suggestion which fair-minded critics must give due consideration; but a suggestion which requires wider discussion and a somewhat different approach.

There is noticeable throughout this volume a tendency to lack of pre-

cision, frequently verging upon incorrectness; also a decided inclination to reason *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. The tone taken toward the family of George III. is not happy: though this is perhaps pardonable, as there are few topics that require such discriminating treatment. Equally unfortunate is the tone toward the Established Church, both in sarcasm and in an implication of sleepy officialism. In the chapters on Dissent there is much to which exception might be taken, much also that might be added by way of supplement. Thus, a study of the sectional distribution of Dissent, based upon the Parliamentary returns of Dissenters' places of worship—to which M. Halévy does not allude—would have modified one or two conclusions. Nevertheless, this introductory volume has brought into the discussion of recent English history a new question, and one which it is much to the credit of M. Halévy to have proposed.

C. E. FRYER.

*Jules Favre, 1809–1880.* Essai de Biographie Historique et Morale d'après des Documents inédits. By MAURICE RECLUS, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1912. Pp. ix, 572.)

*Ernest Picard, 1821–1877.* Essai de Contribution à l'Histoire du Parti Républicain d'après des Documents inédits. By MAURICE RECLUS, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1912. Pp. viii, 362.)

THE author of these biographies is a young scholar, who, from family tradition and personal sympathy, is deeply interested in the history of the republican party in France during the nineteenth century. The form which his contribution to that history has taken is due to his belief that while the origin and evolution of its doctrines, its organization and influence, its struggles and conquests, have been investigated in numerous excellent studies, its personnel has been neglected. Satisfactory lives of its leading journalists, orators, and statesmen are almost entirely lacking. That deficiency he has sought to supply for two of its most important and representative leaders.

M. Reclus recognizes that complete impartiality in regard to Favre and Picard is scarcely possible even for the younger generation of Frenchmen. The events in which they were prominent figures and the parts which they played still give rise very frequently to bitter polemics. From such influences he has striven to emancipate himself as far as possible by seeking to carry on his work in a scientific spirit and by taking great pains to avoid the attitude of either invective or apology. Any bias which his work may exhibit is due, he thinks, to sympathy for the cause which Favre and Picard championed rather than to partiality for the men themselves. He is especially solicitous that his life of Favre shall not be set down as a work of *réhabilitation*.

Both books are in general sound, interesting, and valuable studies,

fully warranting the claims which their author makes for them. It is probably well, however, that the disclaimer of a purpose to effect a rehabilitation is made, for after the Terrible Year both Favre and Picard lost nearly all of the great popularity which they had enjoyed while fighting in the law-courts and at the tribune of the Chamber for liberty and republicanism against the despotism of the Second Empire. Misunderstanding in regard to Favre is so extensive and deeply rooted that M. Reclus very justly calls the prevailing misconception of him "la légende de Favre". The injustice and the mistaken ideas involved in that misconception he is at great pains to point out and correct, yet without glossing over or unduly extenuating the mistakes which Favre undoubtedly committed.

For both books the author has been able to make use of a large amount of hitherto unused materials, including some oral testimony. Among these materials the most important are the papers left by Favre and Picard. There are also a good many documents, chiefly letters, from the papers of their intimate associates. Many of these documents are printed *in extenso* in the text or in the foot-notes. This has been done to such a degree and so frequently for matters of comparatively small interest that there is perhaps ground for the criticism, especially in the volume upon Favre, that the published evidence has been sometimes neglected in order to make a display of the unpublished.

Admirable judgment has been shown in the selection of the points to be emphasized and in the allotment of space to the various topics. M. Reclus does not allow his readers to forget that Favre and Picard passed the most brilliant years of their careers as opponents of the Second Empire and owed their rise into positions of great power and influence to their talents as speakers. Favre, he thinks, was easily the greatest French orator of his generation. Yet, as both men, and especially Favre, are best recalled as members of the Government of National Defense and of Thiers's first ministry and as that is the period of their lives about which controversy is keenest, the greatest degree of attention is given to it. In both books it occupies about one-third of the space. For Favre special attention has been given to his famous circular of September 6 ("not an inch of our territory, not a stone of our fortresses"), the Ferrières interview, his decision not to leave Paris even for the London Conference, the negotiations at Versailles and Frankfort, and the Commune. M. Reclus presents a strong case for the argument that Favre's diplomacy was not so infatuated and weak as it is usually represented to have been, that the feature most criticized subsequently was at the time universally applauded, and that the complete failure of his policy was due to lack of French military success to a degree which could not have been anticipated, and to the German predetermination to insist upon the cession of Alsace and Lorraine. M. Reclus thinks his capital blunder was his failure to attend the London Conference. The wise policies which Picard unsuccessfully urged upon his colleagues of

the Government of National Defense are properly emphasized, but his much-criticized course as Thiers's Minister of the Interior is not adequately discussed. His resignation is ascribed to unwillingness to sanction the severe measures used for the punishment of the Communards, but no proof for the assertion is offered.

Although not all of the conclusions which the author reaches can be accepted, his method of arriving at them is in general not open to serious exception. One qualification, however, must be made. He at several points exhibits a surprising readiness to accept rather dubious oral testimony and to follow without sufficient reason the accounts to be found in the unpublished documents which he has himself brought to light. The weakest feature of both books is their bibliographies. These are confined to names, titles, and editions. More ample information and some critical appraisements would have been of great value, especially for his manuscript materials.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

*Histoire de la Polynésie Orientale.* Par A. C. EUGÈNE CAILLOT.  
(Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1910. Pp. 606.)

M. CAILLOT proposes Eastern Polynesia as the subject of his theme, but he centres attention on the islands in the possession of France.

Tahiti, the largest of the Society group, with its capital Papeite, forms the commercial and strategic centre and calls for the largest share of attention. The land is of volcanic origin—as is true of the whole group—its highest peak, Orohena, 7329 feet in altitude. Barrier-reefs surround the island and the soil is extremely fertile, producing all the fruits of the tropics. The same is true of all the Society Islands.

The people are physically a splendid race, tall, well-formed, vigorous, with a complexion varying from a *café au lait* to an oaken tan. The beauty of the women and the warmth of their passions are proverbial, an inspiring theme with the sons of Neptune. From the time of Tahiti's first discovery by Quiros, 1606, and its rediscovery by Wallis, 1767, until the early part of the nineteenth century the people continued to be insatiate cannibals, without being able to plead hunger or lack of food supply. Any attempt to estimate the moral character of the Tahitians will be furthered by a study of the society called *Arcoi*, a semi-religious secret organization devoted to licentious pleasures and one which enjoined infanticide.

The most striking feature in the history of Tahiti, as of all these archipelagoes, has been—unfortunately—a bitter religious and political conflict resulting from the determined interjection of a Roman Catholic propaganda into this field already won by Protestantism, and the bloody strife attending French occupation.

Thirty missionaries of the London Missionary Society landed on the island of Tahiti, March 4, 1797, and were welcomed by the king and

people. After more than fifteen years of privation and hardship, the mission, in 1813, began to "reap the harvest of sixteen laborious seed-times" (Ellis). The conversion of King Pomare II, as well as of an influential chief, followed by the general destruction of idols throughout the group—beginning with that of the famous god Oro—were events that opened the gate to acceptance of the new religion.

With the great accession of influence and prestige that now came to the missionaries, also came the opportunity and temptation of political power and its abuse for emolument through speculation and trade. Caillot asserts that they not only gained prestige but that some among them accumulated ample fortunes—*de belles fortunes*—and that the most comfortable houses, especially in Tahiti, were those belonging to the missionaries (*hommes du Seigneur*). This is almost the duplicate of a charge made against the American missionaries to Hawaii. The question is, did they use their power honestly and for the good of the people? The fruits of Protestant missionary labor throughout Polynesia can be appealed to as vouchers in both instances.

The temptation for the Catholic Church to enter into the field in which the heavy pioneer work had been done by another, and that other an enemy, was too great to be resisted. That the manner of entrance, judged by Tahitian law, was illegal and that it was bound to be a cause of strife and disorder was clearly recognized and is acknowledged by M. Caillot.

The entrance was made, July, 1834, pioneered by members of the society of Picpus—"young, active, courageous, fanatical"—backed by the authority of Pope Gregory XVI., sustained by the military power of France. The avowed purpose was the conversion to Catholicism of all Polynesia.

The denial by the Tahitian government of permission to MM. Caret and Laval to reside in Tahiti was resisted and evaded with the aid of the Belgian-born American consul, M. Moerenhout, who before long found himself appointed French consul. Left to itself the Tahitian government, without the support of army or navy, was no match for the machinations of French diplomacy and the wiles of such treaty-makers as Dupetit-Thouars or the intrigues of M. Moerenhout. Under the manipulations of this man, the merest street brawl was magnified and made to do duty as an excuse for intervention.

One thing led to another, until, on August 30, 1838, a French protectorate over Tahiti was declared, Queen Pomare compelled to pay at short notice a round sum of money and to display and salute the French colors, the alternative being war.

Each advance move of the French was, of course, made in response to the earnest request of the agonized queen and her befooled, and heavily-bribed, chiefs. Bitter was the disillusion of these petitioners for the "protectorate", when it was found on trial what it meant—the curtailment of privilege, the denial of real function to their queen, the

lopping off of old rights here and there, the drying up of the tree of national freedom.

The one Englishman in Tahiti gifted with the foresight and energy, plus the resolution, needed to deal with the situation, seems to have been the Rev. George Pritchard. This capable, honest man was appointed British consul. The only charge that seems to be laid against him was that he had been a missionary, that he had won the confidence of the Tahitians, queen, chiefs, and common people, and that his wisdom and shrewdness blocked the plans of France. The French, indiscreetly, put themselves in the wrong and resorted to violence against him. Pritchard made his appeal to the court of Saint James on behalf of Tahiti, the Society Islands, Eastern Polynesia, the cause of civilization and of Christianity.

His demand for reparation from France for personal injuries and insults was approved and pushed; his larger appeal, in the interest of fair and honest dealing as between nation and nation, was overruled. Great Britain (Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen) had other ends in view. There was a land deal on in the Pacific. The flag of France left the New Hebrides and passed over to Eastern Polynesia, soon to wave, in token of possession, over Tahiti and the Society Islands, over the Gambiers, the Marquesas, the Paumotas.

One of the first questions that rises in the mind of the reader of a work purporting to be history touches the impartiality of the historian. Is it possible for a Frenchman and a Catholic to treat with historic fairness a contest involving the supposed dominancy of his religion and his flag? To ask the question is almost to answer it. This book has no maps, no index. M. Caillot, after briefly touching on the Asiatic origin of the people, leaves that subject to a future work.

N. B. EMERSON.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674.* By CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD and LEE BIDGOOD. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1912. Pp. 275.)

THE tardiness of the English colonists to leave the Atlantic coast plain and press westward across the Appalachian barrier into the continental valleys of the interior has long been contrasted with the zeal for exploration of the French discoverers from the St. Lawrence. That several expeditions were sent out from the Virginia frontier into the hinterland has long been known, but the extent of the discovery has been in doubt. This dubiety the volume before us is intended to resolve. It proves that of the several English expeditions that set forth between the years 1650 and 1673, two at least reached westward-flowing waters, and established trade routes across the Alleghany Mountains.



The promoter of these explorations was Gen. Abraham Wood, commandant of a frontier post on the site of the present Petersburg, Virginia, and an enterprising Indian trader. To him without doubt belongs the honor of being the organizer of the westward movement during the seventeenth century, but do not the editors exaggerate the importance of this Virginia pioneer, when they compare his rôle to that of the great French governor-general, the Marquis de Frontenac?

Of the volume before us somewhat less than two-thirds is composed of the documents and records of these early Virginia expeditions. Upon examination, however, one notes that only one of these comprises previously unknown and unpublished material, found among the Shaftesbury Papers of the Public Record Office in London. This recounts the journeys of Needham and Arthur, sent out in 1673 under the patronage of Wood, and closes with the massacre of Needham by treacherous Indians. The remaining documents have long been in print, and very recent reprints of two—Bland's *New Brittain* and Talbot's *Discoveries of John Lederer*—have been issued.

The first hundred pages of the book comprise the authors' discussion of the succeeding documents, under the title *Discovery of the Ohio Waters*; to justify this claim, the reader finds that the expeditions in question penetrated no farther than to the upper waters of New River, a tributary of the Great Kanawha, and to some of the head streams of the Tennessee.

Meagre as the results of these English explorers appear, they themselves showed fortitude, hardihood, and a true zest for discovery; it is thus fitting that the records of their journeys should be gathered together and placed among our chronicles of western endeavor. If one takes up the book with eager expectation and lays it down with a feeling of disappointment, it is due rather to the paucity of accomplishment than to the lack of heroic effort.

In garnering this scattered material into one volume and giving a connected account thereof the editors have rendered a service of value. Especially apposite is the suggestion that the zeal for western exploration on the part of Sir William Berkeley and the Carolina proprietors may have been quickened by meeting in England the French explorer Grosseilliers, founder of the Hudson's Bay Company. It is, therefore, a strange slip of the pen that alludes (p. 24) to the wanderings of Grosseilliers and Radisson in Wisconsin in 1754; and states in the same note that "historians seem inclined to deny that Jean Nicollet [it should be Nicolet] visited the Wisconsin in 1734".

It would have been a gracious act on the part of the editors, both of whom have freely consulted and used the Draper Manuscripts in the Wisconsin Historical Library, had they seen fit to acknowledge the prior investigations of Dr. Lyman C. Draper, the erudite pioneer in western historical investigations. In an unpublished but widely-known essay, prepared some thirty years ago, Dr. Draper gathered together most of

the materials included in this volume, and traced in detail the same line of British exploration from Virginia.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

*Correspondence of William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts and Military Commander in America, 1731-1760.* Edited under the auspices of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America by CHARLES HENRY LINCOLN, Ph.D. In two volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. xxxiv, 509; xix, 621.)

No extended biography or even satisfactory sketch exists of William Shirley, one of the most popular colonial governors in English America. These two volumes present the first substantial contribution of materials for his life, as well as an unusual amount of source material for the history of the third and fourth intercolonial wars in America.

Shirley was born in England, in 1694, the son of a London merchant, but himself became a lawyer. He came to America, in 1731; was surveyor of the king's woods; king's advocate-general for New England, except Connecticut, in 1734; a boundary commissioner for Massachusetts v. Rhode Island, and governor of Massachusetts from 1741 to 1756. After Braddock's defeat, in 1755, Shirley became commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America. In 1759, he was made a lieutenant-general in the British army, and, from 1761 to 1769, was governor of the Bahamas. In 1770, he settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts, where he died the next year. Dr. Lincoln gives a fair estimate of Shirley's temperament and abilities. He writes: "Shirley's abilities may have been disproportionate to his ambitions, but in many respects the Massachusetts governor was in advance of his time. He saw distinctly the real issue between Great Britain and France in America, and repeatedly presented the question to his superiors at London, urging adequate support for Colonial effort. He discovered in the common weal the true basis of Colonial loyalty and sought to promote that end." One of his best contributions was "the establishment of a sound currency system". He was a good military strategist. He put through the successful expedition against Louisburg, in 1745, and propounded a sane scheme for the capture of Canada, in 1746. He was "the most pronounced defender of the British and Colonial rights in America up to the time of Pitt and Wolfe". He was a pioneer in ideas for repressing the French in North America.

Shirley material is abundant. These volumes embrace only a selection, principally to illustrate his career as governor of Massachusetts and as military commander in America. Reference is made in notes to numerous letters printed in other collections. The same is true of a "large amount of material thus far unpublished". Many of the letters he wrote "to the governors or executive officials of other

colonies" are omitted purposely. There are letters to the Duke of Newcastle (58); to the Duke of Bedford (8); to the Earl of Holderness (2); to Sir Thomas Robinson (20); to Henry Fox (15); to the Lords of Trade (16); to the Lords of the Admiralty (1); to the General Court of Massachusetts (15); to William Pepperrell (25); to Benning Wentworth (30); to Sir William Johnson (13); a lesser number to Horatio Sharpe, Robert Hunter Morris, John Law, Gideon Wanton, William Greene, George Clinton, James DeLancey, Josiah Willard, and others, usually with replies from them; as well as Shirley's plan for a civil government of Nova Scotia, February 18, 1748. Altogether about 450 pieces are printed, of which 340 Shirley letters, etc., are in the body of the volumes, whilst fifty more are printed or alluded to in the notes. Long letters have sometimes been abridged, but rarely when not printed before. These materials are taken from originals in the Public Record Office and British Museum in London; the state archives of Massachusetts; the historical societies of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Maryland; the New York State Library (before the Capitol fire), but some of these are reprinted from the old and dubious texts in *New York Colonial Documents* and *Documentary History of New York*; from transcripts in the Library of Congress, and "from other widely separated sources".

Mention should have been made in the respective foot-notes that contemporary copies are in the Hardwicke Papers, volume 136, lettered "Political Miscellanies", in the New York Public Library, of the pieces printed in volume II., pages 240-241, 261-269, 289-303, 433-438, 442-445, 492-493, 501-514, 521-525, 528-531, 536-548, 551-559, 561-562, 563-566. An examination of this collection would have revealed the six-page text of an indispensable Shirley letter to the Earl of Loudoun, Boston, September 12, 1756, in regard to Shirley's defense of his conduct against the charges in Loudoun's "message" and letters.

The letter to Willard (I. 498-499), of which a facsimile is given (*ibid.*, opp. p. 410), has been misread. "Sir" belongs to the salutation and not to the postscript, and the postscript should read "I could not get a duplicate", instead of "I can get", etc. "Pepperell" should be "Pepperrell" (II. 97, notes). Superior letters are all brought down to the base line. Some contractions are extended, but not generally. The arrangement of the pieces is chronological; but it would have facilitated use if the year, month, and day had been printed in boldface type at the top of each page, either in the heading or the margin. The very incomplete index is the usual commercial misfit. The Morris map is reproduced on too reduced a scale to be of any use. It had, however, been reproduced in full size in 1896 with the *Journal of Captain William Pote*.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

*General W. T. Sherman as College President.* Collected and edited by WALTER L. FLEMING, Ph.D., Professor of History, Louisiana State University. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1912. Pp. 399.)

THIS liberal volume, made up of letters chiefly to and from General Sherman, newspaper articles, state documents, and school bulletins, is a valuable repository of information regarding the beginnings of the "Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy", which became in 1870 the Louisiana State University. Sherman was at the head of it from the time its buildings were completed in 1859 until the progress of secession forced him in January of 1861 to resign his presidency. Though the book, therefore, is in large measure a record of Sherman's life for a year and a half, its fresher contribution is to a knowledge of the institution of which he had charge, and of social and educational conditions in Louisiana immediately before the Civil War.

As the term "college president" is now understood, it defines quite imperfectly the position in which Sherman found himself. The requirements for admission to the seminary were of the simplest. "Any young men between fifteen and twenty-one, who can read and write, and who have some notion of arithmetic (addition, etc., as far as decimal fractions)"—the words are Sherman's—were eligible for entrance. Military drill and discipline were provided because the times appeared to demand and the boys sorely to need them. After some student troubles which Sherman handled with characteristic vigor, he wrote, in one of his letters: "One hundred young men in this building under a civil government would tear down the building and make study impossible." Col. (afterwards Gen.) Braxton Bragg, a good friend of Sherman's at this time, wrote to him: "The more you see of our society, especially our young men, the more you will be impressed with the importance of a change in our system of education if we expect the next generation to be anything more than a mere aggregation of loafers charged with the duty of squandering their fathers' legacies and disgracing their names." In a letter to Gen. G. Mason Graham, Sherman's closest adviser and supporter in Louisiana, Bragg deplored "the very loose system which prevails in our southern society, and which has reduced parents to a subordination to children". Altogether the situation was full of perplexities. The spirit that Sherman, Graham, and the others most intimately concerned with the seminary, brought to its conduct was worthy of all admiration. What its ripened fruits might have been, the interruption of war has forbidden us to know. Equally creditable, both to Sherman and to his Southern associates, was their bearing to each other as the war drew near. It speaks well indeed for him and for them that they could part in the winter of 1861 with so much of mutual regard.

All this, however, is a matter of previous record, in Sherman's own *Memoirs*, in the *Sherman Letters*, and in the *Home Letters of General Sherman*. In the preparation of this new volume it is somewhat difficult to understand why the editor, who acknowledges his quotations from the *Memoirs*, does not inform the reader that nearly all the letters to John Sherman and to Mrs. Sherman here used have already been printed in the *Sherman Letters* and the *Home Letters*. It may be questioned also why one "Roelofson" appears on some pages under his own name, and on others as "R——". The slips of transcription and proof-reading are few, and the editorial apparatus is, in general, well constructed and sufficient. If the book does not add materially to our understanding of Sherman, it throws a clear light upon local and sectional matters on which every new illumination is welcome.

M. A. DeWOLFE HOWE,

*Henry Demarest Lloyd, 1847-1903: a Biography.* By CARO LLOYD. With an Introduction by CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL. In two volumes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912. Pp. xviii, 308; ix, 390.)

THERE is much of historical value in these two large volumes, because the subject of the work, Henry Demarest Lloyd, had a part in almost every great popular reform from the overthrow of Tammany Hall in the days of Boss Tweed in 1870 to the Chicago traction struggle of 1903, and because on the various social and industrial questions that came within his range of interests he expressed most vigorous and independent views, now brought together for the first time. Lloyd, as a reformer, was highly imaginative but practical, possessing admirable personal qualities, strong intellectual powers, and rather unusual literary ability; both as a newspaper man, and later as an independent student and investigator, he wrote voluminously. The present story of his life is made up mainly of extracts from his own letters, notes, editorials, magazine articles, and books, with a point of view that is sometimes narrow and prejudiced, always openly in favor of organized labor, but always stimulating and suggestive.

Three chapters stand out prominently, namely those on the Chicago anarchists, the anthracite coal strike during the Roosevelt administration, and the origin of the People's party of the early nineties, with all of which movements Lloyd was closely identified. To him the trial of the anarchists was unfair, the evidence for the conspiracy charges against them flimsy in the extreme, and the petition to the governor of the state in their behalf the only possible step for a patriotic citizen; in the same spirit the later pardon of the surviving anarchists by Governor Altgeld he strongly approved, as well as Altgeld's opposition to President Cleveland's interference in the Pullman strike of 1894. The attitude of Eugene V. Debs at this time he

also commended. While it must be admitted that in these trying times Lloyd himself behaved with admirable poise and sweetness of temper, using none of the insolent language of the violent agitator, it will also be seen that he subordinated the interests of law and order to the supposed interests of organized labor. He condemned the President, simply because he believed that the sending of the United States troops to Chicago was a blow to labor unions. Later, by way of contrast, he had only praise for the attitude of President Roosevelt in the equally difficult crisis of the anthracite coal strike of 1902, when that President summoned capital and labor to arbitration instead of bringing to bear the physical power of United States troops. The account of this arbitration is all the more valuable because Lloyd himself bore a prominent part in conducting the case of the miners. High ideals are shown to have actuated the leaders of the People's party in the early days of that organization, and then, in Lloyd's opinion, to have been abandoned in the fusion with the Democrats in 1896, when he and many others deserted the party and finally joined the Socialists. The ideas of the Socialist party to which Lloyd was thus finally driven after membership in various parties of protest, are expounded with much force.

Besides the above, there is found in the volumes material on the trust question, the Standard Oil Company in particular, on co-operation, on the initiative and referendum, and kindred topics. A chronological list of Lloyd's writings, together with a detailed index, is attached. The work of the editor, in general careful and discriminating, would be improved by the inclusion of more dates in the body of the text.

EMERSON D. FITE.

*The Courts, the Constitution, and Parties: Studies in Constitutional History and Politics.* By ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, Professor of History, University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1912. Pp. vii, 299.)

PROFESSOR McLAUGHLIN has assembled in this volume five essays and addresses, which, although prepared on separate occasions, have a unity of their own because they deal with a few fundamental and closely related problems of American constitutionalism and party government. In two papers on the significance of parties and their place in a democracy, the author gives fresh treatment to such familiar topics as the growth of the party outside of the formal government, the necessity for permanent organization, the sources of party support, the nationalizing influence of parties on American politics, the effect of the popular election of senators on federalism, the justification for leaders' hunting issues, the executive as party premier, and the present need for constitutionalizing and democratizing political machinery. The essay on the social compact and constitutional construction gives the place of the idea in early American political theory, expounds it in the

form understood and applied in the Convention and by such leaders as Madison, Luther Martin, and Calhoun, and examines its relation to speculations on the nature of the Union. The final paper, on the written constitution in its historical aspects, reinforces with insight and apt illustration the principle that constitutions are not "struck off"; discusses the doctrines of natural rights and individualism embodied in our system; and considers their limitations under the existing social-economic system. The most timely of all is the hitherto unpublished dissertation on the power of the courts to declare laws unconstitutional. Applying Seebohm's method, Professor McLaughlin works backward from *Marbury v. Madison* through the immediate precedents and antecedents, the decisions of the state courts between 1787 and 1803, the theories propounded in the Convention, and the early state cases, out into the broad field of political theory—the separation of powers, doctrines of "fundamental" law, natural rights and limitations on law-making power, and colonial and old English principles. The upshot of all this erudite searching is that there was no breach in Anglo-Saxon legal tradition when the courts assumed the power to pass upon the validity of statutes. While marvelling at the literary skill and scholarly neatness of this impressive array, the present reviewer cannot help feeling that Professor McLaughlin has strained his evidence, or at least has made a consistent story by neglecting the countervailing testimony. He does not inquire why the fundamental English ideas, so potent in his scheme, did not result in judicial supremacy in other English-speaking lands. He does not bring out the fact that the cases in which the courts had exercised this power previously to the Convention were relatively few and generally questioned by high authorities; he passes by the tremendous popular opposition to this assumption of power by the courts during the confederate period; and he seems to lay too much stress on "ideas" as factors in making institutions. Above all he leaves out of account the undoubted legislative supremacy exercised under the early state constitutions—a supremacy that was everywhere threatening property and minority rights and was, in Madison's opinion, largely influential in bringing about the Convention. In spite of Professor McLaughlin's skillful argument, an equally powerful support might be found for the contention that judicial control was really a new and radical departure of the closing years of the eighteenth century which did not spring from Anglo-Saxon "ideas", but from the practical necessity of creating a foil for the rights of property against belligerent democracy governing through majorities in substantially omnipotent legislatures. This necessity for new safeguards is clearly set forth by Madison in *The Federalist* (number X.), by Hamilton in number LXXVIII., and by Marshall in the fourth chapter of the second volume of his *Life of Washington*.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

*The Supreme Court and the Constitution.* By CHARLES A. BEARD, Associate Professor of Politics, Columbia University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. vii, 127.)

*Power of Federal Judiciary over Legislation.* Its Origin; the Power to set aside Laws; Boundaries of the Power; Judicial Independence; Existing Evils and Remedies. By J. HAMPDEN DOUGHERTY. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912. Pp. viii, 125.)

PROFESSOR BEARD'S book is in the main an expansion of his article in the *Political Science Quarterly* for March, 1912, on "The Supreme Court—Usurper or Grantee?" The bulk of the volume is devoted to an analysis of the evidence as to the attitude of members of the Convention of 1787 upon the question of judicial control over legislation. There are chapters dealing also with views expressed before the ratifying conventions, with the spirit of the Constitution, with the views of those who advocated its adoption, and with Marshall's environment before 1803.

The author presents the contemporary evidence with thoroughness, and concludes that a distinct majority of the leaders of the Convention believed "that the judicial power included the right and duty of passing upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress" (p. 50). He finds also that the principle of judicial control was in harmony with the spirit of the Constitution, and with the views of its pronounced advocates.

Professor Beard very properly says that the question of judicial control "did not come squarely before the Convention in such form that a vote could be taken on it" (p. 15). The views of the framers must therefore be sought from their utterances in the Convention, or from their contemporary (or nearly contemporary) statements or actions elsewhere. In the weighing of evidence an even hand is kept in most cases, but there are several lapses from complete impartiality. William S. Johnson and Robert Morris are counted as favoring judicial review because, as senators, they voted for the Judiciary Act of 1789, and George Washington is counted among the supporters of the same principle because as President he approved this measure (pp. 44, 45). The same argument is used with respect to three other members of the Convention (p. 50). But approval of a principle cannot be safely assumed from the approval of an act, the implication of one of whose clauses may not have been attended to or fully understood, and the author recognizes this fact later by suggesting that a vote against the Judiciary Act cannot properly be regarded as evidence of opposition to the principle of judicial control over federal legislation (p. 54).

Another criticism which may be made is that Professor Beard often assumes that more has been proved than is supported by the evidence. In several places he comes almost to the point of saying that the Convention approved the principle of judicial control over legislation



(pp. 63-64, 73). But no question was voted upon which squarely raised the issue and the argument is one of implication from the existence of a written constitution and from the creation of a judicial department. It can hardly be said that the establishment of a written constitution was therefore an approval of the doctrine by the Convention. The evidence does show that a distinct majority of the leaders in the Convention believed in judicial control, and that the greater number of these thought that the establishment of a written constitution and of a judicial system *ipso facto* established a judicial control over acts of Congress. There was no test of the strength of the principle in the Convention but it seems pretty clear from the evidence that had an effort been made to commit the Convention against the doctrine of judicial power, it would not have been successful. The doctrine, if not already accepted, was well on the way toward acceptance. An assumption that the principle of judicial power was firmly established in 1787 does not give sufficient weight to developing sentiment after that date.

In spite of these criticisms, Professor Beard's book may be said to present in a clear and scholarly manner the attitude of the framers of the Constitution, and it may be commended to those who are interested in this subject.

Mr. Dougherty's book covers in part the same field as that of Professor Beard but its scope is somewhat broader. About a third of the volume is devoted to judicial power before 1787, but the discussion of this subject, which is largely summarized from Brinton Coxe's *Judicial Power and Unconstitutional Legislation*, is inadequate and contains a number of errors. The author's thesis, which is asserted almost without argument, is that power to declare acts of Congress invalid is expressly conferred upon the courts by the Constitution; apparently he means to adopt the argument which is clearly summarized in W. M. Meigs's introductory note to Coxe's book, although this is not distinctly shown. In the part of the volume devoted to the views of members of the Convention of 1787, nothing is added to Beard's treatment, which is much the more satisfactory. Mr. Dougherty however devotes more attention to the debates in the ratifying conventions than does Beard. The latter part of the book is devoted to present problems, and the proposals of reform which the author makes, although not new, are sane and well balanced. On the whole, however, it must be said that the book adds little if anything to our knowledge, or to a better understanding of the principle of judicial control over legislation.

W. F. DODD.

## MINOR NOTICES

*Chronos: a Handbook of Comparative Chronology.* By R. J. Hart. (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1912, pp. ix, 299.) The title of this book might lead one to expect a work upon the science of chronology, but the continuation of the subtitle describes it accurately as "Chronological notes in history, art, and literature from 8000 B. C. to 1700 A. D., for the use of travellers". It is, therefore, a collection of selected data adapted to the use of studious wanderers in Europe and the Levant with notes for comparison on India, China, and Japan. The part devoted to remote antiquity is measured by millenniums, so that from 8000 B. C. to 800 B. C. the matter is compressed into twenty-two pages, in which the author gives due warning of the uncertainty of some periods and the changes constantly being made by the advances of archaeology.

A second part of the book takes up, one century at a time, the period from 800 B. C. to 800 A. D. This division has no particular significance in the treatment, because the remaining centuries are handled in exactly the same manner, yet the central fact is the rise and decline of Greece and Rome and this determines largely the choice of data to be inserted. In part III. the formula for each chapter begins with the Holy Roman Empire and expands over the nations of western Europe as they become active in history, while passing attention is given to the eastern nations with whom they come in contact. The seventeenth century is chosen as a halting point because by that time the Renaissance is an accomplished fact.

The arrangement of the book suits the wants of the amateur traveller who meets with the monuments or scenes of a given period and desires to refresh his memory respecting the main facts of the same century. In order to gain a continuous account of a single country the reader must resort to the index. Notes on the chief features of art, architecture, and literature are attached to each century, and are expanded by tables and lists of artists in the appendix. The bibliography of works consulted shows that the compiler has depended for his facts upon modern English writers who are likely to be careful in the use of dates.

J. M. VINCENT.

*Les Apologistes Grecs du II<sup>e</sup> Siècle de notre Ère.* By Aimé Puech, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1912, pp. vii, 342.) Neglecting for the most part the polemic of second-century apologists against paganism, Professor Puech aimed to ascertain the exact state of Christian doctrine in that period, to determine what share each of the apologists had in the doctrinal development, and to discover how far philosophy and how far the Christian tradition was the initiative and controlling influence. For this purpose he makes a close analysis of each work with the patient, exact method of the disciplined philologist who is at the same time a highly

competent intelligence in theology. The work thus produced is one that students of early Christian literature cannot neglect. It has the value of a commentary, but it is also an historical treatise. If a German can be found repeating the old charge of light superficiality against French scholarship, he should be set to read this book, in which indeed he would find some of the older Teutonic dullness. What patient and penetrating research lies behind it may be seen especially by appendix V. on the notion of *πνεῦμα* in the apologists.

The final results of this discussion contain nothing that is startling. Puech's conclusion is that these apologists do not make contemporary philosophy their point of departure, and though they do use philosophy to classify and develop the Christian tradition, they do not subject the tradition to alteration. What they offer is revelation interpreted by reason, and that they do not deal with the whole tradition is because of the limited purpose of an apologetic work. Puech is disinclined to think of them as having limited for themselves the sum of Christian ideas by selection. They do not, like Ignatius and Irenaeus, follow Paul in emphasizing the atoning death of Christ, but Paul did not in that early time dominate the mind of the church, and they do clearly repeat the synoptic conception of Christ victorious over demonic powers. This and the idea of the Word in the Johannine prologue are their chief points of departure.

The negative criticism to which Puech is liable is that, despite his own cautions (p. 15), he seems inclined to interpret the churches by the aid of these apologists. He wishes to know the state of doctrine in the churches and he studies a handful of doctrinal writers, influential in the later intellectual development. But it may be an error to attribute any "state of doctrine" to their contemporaries. The "Apostolic Fathers" illustrate a religious tradition which is hardly viewed as addressed to the intellect. We can hardly ascribe doctrinal views to people who were content to say that their three dogmas were hope of salvation, righteousness, and love (Barnabas I. 6). Puech would seem to forget that those who had doctrinal interests were running off to Gnostic and Marcionite meetings.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

*Studies in Fronto and his Age: with an Appendix on African Latinity illustrated by Selections from the Correspondence of Fronto.* By M. Dorothy Brock, B.A. [Girton College Studies, edited by Lilian Knowles, Litt.D., Reader in Economic History, University of London, no. 5.] (Cambridge, University Press, 1911, pp. xiv, 348.) This volume is, I presume, the first work of a graduate of Girton College, and may perhaps be looked upon as an English counterpart to the doctor's dissertation of Germany or the United States. It differs from the usual dissertation in the comprehensiveness of its aim (as indicated by the title), and in its appeal to the general reader of historical or literary interests, as well as to the more special student of ancient life

and letters. The author's mastery of the obscure text of Fronto—preserved, it will be remembered, in a palimpsest of the fifth or sixth century—and the thoroughness with which she has sifted and digested the labors of earlier scholarship, bearing directly or indirectly upon Fronto, have produced a very serviceable and even interesting account of the man and his time.

The first half of the book contains a series of chapters of quite uneven merit upon the age, archaism, Graecism, Fronto's relations with Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, his character as an historian, his opposition to philosophy, his religion, his theory of oratory and style, his literary criticism, his vocabulary and style, and finally his character. Throughout them there runs an apologetic tone inspired, one feels, by the romanticism of Pater and Professor Mackail. The futility of an attempt to rehabilitate Fronto, to rescue him from the chagrin and disappointment which were the emotions inspired by the first publication of the text, is frankly recognized. Nevertheless the attempt is made valiantly and, it must be conceded, with some measure of success. The author is clearly possessed of sound learning and good taste. The more therefore must one regret that she has essayed to attempt the rôle of an encyclopaedist rather than that of an investigator. For with all praise of the book it must be said that it lacks the leaven of close exploration and of the insight which comes of it. I do not know that it would be possible for our time to form a favorable absolute judgment of Fronto, with—as it must seem to us—his almost imbecile preoccupation with rhetorical and grammatical minutiae; but it would be possible to explain him historically with far greater clearness and sharpness of outline than has been done, and with avoidance of many incidental errors of judgment arising from a focus too close and immediate. A long appendix on African Latinity summarizes the abundant discussion of this topic, and is followed by a selection from the letters of Fronto sufficient in number to give a good impression of his style. The Latin text is accompanied by a translation upon the opposite page which is at once accurate and facile, and in its terms of English phrase often clever.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

*A Chronicle of the Popes.* By A. E. McKilliam, M.A. (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1912, pp. xiii, 487.) This book does not pretend to be a history. As its title indicates, it is a record of facts without any discussion of causes, movements, or results. Mr. McKilliam believes that the existing works of reference on the papacy are in most cases too diffuse to be of service except to students with unlimited time at their disposal, and he is convinced that a handbook "chronicling the names, dates and chief facts concerning each Pope" will not be unwelcome. And he is not altogether wrong.

The volume consists of biographical sketches of the bishops of Rome from Peter and other traditional pontiffs to the present pope, practically

the only connection between the several biographies arising from their chronological sequence. The sketches are based on secondary works, but, be it added, on the best secondary works there are. Obviously there is nothing original in them. Now and then the compiler cites some source, but not in such a way as to indicate his first-hand familiarity with it.

The author strove to be impartial, a difficult task in the treatment of a subject that is in great measure controversial. What success he achieved in this direction he won by confining himself to the externals of papal history—facts and dates. He has discussed the body, not the soul of the papacy. Papal infallibility is dismissed without definition or comment in less than two lines, and is not mentioned in the index. Transubstantiation is said to have "received authoritative definition", but no more information is vouchsafed. Luther protested against indulgences and thereby became the father of a reformation, but what an indulgence means is nowhere explained. In short the "whys" of history are not to be found in these pages: these give the reader much knowledge, but little understanding of the papacy.

E. B. K.

*Essays on Questions Connected with the Old English Poem of Beowulf.* By Knut Stjerna, Ph.D., sometime Reader in Archaeology to the University of Upsala. Translated and edited by John R. Clark Hall, M.A., Ph.D. (Coventry, published for the Viking Club, 1912, pp. xxxv, 284.) While studying archaeological remains from the earlier centuries of the Middle Ages, in which the Scandinavian countries are peculiarly rich, the late Dr. Knut Martin Stjerna, a brilliant young Swedish archaeologist, had his attention drawn to the poem *Beowulf*, where objects apparently similar to those that he was investigating, especially weapons, armor, and ornaments, are frequently mentioned and sometimes described. The result was a series of essays (published between 1903 and 1908) on the archaeological aspects of the poem. It is these essays that Dr. Hall has collected and translated. They deal with subjects such as would naturally suggest themselves to an archaeologist: helmets and swords; obsequies, tombs, and funeral customs; the dragon's hoard and what may have composed it; there are also two essays of a more distinctly historical character that deal with the Swedes and their neighbors in the migration period.

For the student of history, these essays have their chief interest as an effort to throw a little more light upon the historical background of the great epic. Dr. Stjerna seems to hold that in the earlier centuries of our era the Gauts (Geats) had a strong kingdom in southern Sweden, with the island of Öland as its chief centre (p. 74). The Gauts were a Gothic people and kept in close touch with their kinsmen on the shores of the Black Sea. The evidence for this he finds in remains of Byzantine origin that came to Öland in a continuous stream which suddenly stopped in the sixth century. This connection was kept up even after the Gothic

migration to the west: Dr. Stjerna believes that King Hygelac (the Chochilaicus of Gregory of Tours) plundered the Frisian shores (*ca.* 515) as an ally of the Visigoths (p. 73). But in this way the Gauts were weakened and fell a prey to the Swedes (*ca.* 560). Beowulf was probably the last Gautish king. A Gautish minstrel, driven from his country by the conquerors, sought refuge among the Danes and later among the Continental Angles, the last remnants of whom were just then departing for Britain. In this way the poem came to have Swedish, Gautish, Danish, and Anglian elements.

It is a plausible hypothesis that the author has built up, one that offers a solution for a great many of the *Beowulf* problems. As a contribution to the history of Germanic culture, the essays are also of great interest. The work is provided with more than one hundred illustrations, nearly all of which show material remains from the age to which *Beowulf* belongs, the sixth and seventh centuries. The editor has found occasional statements that call for correction; but these are always matters of minor detail. The editor has also contributed an excellent introduction and an index that could be much improved.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

*An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville.* By Ernest Brehaut, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XLVIII., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1912, pp. 274.) Many students of the Middle Ages and of civilization generally have been fascinated by the medieval beliefs pictured in the first chapter of Rydberg's *Magic in the Middle Ages* and have felt a desire to know more about the subject. This desire has in some measure been met by the pages of Steele's *Mediaeval Lore* and Taylor's *The Mediaeval Mind* and, for Latin readers, by the works of Alexander Neckam, Étienne de Bourbon, Caesar of Heisterbach, and others, selections from which are to be found in *Translations and Reprints*. More than ever will this curiosity about the Middle Ages be appeased by Dr. Brehaut's dissertation, which is an important addition to the English literature on medieval civilization and reflects great credit on its author and the institution under whose auspices it is published.

In an introduction of ninety pages Dr. Brehaut gives a clear and well-written account of what is known of Isidore of Seville, of the spirit of the age in which he lived, and of the works he wrote. This introduction is followed by the core of the volume, the discussion of Isidore's *Etymologies* which forms the basis of the dissertation. This is not a translation of the *Etymologies* as a whole; on the contrary, after a brief introduction and analysis of each book of the original, there follow extracts selected with much judgment and translated in a masterly way. These selections are adequate to satisfying practically any curiosity one may have. The notes are helpful and show methodical work; the bibliography is up to the standard of the rest of the work. The whole

forms the best source-book in English upon medieval civilization and beliefs, known to your reviewer.

It is to be regretted that a book so excellent should have the fault of being unindexed; for it is the kind of book that needs an index which lists, not merely proper names, but as nearly as practicable all subjects treated in the volume. Such an index would cause this useful book to have the wide use it deserves.

EDWARD B. KREHBIEL.

*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen.* Herausgegeben im Auftrag der Savigny-Stiftung von F. Liebermann. Zweiter Band, zweite Hälfte: Rechts- und Sachglossar. (Halle a. S., Max Niemeyer, 1912, pp. 255-758.) Seldom has such a monument of tireless and almost incredible industry been built by one man as in Professor Félix Liebermann's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, the second volume of which is now completed by the appearance of its second half. This part, just published, provides the student, in 494 three-column, closely printed pages, with an index *rerum*, especially of legal and institutional terms, to the whole body of Anglo-Saxon law, both in the Saxon and in the Norman codes. The different articles also contain many references to English material, both Saxon and Norman, not contained in the codes, to Continental parallels, and to discussions by other writers, the texts referred to being so fully cited or abstracted that the point is made clear in each case. While the book is thus primarily a glossarial index, it presents, as well, brief but clear expositions of Professor Liebermann's own conclusions on many difficult questions. The third volume, the commentary on the laws, which is promised shortly, will undoubtedly give these at greater length.

A feature of the longer articles, many of which extend to more than ten columns (*Gericht* has sixteen, *Gerichtsbarkeit* twenty-seven, and other related topics to *Gerichtszcugniss* six, not including the *Geistliches Gericht* with thirteen columns, or other special courts), is a special table of contents at the beginning of the article, referring to divisions, which are numbered to facilitate reference. The range of the material put at the command of the investigator may be indicated by the titles of a few of the longer articles: Adel, Bocland, Ealdorman, Ehe and related topics, thirty-two columns, Gefolge, Hundert, Kirche and related topics, thirty columns, Mord and Murdrum, Ordal, Schutz, Sheriff, Sippe, Thegn, Unfrei, twenty-two columns, Urteil, Wergeld. In these articles condensation and abbreviation are carried to the utmost limit, and the reading demands almost the learning of a new language, but it is indispensable, for this index puts at the instant service of the student all the information in all the codes of Anglo-Saxon law, and in much besides, upon every topic. It must be kept constantly at hand as the necessary starting-point of every investigation in the institutional history of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods.

*European Arms and Armour in the University of Oxford, principally in the Ashmolean and Pitt-Rivers Museums.* Catalogued with introductory notes by Charles Ffoulkes, B.Litt. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, pp. 64.) This is an elaborate catalogue of the more important pieces of arms and armor possessed by the University and Colleges of Oxford. Over two hundred are included, ranging in time from the eleventh century to the nineteenth and in subject from an Anglo-Saxon sword-hilt to a metal-plated officer's vest used in the American Civil War. All receive descriptions, varying in length from four words to six pages, and in nineteen photographic plates many are represented pictorially.

The text opens with an introduction made up of somewhat fragmentary statements concerning "the connexion of the University of Oxford with offensive or defensive weapons" with brief remarks on the origin and history of the Ashmolean and Pitt-Rivers collections, whence most of the specimens are taken. The fullest treatment is given deservedly to a painting of the battle of Pavia and a carving of the battle of Courtrai. The former not only depicts armor and weapons "for the most part carefully" (p. 20), but also displays the position of the troops and the topography of the field with essential accuracy. This feature the author develops in interesting detail with the aid of diagrams. The chief interest of the carving centres in the possible identification of the "godendag". Guiart in his *Chronique Metrique* describes it as a great club tipped with sharp iron, which can be used for striking or for thrusting. This description has given rise to a prolonged controversy over the nature of the weapon. Some maintain that it was a kind of halberd; others consider it to have been a pike (Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, III. 446-447). If the carving is indeed a portrayal of the fight of Courtrai, the "godendag" appears to have been neither a halberd nor a pike, but a heavy club exactly as Guiart describes it. The remaining descriptions, although not devoid of historical interest, contain more of appeal to the antiquarian and collector.

The photographic reproductions constitute by no means the least important portion of the book. These comprise, in addition to the objects mentioned, numerous swords, daggers, and bayonets, several staff weapons and crossbows, various kinds of firearms, and a few pieces of armor. They are excellently done and supply a valuable source for the study of the development of weapons and warfare.

W. E. LUNT.

*The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-ninth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A. D. 1182-1183.* [Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, vol. XXXII.] (London, published for the Society by the St. Catherine Press, 1911, pp. xxxii, 204.) This roll has little that is wholly new, but more than the usual amount of supplementary and confirmatory evidence on the most divergent aspects of the history of the



period. During the king's absence across the channel, the administration proceeds on its peaceful course under the able guidance of Glanvill. The eyre becomes, if possible, more prominent than ever as a fiscal engine. The local communities contribute for an increased number of cases of "concealment" and *murdrum*, and in general the offenses both great and small which the justices find worthy of pecuniary satisfaction grow in number and variety. The linendraper of Oxfordshire who was fined because he was not willing to mint money for the king (pp. xxvi, 103) is but one of several amerced for uncommon offenses. The justice which the king has to sell is becoming increasingly popular, and the case of the Jew of Norwich who owes a mark for royal aid in recovering a debt of six marks *cum lucro* (p. 15) is typical of the variety of shapes which this commodity may assume. Mr. Round has edited the text with his accustomed care and accuracy, and contributes his usual introduction on the salient characteristics of the roll, which are too numerous to mention here. The index of places and names is admirable, but the same cannot be said concerning the index of things. More adequate *indices rerum* would greatly increase the utility of subsequent volumes.

W. E. LUNT.

*La Guerre Sainte en Pays Chrétien. Essai sur l'Origine et le Développement des Théories Canoniques.* Par H. Pissard, Chargé de Conférences à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Religieuse.] (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1912, pp. v, 194.) M. Pissard discusses the theories by which the canonists justified the Church in preaching crusades against heretics in Christian countries or against the enemies of the temporal powers of the papacy. Two of the six chapters of this essay are upon the Albigensian crusade, because it was the first, and then the most important doctrines took shape. The remaining chapters treat the development of the theories, and, very briefly, the course of events in the crusades and also in some of the political wars in which the Church participated. The survey is brought down to the loss of the Papal States.

According to the author, the crusade against the Albigensians was modelled upon the crusades in the Holy Land, and was considered merely an application of the general powers of police which the pope possessed; the same theory was extended, at the end of the twelfth century, to crusades against political enemies. While some canonists held, with St. Thomas, that "war against heretics is always just", and really more urgent than a crusade against infidels, in practice there was a tendency to seek plausible excuses for such crusades. Political crusades and the great crusades against heretics ended early in the fifteenth century; but it is interesting to note the abortive crusade preached against Queen Elizabeth. Since then the canonists have not modified their theories; but even in 1860 Pius IX. went no further than to excommunicate the invaders of the Papal States.

While the results are not novel, the study is useful because of its thoroughness. There are a few slips or errors, but I think no one of them affects the main theme. Finally, this essay throws important light upon the relations of Church and State, and upon the manner in which the Church was compelled to modify its action, even if the canonical theories did not change.

D. C. M.

*La Juridiction de la Municipalité Parisienne de Saint Louis à Charles VII.* Par Georges Huisman, Archiviste-Paléographe. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire de Paris, publiée sous les auspices du Service de la Bibliothèque et des Travaux Historiques de la Ville.] (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1912, pp. xiii, 261.) This work arose out of studies directed by M. Marcel Poëte, at the historical library of the city of Paris. Originally prepared as a thesis—offered at the École des Chartes in 1910—it bears now, quite distinctly, the usual character of such a writing.

The author is at pains first to recount, in the light of recent studies, how and when the Parisian municipality arose. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the *hansa*, or *marchands de l'eau*, acquired certain rights and powers, partly through grants in favor of the *hansa* as a corporation, partly through privileges accorded to the citizens of Paris: in either case those who exercised the powers arising from such grants acted as officers, not of the Parisian burghal body, but of the *hansa*. In the same time also members of the *hansa* grew accustomed to govern the city by acting as royal provosts, two or three holding the office together. About 1260 the *prévôté* was made virtually a *bailliage* (though the name *prévôté* was left to it), with a single head, who would not necessarily be chosen from Paris. That the higher bourgeoisie might not be alienated by this change, the king arranged that the officers of the *hansa* should perform certain duties—connected with the apportionment and collection of taxes—which members of the *hansa* had been performing when acting as royal provosts. This however was to make the heads of the *hansa* officers as well for the Parisian collectivity. The *prévôt* and *jurés* of the *marchands de l'eau* became thus the *prévôt* and *échevins* of Paris.

The municipality once in existence, what were its fortunes to the time of Charles VII., especially its administrative as distinguished from its political rôle? What organization did it have for the performance of its administrative functions? Particularly, what was its judicial competence? M. Huisman concludes, as he advances, that the *Parloir aux Bourgeois*, invested primarily with that jurisdiction by which the *mercatores aquae* had safeguarded their monopoly of commerce on the Seine between Paris and Mantes, gradually gained detailed oversight of navigation on the Seine and its affluents, with powers of enforcement; that it gained also similar charge of commerce in products entering Paris by water, wine above all, and judged various causes arising in connection with such commerce; that out of its power over commerce in

wine and its rôle in reference to taxes it evolved considerable jurisdiction in matters relating to the aids and extraordinary taxes; that it had the ordinary seigniorial jurisdiction over the properties owned and exploited by the municipality but its power of legalizing private acts was limited to acts connected with commerce by water. In general, the competence of the *Parloir* was chiefly economic. The privileges of the Parisian bourgeoisie, the prosperity and development of Parisian commerce, these were its main cares. It was doubtless indeed this narrow sphere of action that permitted the municipal tribunal to prosper as it did beside the two royal tribunals in the capital, the *Parlement* and the *Prévôté*.

The documents utilized are mostly surviving portions of the old archives of the *Hôtel de Ville*, the *Châtelet*, and the *Parlement*—few of them in print. Ninety-four selections from them are given in an appendix, and grouped to form a repertory of municipal jurisprudence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The substance extracted from these materials is treated in a rather abstracted but orderly and searching manner. The work merits the esteem of scholars.

E. W. Dow.

*John of Gaunt's Register.* Edited for the Royal Historical Society from the Original MS. at the Public Record Office by Sydney Armitage-Smith. In two volumes. [Camden Third Series, vols. XX., XXI.] (London, The Society, 1911, pp. xxv, 350; 415.) These volumes present to us documents connected with the administration of the Duke of Lancaster from 1370 to 1376. The manuscript is a vellum book of over two hundred pages, into which the clerks of the Lancastrian Chancery copied documents passed under the duke's seal, as well as other documents which appeared worth recording for administrative purposes. The work of transcription was performed by Miss Mary Trice Martin, who has frequently placed American scholars under obligations to her for her accurate and scholarly work.

An elaborate and exceedingly valuable index of fifty-seven pages with names of persons and places in Roman letters, and of institutions and other matters in italics, together with a full and scholarly introduction pointing out and describing in detail the principal contributions of the Register to legal and institutional history, add greatly to the value of the volumes. The editor's well-known biography of John of Gaunt, published in 1904, also furnishes a valuable commentary.

The documents, numbering from 1 to 1812, including the appendix, are not arranged in chronological order, and are written for the most part in French, though a few, especially royal charters and those relating to ecclesiastical affairs, are in Latin. They comprise grants, charters, indentures of various kinds, orders to the ducal stewards to pay various sums, to make gifts, to distrain for failure to comply with feudal regulations, orders for masses, and one order of especial interest (no. 1585)

provides for the payment of the sums due for the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the death of the Duchess Blanche, who inspired Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*.

These documents are analyzed and described so fully in the introduction that no further explanation of them here need be given. They make clear the financial and legal administration of the ducal household, include the full range of feudal tenure and activity, throw light on such subjects as homage, fealty, dower, wardship, nonage, minority, marriage, escheat, forfeiture, wreck, waste, turbary, bondmen, relief, aid, toll, and tallage, and also treat of such subjects of especial legal and constitutional interest as, knight's service, knight's fee, frankpledge, suit of court, jury service, hue and cry, felony, outlawry, oyer and terminer, writs, laborer's sessions and frankalmoigne. They do not appear, however, to disclose any new facts or principles. The Register is particularly rich in two interesting classes of documents, those which concern the alienation of land for religious purposes, and those which describe the peculiar relations existing between the duke and his numerous retainers, including knights, esquires, chaplains, attorneys, physicians, stewards, receivers, feodars, carpenters, cooks, falconers, minstrels and heralds, and all the attendants of a great ducal household.

An appendix of thirteen pages contains the grants by which the lands and holdings of the former duke, Henry of Lancaster, were made over to John, earl of Richmond, and Blanche, his wife, by the king, July 16, 1361; also the letter of William Bacon, mayor of Southampton, which appears in facsimile as the frontispiece to the second volume; and other letters of personal interest, belonging to different dates from 1363 to 1377.

CHARLES L. WELLS.

*Registres du Conseil de Genève.* Publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève. Tome IV. Du 6 février 1487 au 5 février 1492 (volumes 11 et 12). (Geneva, Kündig, 1911, pp. ix, 570.) Barely recovered from the financial obligations incurred in the Burgundian wars, Geneva faced the demands of the bishop for financial reward for services rendered. The city was also obliged to defend itself against the Duke of Savoy and the military supporters of an unsuccessful bishop-elect. In all their affairs shrewd business and diplomatic sense and a remarkably independent spirit were manifested. Obligated to choose between re-establishment of the very profitable fairs and maintenance of their political liberty, they voted that liberty is more to be desired than fairs, "*petatur libertas potius quam nundene*" (p. 37). The syndics vigorously defended themselves against the tone taken by the ducal commissioners, who were obliged to withdraw their description of Genevans as subjects of Savoy. In the struggle between the candidate of the chapter and of Savoy for the bishopric they steered a discreet and successful middle course with a sound conception of a good bishop as "*virum Deo et civitati gratum*".

The important foreign relations are the main subject-matter of the thirty-six meetings of the general council. The small council's bi-weekly sessions were largely taken up with administrative details. There are interesting regulations concerning health; fires; inspection of meats, streets, leprosy, and hospitals; prohibition of keeping of pigs within the city; measures against Jews; and apparently unsuccessful attempts to regulate the social evil and the prices of food. After setting the price of mutton at seven and beef at four *denarii* a pound, the council vainly tried to compel butchers to sell at government price by permission of free competition, compulsory slaughtering, prohibition of common pastures and city slaughter-houses; but they were eventually compelled to vote that "nothing should be done".

The carefully arranged index of 106 pages is made with discrimination and care and enables the reader interested in a mine of information regarding social, economic, and political conditions to find material quickly. The French equivalents of unusual Latin words are very useful, especially as some of the words are not to be found in Du Cange's *Glossarium*.

HERBERT DARLING FOSTER.

*Luthers Werke in Auswahl.* Unter Mitwirkung von Albert Leitzmann herausgegeben von Otto Clemen. Erster Band. (Bonn, A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1912, pp. iv, 512.) A new edition, designed for students, of Luther's most important works, will be welcome. Both the bulk and the price of the great Weimar edition are to many inconvenient, and moreover the first volumes, published nearly a generation ago, are no longer scientifically up to date. The present selection, to be completed in four handy volumes, though small, is intended to show all sides of the reformer, his relation to the ecclesiastical, social, and cultural movements of his day, his work on the Bible, his controversial and satiric writings, in short, "den ganzen Luther". That the selection begins with the year 1517 is not to be regretted, as the previous important period has been so recently and so well covered in Professor Scheel's *Dokumente zu Luthers Entwicklung*, which would, indeed, serve as an excellent introduction to the present series.

The editing evinces all that painstaking care for minutiae characteristic of German scholarship, care which is, after all, so necessary for fruitful study. "In minimis versatur", as Erasmus said of his own editorial labors, "sed sine quibus nemo evasit maximus; nugae agitat, sed quae seria ducunt". The text is occasionally better than the Weimar; the introduction and notes, though extremely concise, give all needful light, and now and then suggest new facts of some importance, as for example that Luther had the ninety-five theses printed before October 31, 1517 (p. 1), or that the introduction to the address *An den Christlichen Adel*, containing the passage on the three walls of the Romanists, was written after the rest of the work had been completed

(p. 362). The Latin works are printed in the usual orthography; the German are reproduced with diplomatic exactitude, from the earliest extant edition. Professor Albert Leitzmann has read them over from the linguistic standpoint, and has made the requisite explanatory annotations.

In conclusion, while expressing our obligations to the general thoroughness of Herr Clemen's work, a few oversights or doubtful points may be noted. On page 10 he follows Enders (I. 177) in dating one of Luther's letters "end of March or beginning of April", although Professor Hoppe had shown (*Luthers Sämtliche Werke*, St. Louis, 1904, vol. XXI., no. 68) that the epistle could not have been written later than March, and recently Professor Kalkoff (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXXII. 411, note) has given reasons for placing it in the beginning rather than the end of the month. Again (p. 174) he follows Enders (II. 221) in putting an epistle "between November 1 and 7", without noticing Hoppe's dating (*op. cit.*, no. 225), which seems to me more probable, "middle of October". Finally, Herr Clemen repeats from Köstlin-Kawerau the old misstatement that the condemnation of Luther by the University of Louvain took place on November 7, 1519 (p. 324, note), although M. H. de Jongh has shown the true date to have been September 7 (*L'Ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Louvain*, Louvain, 1911, p. 208). A few misprints have been observed: "ZKZ" for "ZKG" (p. 15, line 2); *δδξηρος* (p. 140, note).

PRESERVED SMITH.

*The Naval Miscellany.* Edited by Sir John Knox Laughton, R.N., D.Litt., Professor of Modern History, University of London. Volume II. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. XL.] (London, Navy Records Society, 1912, pp. x, 430.) The documents contained in this volume relate chiefly to the navy and the merchant marine of Great Britain and are derived from both manuscript and printed sources. The earliest is of the date 1540, and the latest of the date 1897. The longer and more important documents are accompanied with brief, explanatory introductions. Among the editors of documents are Sir John Knox Laughton, Professor C. H. Firth, Admiral Sir T. Sturges Jackson, and Messrs. R. G. Marsden and Alan Moore. There is but little information in the book relating to American history, as may be seen from the index, in which only the following references bearing on this subject were found: American merchantmen, *Minerva* (p. 314) and *Susquehanna* (p. 405, the captain of this vessel, Caleb Cushing, was suspected of favoring the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1815); Andrew Elliot, lieutenant-governor of New York (p. 293); and difficulties of the frigate *Jason* at New York in 1807 (p. 374). Information was also noted respecting the movements of British vessels in the West Indies and the voyage of the *Barbara* to Brazil in 1540. All the documents are in English except a minor one in French; the Complaynt

of Scotlande is in Scottish dialect. The typography of the book is excellent and the index is satisfactory.

The following is a synopsis of the contents of the volume: Voyage of the *Barbara* to Brazil, 1540; the Sea Scene from the Complaynt of Scotlande, 1549; the Taking of the *Madre de Dios*, 1592 (consisting of (1) a treatise of my Lord of Cumberland's ship's voyage, (2) Sir John Burgh's report, (3) the report of Captain Thompson, (4) the deposition of John Hampton, and (5) a true report of the taking of the carack); a Narrative of the Battle of Santa Cruz, written by Sir Richard Stayner, Rear-Admiral of the Fleet, 1660-1663; Extracts from a Commissioner's Note Book, 1695 *circa* (containing (1) scheme of stations for cruisers, (2) explanation of dockyard terms, (3) reflections on the naval strength of Great Britain, (4) the fight with the French in the Barfleur campaign of 1692, and (5) the attempt on Brest of 1694); the Journal of M. de Lage de Cueilly, Captain in the Spanish Navy during the Campaign of 1744, 1746; Sale of Dead Man's Effects, 1750; Letter of James Watson to Admiral Robert Digby, concerning the Mutiny at the Nore, 1797; Documents from the Letter Books of Sir Charles Thompson, Bart., Vice-Admiral, 1797-1798 (containing (1) the tactics of Sir John Jervis, with diagrams, (2) memorial of the French ambassador at Madrid to Godoy, and (3) correspondence of Sir Charles Thompson with Lord Spencer, Sir J. Jervis, Captain J. Irwin and others); Orders by Sir John Jervis, 1796-1797; Letters of Lord St. Vincent, 1800-1801 (the principal letters are to Evan Nepean, secretary of the Admiralty); Letter of Commander Charles Inglis to Lieutenant Thomas B. Young, 1801, concerning Operations on the Coast of Egypt; the Memoirs of George Pringle, Esq., Captain, Royal Navy, Written by Himself, 1795-1809; Pedigree of the Naval Duncans; Operations in the Scheldt, 1809; Frustration of the Plan for the Escape of Napoleon Bonaparte from Bordeaux, July, 1815 (contains letters by Admiral Baudin, Lord Keith, Hon. F. W. Aylmer, Capt. Edmund Palmer, and others); Extract from the Journal of Admiral Benjamin William Page, 1840 *circa*; and Origin of the Phrase "Well done, *Phacton*," 1897.

C. O. PAULLIN.

*Anglais et Français du XI<sup>II</sup><sup>e</sup> Siècle.* Par Ch. Bastide, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur agrégé au Lycée Charlemagne. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1912, pp. xii, 362.) This is a miscellaneous collection of essays, charmingly written, concerning the lives and activities of French travellers, merchants, literary men, and refugees in England from the time of Queen Elizabeth to that of Queen Anne. It contains a number of new facts, and many more which, if not entirely new, are presented in a fresh light. The work begins with an interesting discussion of the various routes from London to Paris in the age of Louis XIV., and of the time and expense of the journey. Further on we find a number of

valuable details concerning the life of Guillaume du Gard, and the French weekly newspaper—the *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*—which was published at the English capital under his direction from 1650 to 1657. There is an able discussion of the documents concerning Shakespeare recently discovered at the Public Record Office by Mr. C. W. Wallace of the University of Nebraska, and the evidence afforded by them that the great English poet lodged in London at the house of a Huguenot wig-maker, Christophe Mongoye, from 1598 to 1604. The concluding essay of the volume deals with the literary career of Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe, the first French translator of Robinson Crusoe.

These examples will give a very fair idea of the sort of information contained in the eleven essays of which this book is composed. Few if any of the matters with which it deals can be regarded as being of first-rate historical importance; its field lies rather on the edges than in the centre of history—at least of history in the older, narrower sense of the term. The *pièce de résistance* is, unquestionably, the two chapters on the political influence of the Huguenots in England: but we cannot feel that M. Bastide is at his best in treating of this topic. What he has to say about the period of the Revocation and later is admirable, but the story he attempts to trace cannot be regarded as complete until a far more exhaustive examination has been made of the earlier years—especially the influence in England of the political theorists and writers of the latter part of the sixteenth century, such as Beza, Hotman, and Du Plessis Mornay. The story of Anglo-French relations in this period presents no more interesting and significant problem than this, and much more remains to be done before it can be regarded as solved.

We cannot close this brief notice without a passing tribute to the lucidity, grace, and precision of the author's style. To say that it is pre-eminently French in its quality is perhaps the best possible description. The historical writing of other countries still lags far behind that of France in this respect.

R. B. MERRIMAN.

*The Abbé Sieyès: an Essay in the Politics of the French Revolution.* By J. H. Clapham, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. (London, P. S. King and Son, 1912, pp. vi, 275.) The subtitle of this volume suggests that it is not primarily a biography, but an attempt to summarize the political doctrines of the Abbé Sieyès and to indicate the extent of their influence. The biographical element is present, though strictly subordinate. This is also true of M. Neton's *Sieyès*, published a dozen years ago. Apparently not much biographical material exists. It is significant that only six pages are given to the last thirty-six years of the life of Sieyès. Of course, after 1800 he ceased to be important politically. He was one of the few senators who resisted the movement to create the empire, and yet in 1808 he accepted at



Napoleon's hands a patent of nobility. The special contribution which Mr. Clapham's volume makes to the study of the Revolution is the full analyses of the pamphlets and constitutional projects of Sieyès, who was an incorrigible doctrinaire with a happy facility in phrase-making. The most famous project is the one which furnished General Bonaparte at least a starting-point for the consular settlement of 1799. Mr. Clapham shows that its fundamental ideas appeared in *Quelques Idées de Constitution applicables à la Ville de Paris*, which Sieyès prepared at the request of the electoral assembly of Paris in July, 1789. The principle that none should be chosen to office who did not enjoy the trust of the people, while appointments should be made by superior authority, in other words, "confidence should come from below and power from above", appears here, as in 1799, in the lists of eligibles. The highest officials, generals, judges, and ministers, should be selected from the national list by the king. In discussing the form the project took in 1799 Mr. Clapham is inclined to agree with M. Vandal that the Boulay version is the true one, and that the Daunou version, accepted by Professor Aulard as the first to be put forward, contained "either what Sieyès wanted before the *coup d'état* or what his later experience taught him he ought to have demanded at that time". In reference to the spelling of Sieyès's name Mr. Clapham remarks that he has seen the signatures Sieyès, Siéyes, or Sieyes, but none with two accents.

H. E. B.

*Die Staatstheorien der Französischen Nationalversammlung von 1789.* Ihre Grundlagen in der Staatslehre der Aufklärungszeit und in den Englischen und Amerikanischen Verfassungsgedanken. Von Dr. Robert Redslob, Privatdozent der Rechte an der Universität Strassburg. (Leipzig, Veit und Compagnie, 1912, pp. 368.) Interest in the political theories of the French Revolution is attested by the simultaneous appearance of three monographs on the subject. The studies by Marcaggi and Rees do not concern us here; Dr. Redslob's work belongs to the historical school rather than to the theoretical or systematic. At the same time the tendency among German writers on political science to emphasize theory is very marked, due without doubt to the fact that the doctrines and principles of popular government are still too important as factors in the development of constitutional government in Germany to admit of the objective historical treatment accorded them in Great Britain and the United States.

Of his purpose the author says: "Wir stellen uns zur Aufgabe die Staatstheorien der Nationalversammlung systematisch darzustellen und auf ihre Quellen zurückzuführen." The constitution of 1791, he maintains, is out and out the product of ideas and theories. "Sie ist ein Gebäude von Grund aus neu zusammengefügt aus den Lehrsätzen der Staatstheorie . . . aus wissenschaftlichen Prinzipien abgeleitet. Damit ist alles gesagt." It can in no sense, he says, be held to be an evolu-

tionary product in constitutional history; nor is it the result of the imitation of foreign constitutions. That this opinion is too extreme for acceptance by the historian, impressed with the influence of material conditions surrounding the adoption of the constitution of 1791, need scarcely be pointed out in this place. Indeed it is fortunate that the author's position on this question is not essential to his main work.

In tracing the great ideas of 1789 to their origin, the author first takes up natural rights, the social contract and its corollaries, the general will, popular sovereignty, and the rights of man; then he discusses in successive chapters the institutions created by the constitution to give effect to these in actual government, namely popular representation, the electoral system, the constitution-making and legislative powers, and last the administrative and judicial agencies. The treatment of the concept of sovereignty is excellent. Critics of Rousseau's supposed theory that a state of nature existed at some time in the past are sarcastically dismissed. Locke predicated such a state as an historic fact, but Rousseau, he maintains, did not. The contribution of America appears very considerable, especially toward the concept of sovereignty, Dr. Redslob showing a clear and logical understanding of our constitutional history. The same is true of his treatment of English theory and practice. The French side of the case seems less successfully handled. In a subject of this kind the faulty work of the editors of the *Archives Parlementaires* becomes a serious matter, yet Dr. Redslob accepts their work without even the suggestion of critical discrimination. Irregularities in citing authorities occur frequently, and in a number of instances the author overlooks important works altogether, as may be illustrated by the absence of Atger's *Essai sur l'Histoire du Contrat Social* from the chapter on the "Gesellschafts-Vertrag". The bibliography is indifferent and the work has no index.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

*Le Congrès de Rastatt, 11 juin 1798–28 avril 1799.* Correspondance et Documents publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par MM. P. Montarlot et L. Pingaud. Tome I<sup>er</sup>. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1912, pp. 409.) As Carlyle said of the Congress of Soissons, the Congress of Rastatt, "an empty enigma in the memories of some men . . . sat for above a year;—and did nothing". The murderous assault upon the departing French envoys has, however, given to the history of the congress a melancholy and mysterious significance. The Société d'Histoire Contemporaine, which has already shed the light of three volumes of documents upon the arrest and execution of the Duke of Enghien, now begins a similar service for the other mysterious contemporary tragedy of international significance.

In pursuance of the treaty of Campo Formio signed on October 17, 1797, Bonaparte, Treilhaut, and Bonnier, as representatives of France, met the deputation of the Holy Roman Empire at Rastatt on December

9 to settle the problems at issue between the new French republic and the crumbling empire. On March 9, 1798, the imperial deputation finally assented to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France and accepted the Rhine as the international boundary. This left a multitude of unsettled details to be worked out, including the possession of the islands in the river, the status of the riparian fortresses, the adjustment of the debts of the ceded territories, the application of the laws against the émigrés, and, most difficult of all, the problem of compensations to be awarded to the princes who had been deprived of territories on the left bank of the Rhine, by secularizations to be made on the right bank.

Bonaparte hurried away to consider an invasion of England, while Treilhard left to take a seat in the Directory, leaving the impossible Bonnier as sole member of the commission. As new members of the commission Jean Debry and Claude Roberjot were named in June, 1798. The present volume dismisses the early proceedings of the congress, and includes only documents beginning with June 11, and closing with September 26, 1798. These documents, eighty-one in number, include eighteen letters from Debry to Talleyrand, seventeen to Treilhard, six to Merlin of Douai, five to Laharpe, four to Sieyès, and four to Joseph Bonaparte, and fifteen from Roberjot to Talleyrand. The letters addressed to Talleyrand and Joseph Bonaparte are drawn from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but the others are from private collections. It is a serious omission that the source of each document is not stated with precision. A "Discours Préliminaire et Historique", prepared by Debry, dated August 8, 1800, is published from a copy made by Lagrenée, his secretary as prefect of the Doubs.

The comprehensive but commonplace introduction of 109 pages is evidently intended to cover the whole work, which will apparently extend to three volumes. It contains a useful account of the personnel of the congress, and details relating to the procedure and to the social intercourse of the members. The foot-notes are abundant, appropriate, and informing. As M. Pingaud has written a life of Debry (1909) and M. Montarlot has included an account of Roberjot in his *Députés de Saône-et-Loire* (II, 1907), the editors are well fitted to their task. In clearly depicting Roberjot instead of Debry as the one real diplomat and worker on the commission, the editors are perhaps rendering tardy justice; but the bias of some of their judgments is too obvious, especially with regard to Reubell, where they might have profited by reference to M. Raymond Guyot's two excellent studies recently published.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

*A Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions within the Present Limits of the United States, 1502-1820.* By Woodbury Lowery. Edited with notes by Philip Lee Phillips, F.R.G.S., Chief, Division of Maps and Charts. (Washington, Government Printing Office,

1912, pp. x, 567.) No one acquainted with the volumes of Mr. Woodbury Lowery on *The Spanish Settlements in the United States* can have other feeling than the deepest regret that he was not permitted to complete the task he had set for himself. Much of the material he had gathered during his years of study, used and unused, he left by will to the Library of Congress. In the volume which is here reviewed we find an attempt at editing the manuscript notes of Mr. Lowery to which he had given the caption *A Preliminary List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions within the Present Limits of the United States*. It seems hardly probable that he would have considered his list a descriptive one, as the editor has chosen to call it, for such it is not. The entries, there being 750 titles, are rather bibliographical than descriptive, and in very many instances are incomplete. In about one-half of these entries Mr. Lowery includes no reference to the particular value of the map for a study of the region of Spanish settlements within the limits of the United States. Where a descriptive reference of this character does appear, in any number of the list, it is generally brief, as for example, "It shows the west coast of Florida", or "Shows Florida and Gulf of Mexico with names". We may rest assured however that it was the intention of the author, at some future time, to have these notes carefully revised, expanded, and printed that they might serve as material explanatory of his own views and as documentary material for those who might wish to make further investigations within this field of Spanish settlement. To have completed Mr. Lowery's preliminary list, and to have given a more extended description of each map, would have been editorial work well worth the doing.

The editor expresses the opinion that "the author's point of view in regard to publication, has been substantially followed". It may however be noted that in those instances in which Mr. Lowery calls the maps to his aid, in either of his volumes, he refers somewhat in detail to their contents, showing exactly wherein they *are* of value. (See for example, I. 128, and II. 410-417.)

It is most remarkable that the editor has failed to see and record this point of special significance in such a list of maps. Had he undertaken to show in his voluminous notes wherein the several maps record important geographical and historical information, each in its own peculiar way, we might have had a volume that would have been a real contribution within the field of historical cartography or historical geography.

We cannot be certain from the editing how many of the 306 maps which are actually in the Lowery collection are originals and how many are reproductions, and the same criticism applies to many of those listed as being in the Library of Congress. That reproductions are numerous is sufficiently evident, but there is no clear indication of the size or the character of the same.

In the editor's notes, which make up a considerable part of the

volume, there is a fund of information miscellaneous in character, bibliographical, biographical, descriptive, but it is very evident that there was no clearly thought out plan either in collecting or in arranging these notes. Repetitions are remarkably numerous. There is much inserted which is wholly irrelevant, out of date, and inexact. Note as one single instance how antiquated is the reference to the Stobnicza Map, no. 8. In his *List of Geographical Atlases* the editor gives evidence of having had a plan and a purpose, in this his last publication we have a most disappointing volume.

E. L. STEVENSON.

*Early Chapters in the Development of the Potomac Route to the West.* By Mrs. Corra Bacon Foster. (Washington, Columbia Historical Society, 1912, pp. viii, 277.) This volume comprises three reprints from the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* as follows: I. The Ohio Company and Other Adventures, 1748-1774; II. The Patowmack Company, 1784 to 1828, from its Unpublished Records; III. Life of Colo. Charles Simms, Gentleman, with selections from his Correspondence.

Part I. contains a desultory résumé of the early enterprises in the Potomac Valley based on the common local authorities—Lowdermilk, Scharf, Darlington, Washington, etc., though Thwaites's and Sloane's volumes are referred to in a foot-note to prove that "the French were preparing to take possession of all that fertile [trans-Allegheny] land". The "Other Adventures" are the Fredericktown Adventurers, the Vandalia Company, and the Ballendine Scheme.

Part II. contains a history of the Potomac Company, based, in the beginning, on the correspondence of prominent men concerned, mostly the published letters of Washington; later, certain original papers owned by the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company are used as a basis, together with the many acts of state legislatures: numerous quotations, many of them relevant, break the continuity of the interesting story, and at the end comes an appendix consisting of seventy-nine pages of documentary material, ranging from extracts from Rochefoucault's *Travels* to engineers' reports. Students of transportation will be glad to know of the existence of the original material here used in fuller explanation of the untoward history of the canal.

Part III. is a sketch of the life of Charles Simms, soldier of Dunmore's War and the Revolution, lawyer for George Croghan, and eight years president of the Potomac Company; the story is enriched by a number of unconnected letters of intrinsic interest from the Simms Papers in the Library of Congress.

As a whole the general reader will find the volume of great interest, while the student will appreciate the introduction to some unpublished material and the story of the struggle of the canal for life and the pursuit of happiness. The illustrations are half-tone reproductions of

photographs of manuscripts and historic sites; they are equally excellent and interesting, alone making the book quite worth while. From the beginning the Potomac avenue westward has had a unique place in our annals; every contribution concerning it has its value.

ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT.

*Fanning's Narrative: being the Memoirs of Nathaniel Fanning, an Officer of the Revolutionary Navy, 1778-1783.* Edited and annotated by John S. Barnes. (New York, Naval History Society, 1912, pp. xxii, viii, 258.) This republication of Fanning's *Memoirs* by the Naval History Society is very commendable, for the editions of 1806 and 1808 are extremely rare, and the *Narrative* is of unusual value and interest. It contains one of the three most important contemporary accounts of the fight between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Scrapis*, and, moreover, contains one of the most lively pictures extant of the life of a privateersman during the American Revolution. It is plain that Fanning kept, as he states, a diary or journal, for the dates and facts are accurate in cases where he should have had first-hand knowledge. At times he romances a little, but he is so transparent that the reader suspects him at once. He is so plainly an admirer of Paul Jones, that his description of his meaner characteristics has convincing verisimilitude. He tells us of Jones's furious temper, how he kicked his officers and beat them on the head with his speaking trumpet, and then often turned about and invited them to dine with him. With the purpose of inducing Fanning to enlist, Jones lied about the destination of the *Richard*, but later was scrupulously honest when there was every opportunity to be otherwise. He returned all of the silver plate and rich belongings of the captain of the *Scrapis*, although the rules of war gave them to the captor. In refuting the common report that Jones was a pot-valiant fellow, Fanning tells of an abstemious three glasses of wine per day, and naught else but "lemonade, lime juice and water". He tells a curious story of the *Bon Homme Richard*, sixty years in the king's service, twice discarded as unseaworthy, and after being laid up as a hulk, "as many joints in her backbone as a rattlesnake"—fitted up and placed under the command of Paul Jones to become the terror of the British seas. In addition to the pictures of life on the seas Fanning gives some interesting accounts of what he saw while travelling in England and France. No account of the poverty and beggary in France before the Revolution is more vivid than his. The author constantly reveals his lack of any but the most common education, yet with all its crudities the style is interesting. The editing is well done, and the lack of an index is compensated by a full and excellent table of contents. The volume is very attractively printed. C. H. VAN TYNE.

*John Hancock: the Picturesque Patriot.* By Lorenzo Sears. (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1912, pp. xi, 351.) This is the

first biography of Hancock to be published that is worth consideration by students of history. Professor Sears has given us a just and careful estimate of Hancock's character, a lively description of his personality, and a satisfactory account of his Revolutionary career. He has used the available Hancock manuscripts, the more obvious sources; and drawn liberally—far too liberally in the earlier chapters—upon his broad knowledge of eighteenth-century society and literature. There is little positive contribution to historical knowledge or theory, save that in chapter I. we are told that the scandalous doings of Thomas Morton and Sir Christopher Gardiner in Old Braintree were “molders of disposition” of its native sons, Hancock, Quincy, and Adams. Hancock's motives for joining the Whigs are defended from the aspersions of the Loyalist school of historians. His chief value to the Revolutionary cause is shown to be his giving “to a democratic enterprise the aristocratic following of himself and a few friends . . . as well as the funds that usually accompany respectability” (p. 344). He made an efficient President of Congress, but his influence on the course of events was slight. There are entertaining chapters on Hancock's courtship, his undergraduate life, and his irregularities as treasurer of Harvard College; but the period 1780–1793, when Hancock was the “boss” of Massachusetts politics, is neglected. No serious inaccuracies have been noted; but the list of Hancock's Latin School text-books (p. 23) is taken from a description of the curriculum thirty years later; and the statement that “there is no disposition to perpetuate the name and memory [of the Loyalists], unless in Canada” (p. 247), is hardly accurate.

SAMUEL E. MORISON.

*Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777–1778.* Compiled from the Draper Manuscripts in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society and published at the charge of the Wisconsin Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D., and Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph.D. [Draper Series, vol. III.] (Madison, Wisconsin Historical Society, 1912, pp. xvii, 329.) Previous volumes in this series have dealt with Dunmore's War and with the earlier phases of the Revolution on the upper Ohio. As indicated by the title the present volume is a continuation of the story of the Revolution in the upper Ohio valley and along the western borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia. It is based chiefly upon the Draper Manuscripts in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, supplemented by a few documents from other sources. The events herein portrayed are connected immediately with those narrated in the preceding volume, opening with the assumption by General Edward Hand of the command of the troops at Fort Pitt, with jurisdiction over the frontier of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Charged by Congress with the protection of the frontier against the inroads of the western Indians, who were being aroused to action by the British authorities in Canada and at Detroit, he was given a mere hand-

ful of regular troops and was made dependent largely upon the militia of the border counties. The service was hampered by the slow and uncertain movements of the local militia, by the frequent bickerings of the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, by the widely scattered frontier settlements, which increased the difficulty of affording proper protection, by the presence within the settlements of many Loyalists, and by the irresponsible actions of the border settlers which frequently led to unnecessary enmity with the neighboring tribes of Shawnee and Delaware Indians. The treacherous murder of Chief Cornstalk of the former tribe is a conspicuous example, concerning which some new facts are presented in this volume. During the greater part of the year 1777 General Hand and his subordinates were engaged in perfecting and holding the line of defense which extended from Kittanning on the north to the Great Kanawha on the south. An offensive campaign in the direction of Sandusky undertaken in the winter of 1777-1778 proved abortive and plans for an expedition in the spring of 1778 were betrayed by Colonel Alexander McGee, who had joined the British cause. The volume closes with the voluntary retirement of General Hand from the command of the West. Some details are also given concerning the preparations of Colonel George Rogers Clark for his expedition to the Illinois Country. The volume is accompanied by a facsimile of a map showing the frontier of northwest Virginia during the Revolution, and by a number of portraits and a full index. The editorial notes, mostly biographical, are full, and evidently based upon the Draper Manuscripts. At times the reader is curious to know the exact sources of information on certain points. It is scarcely necessary to add that much remains to be published before we shall have a complete understanding of the period.

C. E. CARTER.

*Washington and Lincoln: Leaders of the Nation in the Constitutional Eras of American History.* By Robert W. McLaughlin. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912, pp. ix, 278.) This is a comparative study, more of the times, than of the personalities, of the men named in the title. The last of the seven chapters is devoted to the comparison of the personal qualities reflected in the statesmanship of Washington and Lincoln. The preceding six chapters are occupied in describing the stages in the development of the problem of power in government. The relationship between the two great figures which the author is concerned to bring out is that of "builder" and "maintainer" of "the arch of empire". In the problem of power in government, its lodgment, source, expression, and abuse, a unity is found which presides over the whole course of development in the century between 1765 and 1865. The development is made to fall into five periods—those of experiment, protest, and formulation, from 1765 to 1789, of definition in 1830, and of "application" in the Civil War period. In the first three stages



Washington presides over the task of reaching a solution for America of the problems of government already mentioned. By 1830 changed conditions necessitate an attempt at more precise definition of the terms of the solution. Lincoln's task is to apply the essence of the original solution, modified to meet the changed conditions—"to maintain the keystone of the arch".

The book is obviously designed for the general reader, who may be expected to find it interesting and edifying. One may hazard the conjecture that it is an expansion of one or more series of popular lectures. The outlines of the plan of treatment are made relentlessly clear at every step. Anecdote is diligently employed for purposes of enlivenment. The author has consulted the sources and is aware of much of the modern literature of the subject. It is necessary to observe, however, that throughout the book, carelessness and awkwardness of literary expression seriously mar the effectiveness of presentation.

CHARLES W. SPENCER.

*The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War.* By William Warren Sweet, Ph.D. (Cincinnati, Methodist Book Concern Press, 1912, pp. 228.) This book was offered as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania. After a brief historical introduction, it discusses the attitude of the church in the Border States, in the New England Atlantic States, and in the Central and Northwestern States. There follow accounts of missions and periodicals during the war, of the activity of chaplains and bishops, of co-operation with other religious organizations, and a very interesting and valuable bibliography. The appendix contains chiefly lists of Methodist chaplains. The treatment is scholarly, but there are typographical errors in quoted passages. They are evidently copied from the originals, but indication of the error should have been given (pp. 23, 158).

The subject is in itself an illustration of the attention which American historians are just beginning to give to the neglected field of church history, and the contents illustrate some of the contributions which such studies may be expected to make. The bulk of the material is drawn from fresh sources. It yields to the study of public opinion not side-lights, but direct clarification. The fact that the break between the sections at the time of the war did not exactly correspond to that between the two branches of the church in 1844 proves illuminating rather than confusing. The parallelism between state rights and conference rights is interesting.

The study is ecclesiastical rather than religious. The author might well have devoted more attention to methods and results of the camp revivals, to an analysis of sermons, and to the reflex effect of the war on church thought. He has, however, refrained from handling questions involving subjective treatment, deterred by a somewhat too narrow interpretation of "scientific" method. He achieves impartiality, but one feels

that the cause of historic accuracy would have been even better served if the "mephitic gases" which Professor R. G. Stevenson, who wrote the introduction, refers to as latent in chapter v., had been permitted a few quiet and regulated explosions.

C. R. FISH.

*The New Market Campaign, May, 1864.* By Edward Raymond Turner, Professor of European History, University of Michigan. (Richmond, Whittet and Shepperson, 1912, pp. xiv, 203.) Grant's plans for the spring campaign of 1864 provided that when he advanced Butler should threaten Richmond by way of the James River and Sigel move in two columns, one under Crook, up the Kanawha Valley, and the other under Sigel himself, up the Shenandoah Valley with the object, primarily, of preventing the sending of supplies or reinforcements to Lee in the Wilderness.

Butler was promptly bottled up. Crook fought two successful engagements, inflicted some damage, and then halted, later returning to his starting-point. Sigel advanced slowly to New Market where he was met by Breckinridge and defeated with heavy loss. So complete was the Confederate victory, that the upper valley was entirely cleared of Federals and Breckinridge enabled to send aid to Lee when aid was sorely needed.

New Market was therefore one of the most important secondary engagements of the war; but it is best known, perhaps, because of the presence with the Confederate forces of the boys of the Virginia Military Institute. Their gallantry and steadiness stimulated the whole army and contributed largely to the Confederate victory.

Professor Turner has written a very interesting and instructive account of the New Market campaign and battle. He gives first a concise but graphic narrative of events without the usual extended details, so often bewildering, of the inevitable controversies as to the numbers engaged and the part taken by the different commands. These he reserves for later chapters and by the time the reader reaches them he does so with an understanding that enables him to appreciate the evidence offered and the conclusions reached. There are numerous notes, an extensive bibliography, and an index. A special word of praise is due the admirable illustrations of the battlefield as it is to-day. The book can be cordially commended to both the student and the general reader.

*South America: Observations and Impressions.* By James Bryce. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1912, pp. xxiv, 611.) Of the sixteen chapters of this work, constituting about two-thirds of the whole, eleven are devoted to a description of six South American countries, including Panama, which the author visited in the course of a tour of four months. The remaining five chapters discuss political, social, and economic phenomena associated with Latin America in general, and con-

stitute by far the most valuable part of the book. Nowhere else in English will be found a series of observations and impressions so accurate, so profound, or so instructive. At the same time the reviewer must dissent strongly from some of the statements regarding the lack of intellectual, scientific, and artistic progress in Latin America; nor is he disposed to admit the propriety of the author's constant use of the term "North American" when referring to the people of the United States. The work also provides a few maps and a page or two of notes on books and travel conditions.

While no one is better equipped than Mr. Bryce to produce illuminating pictures of society anywhere in the world, it is to be regretted that his incidental treatment of Spanish-American history has been derived, it would seem, mainly from reading the conventional misrepresentation of Spanish rule. Had he made use of a treatise like Bourne's *Spain in America*, he could not have condemned the Spanish colonial system in so sweepingly a dogmatic fashion (p. 16).

As a result of this unfamiliarity with the sources of Spanish-American history, numerous errors have crept into the work. Some of them are quite possibly typographical slips. Others cannot be so disposed of. Pedrarias, for example, was not a viceroy (p. 11), and the statements about the viceroy of Peru (p. 47) need great modification to be true. The execution of Tupac-Amaru (p. 116) warrants neither of the conclusions offered. It was not Toledo in 1575, but Loaysa in 1551 (pp. 162-163), who estimated the population of Peru at a figure that rested on no basis of fact whatever. Contrary to the author's implication (p. 165), no Indians were ever brought before the Inquisition. The *audiencia* of Charcas (Bolivia) owed its origin to none of the reasons specified on page 166. The assertions about the absence of the Inquisition in Chile (p. 218) are altogether erroneous. Mendoza was not the governor of Peru (p. 249) but the son of the viceroy of Peru. It is quite inaccurate to say that permission was ever given to the "Atlantic ports" of the Spanish colonies "to trade with Europe". The Brazilians were not expelled from Uruguay in 1814 (p. 350). The treaty of Tordesillas did not provide for a demarcation line three hundred and seventy leagues "farther west" (p. 366). "Juan Ulloa" (p. 463), finally, was not "a humane and orthodox Spaniard", but in reality consisted of two individuals named Jorge Juan y Sentacilia and Antonio de Ulloa. Nor does Professor Moses say that "there were two Ulloas: Juan and Antonio", even though "others hold there was but one".

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Association was held in Boston and Cambridge on December 27-31. The programme provided for conferences on historical bibliography with a discussion of the reviewing of historical books, on ancient history, on medieval history with a discussion upon profitable fields of investigation, on American history with especial reference to the period 1815-1860, on modern history, particularly the history of modern commerce, and on military history. In the annual conference of archivists a plan for a manual of archive economy was presented and discussed. In the conference of historical societies the principal subject was the relation of genealogy to history. A joint session was held with the New England History Teachers' Association, at which a report on historical equipment in high schools and colleges was presented. A meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association considered, as its general subject, New England and the West, and a joint session was held with the American Political Science Association. There were also two general sessions, on European history and American history respectively. The presidential address, on History as Literature, by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, will be printed in our next number, which will also contain the usual general account of the whole meeting.

At the meeting of the Executive Council held in New York on November 30, a nominating committee of five members of the Association was appointed, consisting of Professors Max Farrand, Ephraim D. Adams, Walter L. Fleming, Frederic L. Paxson, and Miss Lucy M. Salmon, to nominate officers for 1913. Provision was made for the appointment at the Boston meeting, one month later, of a similar nominating committee for 1914, with the expectation that members of the Association should during the present year send to the committee then appointed any suggestions that they may wish to make respecting the selection of officers. Upon an invitation from Columbia, South Carolina, it was voted that one general session should be held in that city as a preliminary to the general meeting of the Association at Charleston in December, 1913. Provision was made for the securing of an American publisher for the proposed bibliography of modern English history, prepared jointly by an English committee and a committee of the Association; for the reprinting of Professor David S. Muzzey's prize essay on *The Spiritual Franciscans* in a style uniform with the later prize essays; and for the taking of subscriptions toward a revised and amended edition of Dr. Ernest C. Richardson's *Check List of European History Collections*.

The *Annual Report* for 1910 was distributed to members in November. The *Annual Report* for 1911 is now in the hands of the Smithsonian Institution and may be expected to appear during the coming summer. The Adams prize essay for 1910, Miss Louise F. Brown's *Political Activities of Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum*, is in the press and will be sent to subscribers during the present month.

The tenth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch was held at the University of California on November 29 and 30. Professor A. B. Show of Stanford University was elected president and Mr. H. W. Edwards of the Oakland High School secretary and treasurer. Among the papers we note: Some Phases of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, by Professor Richard F. Scholz of the University of California; Notes on the Biography of Cardinal Schinner, by Professor Alvin Martin of Stanford University; the Organization of the Reign of Terror in France, by Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California; the Background of Alaskan History, by Professor Frank A. Golder of the State College of Washington; Party Groupings in the Twenty-Second Congress, by Professor Edgar E. Robinson of Stanford University; and Some Effects of Inertia of Public Opinion, by Professor Murray S. Wildman of the same university.

An organization called the American Historical Society has been incorporated under the laws of the state of New York and is doing business at 154 East 23rd Street, New York City. The form of the name is an unusual one, for a company which according to its own declaration is simply a publishing organization. Without wishing to intimate that the name was chosen with any view to being identified in the public mind with the American Historical Association, we think it right to state that the new organization has no connection with the latter.

In the series *Original Narratives of Early American History* Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons will issue this spring the *Journal of Jasper Dankers*, edited by Rev. B. B. James.

#### PERSONAL

Dr. James Gairdner, who had been an assistant keeper of the British public records for many years beginning in 1859, died on November 4, at the age of eighty-four years. He edited the *Memorials of Henry VII.*; the *Letters and Papers of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.*; all but the first four volumes of the *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*; the *Paston Letters*, and several volumes of the publications of the Camden Society. He was the author of a *Life of Richard III.*, of *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, and more recently of a three-volume work entitled *Lollardy and the Reformation in England, an Historical Survey*.

The Very Reverend George William Kitchin, who had been dean of Durham and warden of the University of Durham since 1894, died on October 13, at the age of eighty-five. He was appointed the first censor of non-collegiate students at Oxford in 1868 and dean of Winchester in 1883. Besides his well-known *History of France*, published in three volumes in 1873-1877, he was the author of numerous works in church history.

Dr. Rochus Freiherr von Liliencron died in Bonn, on March 5, 1912, at the age of ninety-one years. He was the main editor of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographic*, and was also the author of numerous articles on German music and folksongs.

Just as the second volume of Mr. William F. Monypenny's *Life of Disraeli* appears there comes the news of the author's death in London, at the age of forty-six.

Julius Beloch has been called from Rome to succeed Ulrich Wilcken in the chair of ancient history in the University of Leipzig.

M. Thomas Homolle has been named director of the French School at Athens in succession to M. Holleaux.

Mr. James Ford Rhodes lectured at Oxford in October as the first holder of the lectureship on the History and Institutions of the United States of America, founded by the Delegates of the Common Fund with the intention that it shall be held by successive American scholars.

Senhor Dr. Manoel da Oliveira Lima of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, Brazilian minister to Belgium, gave a course of lectures at Stanford University in October on the History of Latin America, with especial reference to Brazil.

By means of a generous gift of Mr. Jacob H. Schiff to Cornell University, Professor Erich Marcks of Hamburg is to lecture there (in German) from February 10 to April 1 on the origin and growth of the German Empire. Attention will naturally be given especially to the period from 1860 to 1871, but the earlier and later periods, and the comparison of German with American constitutional growth, will also receive attention. By confusion between Mr. Alfred W. Pollard of the British Museum and Professor Albert F. Pollard of the University of London, our announcement of another course of lectures, to be given next spring at Cornell University, on the Goldwin Smith Foundation, was given a misleading form. It is the latter scholar who is to lecture there on the Place of Parliamentary Institutions in the Development of Civilization.

Professor A. C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago is absent from the country on leave of absence from December to September.

Professor Ephraim D. Adams of Stanford University teaches at Yale University during the second half of the present academic year.

## GENERAL

Persons intending to be present at the International Congress of Historical Studies to be held in London April 3 to 9, are requested to mention the fact to Dr. J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. Those who desire to obtain programmes of the Congress may write to the same address.

The Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists will be held in Washington, D. C., in 1914, probably in September. The organizing committee have chosen Professor W. H. Holmes of the National Museum as president of the congress, Dr. Aleš Hrdlička as general secretary, and Mr. Clarence F. Norment as treasurer.

In 1897 the managing editor of this journal, then a professor in Brown University, began the practice of collecting from each professor of history who had charge of candidates for the doctor's degree a list of such students and of the titles of their dissertations. These lists were then circulated in typewritten form, in order that duplication might be avoided. At first confined to the titles in American history, the plan was afterward extended to cover all historical dissertations, whether undertaken under professors of history or in allied departments, and since 1902 the lists have been printed. Beginning however with the list of December 1912 they are henceforward to be printed in the *History Teachers' Magazine*, and those who desire this latest list are referred to the January number of that journal. Copies of most of the lists already printed can be obtained by application to J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

Archivists and other persons interested in historical documents may like to know of a brief report on the use of photographic processes for copying, embraced in a Report of the President's Commission on Economy and Efficiency, 62 Cong., 2 sess., *Senate Doc. no. 203*.

The *History Teacher's Magazine* for December contains two interesting and valuable papers, the one by Dr. E. F. Henderson entitled *Illustrative Material on the French Revolution: What one can learn from it respecting the Revolution*, the other by Professor Ephraim Emerton on the *Teaching of Medieval History in the Schools*. Professor Emerton's paper was originally read before the New England History Teacher's Association in 1904.

A volume of *Studies in the History of Religions* (Macmillan, 1912, pp. 373), presented to Professor Crawford H. Toy of Harvard University by pupils, colleagues, and friends, upon occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, contains some sixteen valuable and interesting essays by some of the foremost American scholars in Oriental and other departments of the history of religion. The longest of these is an interesting paper on *English Witchcraft and James the First*, by Professor George L. Kittredge. Others are, *Buddhist and Christian Parallels: the Mythological*

Background, by Professor J. Estlin Carpenter of Manchester New College, Oxford; the Liver as the Seat of the Soul, by Professor Morris Jastrow; the Sikh Religion, by Professor Maurice Bloomfield; the Theological School at Nisibis, by Professor George F. Moore; Oriental Cults in Spain, by Professor Clifford H. Moore; and the Consecrated Women of the Hammurabi Code, by Professor David G. Lyon.

Recent historical issues in *Everyman's Library* (London, Dent; New York, Dutton) are, Livy; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*; and Crèvecoeur's *Letters of an American Farmer*.

The latest issues of the *Historische Bibliothek*, published in connection with the *Historische Zeitschrift*, are: Band 29, *Vom Lehnstaat zum Ständestaat*, by Hans Spangenberg; Band 30, *Prinz Moritz von Dessau im Siebenjährigen Kriege*, by Dr. Max Preitz; Band 31, *Machiavellis Geschichtsauffassung und sein Begriff Virtù*, by Dr. Eduard Wilhelm Mayer; and Band 32, *Der Uebergang des Fürstentums Ansbach an Bayern*, by Fritz Tarrasch.

Recent additions to the *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature* (Putnam) include: *Life in the Medieval University*, by R. S. Rait; *The Troubadours*, by H. J. Chaytor; and *Goethe and the Twentieth Century*, by J. G. Robertson.

The Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, Mr. Edward Heawood, has contributed to the *Cambridge Geographical Series* a volume entitled *A History of Geographical Discovery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Cambridge University Press).

General reviews of recent publications in special fields have appeared in the *Revue Historique*. In the September number, H. Hauser presented such a review for modern French history; P. Vigener, for medieval German history; and C. Bussemaker, for the history of the Low Countries. In the November number, L. Bréhier reviewed books of Byzantine history; Éd. Driault, contemporary French history; and A. O. Meyer, modern German history. To the October number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, similar reviews for Greek and Roman history are furnished by M. Besnier; for the history of eastern France by L. Alloing; and for the history of Germany by E. Goldsilber. Paul Boissonnade contributes to the June number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* a review of the literature on the economic history of medieval Christian Spain.

Professors H. D. Foster and S. B. Fay of Dartmouth College have published a fourth edition of their *Syllabus of European History, 378-1900*. The material is arranged in forty-four topics for the period to 1600 and forty-five topics for the period since that date. The syllabus is intended for the History I. course. Both in selection and arrangement of topics and in the bibliographical references the book is admirably calculated for its purpose (Hanover, N. H., 1912, pp. 95).



Prepared with an obvious bias in favor of the contemporary conditions and interests is a *Syllabus of Modern History*, intended for the use of students in History A in Columbia University, by Professors Carlton Hayes and R. L. Schuyler (New York, Columbia University, 1912, pp. 45). The twenty-two topics are not limited to European History but include as well American and colonial affairs.

W. E. Biermann is the editor of *Volkswirtschaftliche und Wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, a collection of monographs, published in honor of the sixtieth birthday of Professor Wilhelm Stieda of the University of Leipzig (Leipzig, Veit, 1912, pp. iii, 352).

In the series, *Studies in Theology*, published by Messrs. Scribner, the latest volume to appear is Professor Edward C. Moore's *An Outline of the History of Christian Thought since Kant*.

It is announced that Ginn and Company will shortly publish a work entitled *History as Past Ethics*, by Professor P. V. N. Myers.

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

From among the various works on ancient Egypt which have appeared recently, a few may be mentioned as possessing an historical as well as an archaeological interest. Hermann Junker's *Bericht über die Grabungen . . . in Turah* (in 1909-1910) describes the tombs explored at Turah and ascribes them to the earliest dynasties and even to the time of Scorpion, the last Pharaoh of Upper Egypt preceding Menes (Vienna, Holder, 1912, pp. vii, 99, with 51 plates). Maspero in reviewing the book (*Revue Critique*, September 21) takes issue on the subject of Scorpion. Raymond Weill publishes, translates, and discusses the royal decrees, found at Koptos by the French in 1910-1911, which date from the early empire, in *Les Décrets Royaux de l'Ancien Empire Égyptien* (Paris, Geuthner, 1912, pp. 111, and 12 plates). The latest fascicle of Henri Gauthier's *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte, Recueil de Titres et de Protocoles Royaux* (Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie) finishes with the Eighteenth Dynasty.

A French edition of Professor Flinders Petrie's *Arts and Crafts in Egypt*, translated by M. Jean Capart, curator of Egyptian antiquities at the Royal Museum of Brussels, has been published by Messrs. Vromant of Brussels. The same house has also published the second series of M. Capart's *Les Débuts de l'Art en Égypte*, the first volume of which appeared in 1909.

Volume II. of the new series of *Publications* of the Babylonian Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum has appeared. This consists of texts of the business documents of the Murashu Sons, of Nippur, dated in the reign of Darius II., and documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur, dated in the reigns of Cassite rulers. Both parts of

the volume are by Professor Albert T. Clay. Meanwhile Harvard University is issuing *Sumerian Texts in the Harvard Semitic Museum*, the product of the field-work of Professor Reisner.

Two volumes of historical interest are announced by the Columbia University Press, *Tiglath Pileser III.*, by Mr. Abraham S. Anspacher, and *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, lectures delivered at the university last spring by Sir Gilbert Murray.

The second volume of the new edition of R. Kittel's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Gotha, Perthes) is out, covering the period from the death of Joshua to the Exile.

Miss Erma Eloise Cole, in an interesting pamphlet, *The Samos of Herodotus* (New Haven, the author), marshals with much learning and skill those internal evidences that support the tradition of the historian's residence in the island named.

Volume IV. of Professor Otto Seeck's important work, *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt*, appeared in 1911 from the press of Siemenroth (Berlin).

In that great literary undertaking, the *Loeb Classical Library* (Macmillan)—"Greek and Latin texts with parallel English translations of the highest attainable quality"—provision has been made for several historical works. Among these are, Appian, in Mr. Horace White's translation; Aristotle's *Politics* and the *Athenian Constitution*, translated by Professor Edward Capps; Dio Cassius, Pausanias, and Plutarch's *Lives*, translated by Professor Bernadotte Perrin; Strabo, translated by Professor J. R. S. Sterrett; Thucydides, Caesar's *Gaulic War*, and the *Germania* and *Agricola* of Tacitus.

*Antike Schlachtfelder, Bausteine zu einer Antiken Kriegsgeschichte*, is a careful study based upon visits to the various battlefields described. To the third volume, J. Kromayer contributes the part on Italy, and G. Veith the part on Africa (Berlin, Weidmann, 1912, pp. xv, 935). The first part of *L'Armée Romaine d'Afrique et l'Occupation Militaire de l'Afrique sous les Empereurs* by René Cagnat is an elaborate study published by the Ministry of Public Instruction (Paris, Leroux).

In the series *Wissenschaft und Bildung*, Professor H. Dragendorff has published a manual on *Westdeutschland zur Römerzeit* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1912, pp. 124) which is a marvel of comprehensiveness and condensation.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Hrozný, *Die ältesten Dynastien Babylonien* (Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XXVI.); G. Roeder, *Die Geschichte Nubiens und des Sudans* (Klio, XII. 1); A. Reinach, *Atthis, les Origines de l'État Athénien*, I. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, June); H. Swoboda, *Studien zu den Griechischen Bündnissen*, III. *Die Städte im Achäischen Bunde* (Klio, XII. 1); L. Holzapfel, *Zur Römischen Chronologie* (*ibid.*); E. Täubler, *Camillus*

und Sulla, zur Entstehung der Camilluslegende (*ibid.*, 2); H. Delbrück, *Die Schlacht bei Cannä* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIX. 3); A. von Premerstein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Marcus*, II. *Scezüge der Nordpontusvölker und der Mauren, der Einfall der Kostoboken* (Klio, XII.); H. Delehaye, *Saints de Thrace et de Mésie* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXXI. 2).

### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The University Press, at the University of the South, has just published a *Manual of Early Ecclesiastical History*, to 476 A. D. (pp. 259), by Dr. Charles L. Wells, till lately lecturer in history at McGill University and formerly professor of ecclesiastical history in the Seabury Divinity School; it appears to be prepared with much learning, fairness, and good sense, and to be well adapted to the uses of a handbook.

Marcel Laurent, professor of the history of art in the University of Liège, has published a two-volume work on *L'Art Chrétien Primitif*, which runs to the early Byzantine period represented at Ravenna (Brussels, Vromant). The work is fully illustrated. Another volume from the same publishing house is on *L'Origine de la Basilique Latine* by Professor R. Lemaire, of the University of Louvain.

The Catholic University of America has taken over the publication of the great Paris collection, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, of which 75 volumes have already appeared. This enterprise will hereafter be conducted by the university in co-operation with that of Louvain and is intended finally to embrace all the important Christian writings in Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic.

J. Dahlmann, S. J., attempts to prove in *Die Thomaslegende und die ältesten historischen Beziehungen des Christentums zum Fernen Osten im Lichte der Indischen Altertumskunde* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1912, pp. iv, 174) the historicity of the visit of St. Thomas to India. Though he endeavors to establish eight theses in favor of his theory, he has not succeeded in removing doubts upon the subject.

Professor E.-Ch. Babut of Montpellier has brought out (Paris, Champion, n. d., pp. 320) a critical work on *Saint Martin de Tours* which deserves the attention of all serious scholars of the period involved, especially for its close examination of Sulpicius Severus.

### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

A recent valuable scientific contribution to palaeography, by Adriano Cappelli, is best described by its lengthy title. It is the second edition of his *Lexicon Abbreviaturarum, Dizionario di Abbreviature Latine ed Italiane, usate nelle Carte e Codice specialmente de Medio Evo riprodotte con oltre 14,000 Segni incisi, con l'aggiunta di uno studio sulla Brachigrafia Medioevale, un Prontuario di Sigle Epigrafiche, l'antica Numera-*

zione romana ed arabica, ed i Segni indicanti Monete, Pesi, Misure, etc. (Milan, Hoepli, 1912, pp. lxxviii, 513). The volume will in large measure replace the earlier works of Cagnat and Chassant.

The Oriental character of the legislative work of Justinian and the fate and influence of classical institutions in western Europe are discussed in *Études Historiques sur le Droit de Justinien*, by P. Collinet (Paris, Larose and Tenin, 1912, pp. xxxii, 338).

The Prince of Teano, who has been slowly advancing the publication of *Annali del Islam*, is to publish an outline of Mohammedan history from 622 to 1522, to be called *Cronografia Islamica*, and to appear both in Italian and in French. This will contain the events of each year, authorities, and tables of dynasties and pedigrees.

The April and July numbers of the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* contain brief accounts of the various celebrations of the seventh centenary of St. Clare, with lists of the historical papers read. The same numbers also contain considerable other material, original and bibliographical, relating to St. Clare and her order.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Bastgen, *Das Capitulare Karls des Grossen über die Bilder oder die sogenannten Libri Carolini*, III. (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, LXXIII. 1); E. Lesne, *La Dime des Biens Ecclésiastiques aux IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July); E. Perels, *Die Briefe Papst Nikolaus' I.*, I. (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, LXXIII. 1); O. Blaul, *Studien zum Register Gregors VII.* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, IV. 2); A. Hofmeister, *Studien über Otto von Freising*, II. (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, LXXIII. 1); W. Goetz, *Das Wieder-aufleben des Römischen Rechtes im Zwölften Jahrhundert* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, X. 1); J. Haller, *Pius II.: ein Papst der Renaissance* (Deutsche Rundschau, November); R. Cessi, *La Contesa fra Giorgio da Trebisonda, Poggio Bracciolini, e Giovanni Aurispa durante il Pontificato di Niccolò V.* (Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale, IX. 2).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

"Geschichte der Politischen Kultur, Neuzeit", and "Philosophie und Geistesleben im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert" are the titles of the Literaturberichte in the recent number of the *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* (X. 1), furnished by Dr. Adolf Rapp and Dr. Gunther Jacoby respectively. The first article deals almost exclusively with matter since 1770. A recent volume on political theory is by E. Levi-Malvano and entitled *Montesquieu e Machiavelli* (Paris, Champion, pp. 152).

Messrs. Putnam announce *The Latin Works and the Correspondence of Huldreich Zwingli*, edited by the late Dr. Samuel Macauley Jackson. Volume I., extending from 1510 to 1522, has just appeared.

Dr. F. Lauchert's *Die Italienischen Literarischen Gegner Luthers* is published as the eighth volume of *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, edited by L. von Pastor (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1912, pp. xvi, 714). It is rich in biographical and bibliographical data concerning no less than forty-six defenders of Catholicism against Luther and is of great value for the knowledge of the Catholic side of the controversy.

No student of the history of the Reformation, or indeed of the general history of the sixteenth century, needs to be told of the importance to his work of the correspondence of Heinrich Bullinger. Pastor, theologian, statesman, diplomatist, historian, an observer of the religious struggle from its very outbreak, and for more than forty years (1531-1575) as head of the church of Zürich the director of the religious policy of Swiss Protestantism and the adviser or arbiter of half of Protestant Europe, perhaps no man of his time, not even Luther, Calvin, or Melancthon, had such opportunity for knowledge of affairs. And throughout all these years he was a tireless writer of letters, numbering among his correspondents nearly every man of note in the Protestant world. Their communications he carefully docketed and filed away, keeping abstracts of his own letters as well; and his city has known how to prize and to preserve this wealth of record. Some fragments of it have of course seen the light in various collections—in the published works of the English reformers, of Melancthon, of Calvin, of Vadian and the Blaurers—and during the last years his correspondence with the Graubündner has been given to the press. It is the admirable work done on this last collection by its editor, Dr. Traugott Schiess, archivist at St. Gall, that has forced upon Swiss scholars the conviction that now is the time for the publication of the whole body of Bullinger's correspondence. In June Dr. Schiess was commissioned by them to enter on the work of gathering the materials, scattered throughout the Christian world, and of preparing the whole for the printer. It is hoped that his task may be completed by the time (say in 1919) that the last volume of Zwingli's works, now in process of publication in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, is off the press, and that perhaps the results of his labors may find a place in the same great series. It will be necessary first, however, to ensure the financial basis of the enterprise. From twenty to thirty volumes will doubtless be required, and generous support will be needed from libraries and scholars throughout the world. It is earnestly to be hoped that those of America will not lag behind their transatlantic neighbors.

A two-volume life of St. Francis Xavier has been written by A. Brou (Paris, Beauchesne, 1912, pp. xvi, 446, 488). The first volume deals with his life from 1506 to 1548, and the second volume carries the narrative through the remaining four years.

The Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Oesterreichs has published the first volume (to 1722) of *Oesterreichische Staatsverträge, Nieder-*

*lande*, edited by Heinrich Ritter von Srbik (Vienna, Holzhausen, 1912, pp. xv, 648).

Theodor Weicher, of Leipzig, the publisher of Martens's *Recueil de Traités*, has announced the intention of reprinting such volumes as are out of print in order to be able to supply complete sets of the publication.

Mr. F. Loraine Petre adds to his series of Napoleonic volumes, already mentioned in these pages, *Napoleon's last Campaign in Germany, 1813* (New York, John Lane Company).

Col. Charles Ross is the author of a history of the Russo-Japanese War, a part of Macmillan's military text-book series. The first volume is now published and proves excellent reading for both the professional and the non-professional reader.

Students who turn to *The Holy War in Tripoli*, by G. F. Abbott (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company; London, Edward Arnold, 1912, pp. 333), for a history of the Turkish-Italian War will be disappointed. There is here no account of events leading up to the war, no study of diplomatic and military policies at Rome or Constantinople, and no general view of operations in the field. It is rather a description, aided by most interesting illustrations, of those features of life in an Arab camp which seem to a European picturesque. Mr. Abbott's sympathies are frankly with the Turks.

Of other volumes on the recent war in Tripoli, the following may be singled out for mention: T. Barclay, *The Turco-Italian War and its Problems* (London, Constable, 1912, pp. 274); G. Bevione, *Come siamo andati a Tripoli* (Turin, Bocca, 1912, pp. 428); G. Castellini, *Nelle Trincee di Tripoli* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1912, pp. 225); C. Causa, *La Guerra Italo-Turca e la Conquista della Tripolitania e della Cirenaica* (Florence, Salani, 1912, pp. 319); A. Chierici, *A Tripoli d' Italia, Diario di un Corrispondente di Guerra* (Pistoia, Simonti, 1912, pp. 312).

Present-day history has received an interesting addition in R. Devereux's *Aspects of Algeria: Historical, Political, Colonial* (Dent).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Renaudet, *Érasme, sa Vie et son Oeuvre jusqu'en 1517, d'après sa Correspondance*, I. (Revue Historique, November); W. Mummenhoff, *Die ältesten Poststrassen zwischen Rom und Deutschland und ihre Stationen: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Briefdienstes im Sechszehnten Jahrhundert* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, IV. 2); J. Strieder, *Authentische Berichte über Luthers letzte Lebensstunden* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 3); L. von Pastor, *Allgemeine Dekrete der Römischen Inquisition aus den Jahren 1555-1597, nach dem Notariatsprotokoll des S. Uffizio zum erstenmale veröffentlicht* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXIII. 3); H. Van Houtte, *La Législation Annonaire des Pays-Bas à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime et la Disette de 1789 en France* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-

und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, X. 1, 3); F. E. Sanglé-Ferrière, *Souvenirs de l'Expédition d'Égypte, avec Introduction et Notes par Léon Mirot* (Revue des Études Historiques, July); Commandant d'Osia, *La Campagne de 1813* (Journal des Sciences Militaires, June 15, July 15, August 15); A. Fournier, *Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress* (Deutsche Rundschau, October, November); F. Frahm,  *Biarritz [1865]* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 3); E. Marx, *Einige Randglossen zum 12. und 13. Juli 1870* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIX. 3); General Palat, *Le Rôle du Dixième Corps [Prussian] au 16 Août 1870* (Journal des Sciences Militaires, August 1); P. Lehautcourt, *Le Rôle du Dixième Corps au 16 Août 1870* (*ibid.*, August 15, September 1).

### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The *First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records* has now appeared in a blue-book of 53 pages, accompanied by a body of appendices constituting volume I., part 2 (pp. 168), and a collection of minutes of evidence, taken by the Commission, volume I., part 3 (pp. 215). The Commission, of which Sir Frederick Pollock is chairman, is an able one and has made thoroughgoing investigations. The present report covers merely the Public Record Office and the Land Revenue Record Office. A second report will deal with the archives of the public departments and a third with local records of a public nature. The present report is a rich mine of knowledge respecting the history, contents, and administration of the Public Record Office. The Commission makes many useful recommendations toward modernizing and making more scientific the practices of the Record Office, toward extending and improving its staff, and toward providing a permanent Commission for its government and a permanent board of historical scholars to supervise its publications. The appendices and the minutes of evidence present an extraordinary mass of interesting detail for the student of English and colonial history, and, different as our archive problems are from those of England, there are many pages in the volume which deserve the attention and consideration of officials and users of American archives. The *Report* is summarized in the *Athenaeum* of October 5.

For the future all British government publications, blue-books, consular reports, and parliamentary papers issued by H. M. Stationery Office can be obtained through any of the agencies of Mr. Fisher Unwin.

The Second Supplement to the *Dictionary of National Biography* has been completed in three volumes including some 1500 brief notices.

A remarkable piece of condensation, which escapes both dullness and unfortunate omissions, is Professor Edward Jenks's *A Short History of English Law*, published by Little, Brown, and Company.

The list of contributors, which includes such names as Dr. James Gairdner, Dr. William Hunt, Professor Oman, and Dr. R. L. Poole, insures the historical value of the *Dictionary of English Church History*, edited by Canon S. L. Ollard and Mr. Gordon Crosse, and published by Mowbray and Company.

The Clarendon Press has issued, in four handsome volumes, accurate texts of *Enactments in Parliament specially concerning the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the Colleges and Halls therein, and the Colleges of Winchester, Eton, and Westminster*, with scholarly annotations by Mr. Lionel Lancelot Shadwell of New College. The texts extend from 37 Edward III. to 2 George II., and are replete with interest for the student of the history of universities.

For the general reader Mr. F. J. Snell's *The Age of Alfred, 664-1154*, is most attractive and readable, though students of this period will find that it does not represent the authoritative scholarship of other volumes in the series of *Handbooks of English Literature*, issued by Messrs. Bell under the general editorship of Professor Hales.

The Macmillan Company has issued this autumn *The Minority of Henry III.*, by Miss Kate Norgate.

As a memorial to Dean James Barr Ames, the Ames Foundation of Harvard University has arranged for the publication of the *Year Books of Richard II.* The first of these volumes to be issued, covering the cases of the year 1388, is now in press.

An impartial statement of the English rule in Ireland to the time of Elizabeth is given by Mr. Philip Wilson in *The Beginnings of Modern Ireland*, published by Maunsell and Company.

A valuable study of social conditions in England is R. H. Tawney's *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (Longmans), the conclusions developed strengthening those of Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Hammond in *The Village Labourer, 1760-1832*.

The University of Pennsylvania is publishing a series of *Studies in the History of English Commerce in the Tudor Period*, embracing, thus far, *English Trade in the Baltic Sea during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, by Miss Neva R. Deardorff, *The Organization and Early History of the Muscovy Company*, by A. J. Gerson, and *English Trading Expeditions into Asia under the Authority of the Muscovy Company*, by E. V. C. Vaughn.

*The Life of Sir Henry Vane the Younger, 1613-1662*, by Rev. Dr. J. Willcock, is to be published shortly.

E. K. Chatterton's *King's Cutters and Smugglers, 1700-1855* (Allen), deals with the efforts of the government to crush smuggling, through administrative changes until the establishment of the Coast Guard Service. The work is based on official records.



*Lord Chatham and the Whig Opposition*, by D. A. Winstanley (Cambridge University Press), is the result of much study at the British Museum and the Public Record Office.

A new edition of Lord Fitzmaurice's *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, afterwards First Marquess of Lansdowne, with Extracts from his Papers and Correspondence*, in two volumes and containing some important additions, has been issued by Macmillan and Company.

Under the title *The Taylor Papers* Messrs. Longmans are publishing material left behind him by Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert Taylor (1775-1839), private secretary to Lord Grenville, the Duke of York, George III., and William IV.

A volume of letters which contain much matter of historical interest written most entertainingly is the *Correspondence of Sarah Spencer, Lady Lyttelton, 1787-1870*, edited by her great-granddaughter, the Hon. Mrs. Hugh Wyndham, and published by Murray.

An interesting essay based upon Mr. Wilfrid Ward's life of Newman is *Newman Catholique d'après des Documents Nouveaux*, by P. Thureau-Dangin (Paris, Plon, 1912, pp. vii, 245).

Longmans, Green, and Company announce the publication of a collection of extracts from the diary of Queen Victoria, 1832-1840, under the title *The Girlhood of Queen Victoria*. The volume is edited by Viscount Esher.

Major John Hall's *England and the Orleans Monarchy* (London, Smith and Elder) is an important contribution to the knowledge of diplomatic history, especially of the Turco-Egyptian question and that of the Spanish Marriages.

The chief interest pertaining to *The Life of Sir Howard Vincent*, by S. H. Jeyes and F. D. How, lies in the connection of the subject of the biography with the passage through Parliament of many reform measures.

The list of recently published biographies of modern Englishmen is increased by *The Life of Henry Hartley Fowler, First Viscount Wolverhampton*, by his daughter, the Hon. Mrs. R. Hamilton (Hutchinson).

Two volumes of reminiscences, interesting though of slight historical value, are *The House of Commons from Within, and Other Memories*, by Dr. Robert Farquharson (Williams and Norgate), and *Letters and Character Sketches from the House of Commons*, by the late Sir Richard Temple, edited by his son Sir Richard Carnac Temple (Murray).

Dr. Adolf Rein, now an assistant in the history department of Syracuse University, is the author of a biography, or rather appreciation, of *Sir John Robert Seeley* (Langensalza, Beyer, 1912, pp. xii, 112). Successive chapters consider Seeley as historian, as political thinker and teacher, and as a man. A bibliography of Seeley's publications concludes the pamphlet.

*Gloucestershire*, by W. H. Weston, has been added to the *Oxford County Histories* published by the Oxford University Press.

British documentary publications: *Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls, Supplementary Close Rolls, Welsh Rolls, Scutage Rolls*, preserved in the Public Record Office, A. D. 1277-1326; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, vol. III., Edward I.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Brownbill, *The Tribal Hidage* (English Historical Review, October); H. L. Cannon, *The Battle of Sandwich and Eustace the Monk* (*ibid.*); Preserved Smith, *German Opinion of the Divorce of Henry VIII.* (*ibid.*); G. A. Sinclair, *The Scottish Progress of James VI.* (Scottish Historical Review, October); The Earl of Cassillis, *The Seafeld Correspondence* (*ibid.*); H. W. V. Temperley, *Inner and Outer Cabinet and Privy Council, 1679-1783* (English Historical Review, October); R. W. Twigge, *Jacobite Papers at Avignon* (Scottish Historical Review, October); J. H. Rose, *Burke, Windham, and Pitt* (English Historical Review, October).

#### FRANCE

*Armoricains et Bretons* by Albert Travers (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. vi, 163) is a reprint of articles previously published in the *Revue de Bretagne*, criticizing the writings of MM. Loth and La Borderie. M. Travers shows the weakness of the foundations for the theory of a migration from Britain to Brittany in the fifth and sixth centuries, but his efforts to establish a counter-thesis afford little proof. It is apparent that there is at present available but little material of real worth for the solution of the vexed problem.

Paul Allard is the author of a small volume entitled *Les Origines du Servage en France* (Paris, Lecoffre).

*Histoire de l'Autorité Royale dans le Comté de Nivernais*, by L. Despois (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1912, pp. 529), is not merely a thesis in legal history but a really well-done history of the county of Nivernais from 990 to 1790. Frantz Funck-Brentano sketches the powers and position of the king in *L'Ancienne France, le Roi* (Paris, Hachette, 1912, pp. 400). E. Lefèvre is the author of *Les Avocats du Roi depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution* (Paris, A. Rousseau, 1912, pp. 298).

*Instrucions et Enseignemens, Style de Procéder d'une Justice Seigneuriale Normande, 1386-90* (Caen, Jouan, 1912, pp. 78), contains a late fourteenth-century text of instructions to a justice, edited by G. Besnier and R. Génestal with an introduction and notes. It is the second of a series of texts published under the title *Bibliothèque d'Histoire du Droit Normand* by the law faculty of the University of Caen.

T. de Cauzons, who published three years ago the first volume of a *Histoire de l'Inquisition en France*, has published a second volume which deals with the inquisitorial procedure (Paris, Bloud, 1912, pp. xlv, 422).

*Le Rôle Politique du Cardinal de Bourbon (Charles X.), 1523-1590*, is the subject of a study, by E. Saulnier (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 324), which includes much material from various archives relating to the League and to the Bourbon family. Special attention is given to the period of the Wars of Religion in H. Lehr's *La Réforme et les Églises Réformées dans le Département actuel d'Eure-et-Loir, 1523-1911* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1912, pp. vi, 595). The volume is very well done, and contains a map showing all the Reformed churches in the department.

*The Love Affairs of the Condés, 1530-1740*, by H. Noel Williams (Scribners), offers more of value to the student of history than the title would suggest.

L. N. Prunel's *Sébastien Zamet, Evêque-Duc de Langres, pair de France, 1588-1655* (Paris, Picard, 1912, pp. xvi, 569), is important for the religious history of France in the seventeenth century, especially for the rise of Jansenism. M. Prunel has also edited the *Lettres Spirituelles* of Zamet (Paris, Picard, 1912, pp. xxxiii, 661).

M. Albert Chamberland has suspended the publication of the *Revue Henri IV*, which he founded in 1905; and will hereafter contribute such materials as he may still have in hand to the review, *Documents d'Histoire*, edited by Eugène Griselle.

*Colbert et Seignelay contre la Religion Réformée*, by E. Guitard (Paris, Picard, 1912, pp. 149), is an impartial account based upon extensive researches in the archives.

Continuing the study which he published in 1896 on French commerce in the Levant in the seventeenth century, M. Masson has published *Histoire du Commerce Français dans le Levant au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, Hachette, 1911, pp. xii, 678).

Under the title *Madagascar, 1638-1804. Établissements des Français dans l'Île* (Paris, Fournier, 1912, pp. vii, 264), M. de Villars has given a brief account of French activities in Madagascar.

*Life of the Marquise de la Rochejaquelein* (Longmans) by Mrs. Maxwell Scott is a sympathetic treatment of the Vendean revolt.

Robert Burnand is the author of a history of *L'Hôtel Royal des Invalides, 1670-1789* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1912).

Gaston May has made an interesting study of the language question in *La Lutte pour le Français en Lorraine avant 1870* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1912, pp. 214). The author has taken the year 1737 as his point of departure. The volume forms the first fascicle of the twenty-sixth year of the *Annales de l'Est*.

Jean Loutchisky, honorary professor in the University of Kiev and member of the Duma, is the author of *La Propriété Paysanne en France à la Veille de la Révolution, principalement en Limousin* (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 295). The book contains many statistical tables, and

is the result of the most painstaking investigations, and embodies much very interesting information. Léon Dutil's *État Économique du Languedoc à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, Hachette, 1911, pp. 914) is another volume based upon long and careful researches, but covering a wider field of economic and social problems for one of the largest provinces of the old monarchy. A less thorough study of the same problem in the territories of the King of Sardinia, just beyond the French frontier, is Vermales's *Les Classes Rurales en Savoie au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, Leroux, 1911, pp. 327).

*Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution*, by Dr. Ernest F. Henderson, is announced by Messrs. Putnam.

Among the recent constitutional studies relating to the revolutionary and Napoleonic periods are: P. Venault de Lardinière's *Le Droit Électoral pendant la Révolution Française* (Poitiers, Imprimerie du *Courrier de la Vienne*, 1912, pp. 320), and H. Trouillard's *Le Sénat Conservateur du Consulat et du Premier Empire, ses Attributions et son Rôle* (Mayenne, Colin, 1912, pp. 156).

Volumes of the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française* are appearing with monotonous frequency. The seven following ones are the latest to be received. Documents relating to the question of food supply in Toulouse are edited by J. Adher, and in the district of Chaumont by C. Lorain. P. Moulin has edited a fourth volume of documents concerning the sales of national property in the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône; and A. Guillou and A. Rebillon those for the districts of Rennes and Bain. It would require not much more than one per cent. of the 2500 pages to recite what little there is of real historical value in these four volumes, though the antiquary or the genealogist might find a little more. On the other hand the volumes of the *Cahiers de Doléances* are admirably edited and rich in useful materials. The cahiers for the bailliage of Châtillon-sur-Marne are edited by G. Laurent; those for the bishoprics of Saint-Malo and Saint-Brieuc by H. Sée and A. Lesort; and those for the bailliages of Troyes and Bar-sur-Seine by J. J. Vernier. (Paris, Leroux, 1911-1912.)

M. Louis Tuetey has edited the first of two volumes containing the *Procès-Verbaux de la Commission Temporaire des Arts* (Paris, Leroux, 1912) for the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France*. The Commission was an outgrowth of the committee of public instruction of the Convention, and so the publication is an appendix to the *Procès-Verbaux* of that committee which were edited by the late J. Guillaume. M. Tuetey has written an introduction outlining the history of the Commission, has given biographical sketches of its members, and has fully annotated the documents. The Commission was composed of accredited scientists and artists, and rendered valuable services in the

conservation of objects and materials of scientific and artistic value. Its wisdom and zeal combated earnestly the ignorance and fanaticism of the "sans-culottes".

A life of General Anselme, the conqueror of Nice in 1792, has been written by Captain Reboulet (Apt, Mistral, 1912, pp. 224).

*Notes et Souvenirs inédits de Prieur de la Marne*, edited by Gustave Laurent, from the manuscript in the city library of Reims, forms the first volume of the *Bibliothèque de la Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire*, edited by Charles Vellay (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1912, pp. 170).

J. Gros has given an excellent critical estimate of the work and influence of Lakanal and an account of his life in *Lakanal et l'Éducation Nationale* (Paris, André, 1912).

A *Bibliographie d'Articles de Périodiques concernant la Bretagne, 1798-1900*, has been compiled by J. Coupel (Rennes, Pléhon and Hommay, 1911, pp. 295). More than 4700 articles are listed under fourteen rubrics. Since 1900 the *Annales de Bretagne* has annually published a "Bibliographie Bretonne".

F. M. Kirchseisen contributes to the September and November numbers of the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* a "Bibliographie Napoléonienne de l'Année 1911", in continuation of his Napoleonic bibliography. The September number contains a review of the recent literature on Napoleon's relations with Switzerland by M. Dunan, and on the military history by Lieutenant-Colonel E. Mayer; and in the November number E. Driault reviews the recent books on the foreign relations of the empire. An unpublished journal for October, 1812, by Colonel Béchaud of the Army of Portugal is printed in the November number. Roger Peyre contributes to the September number a comprehensive record of the events in the world of art in 1812.

*The Personality of Napoleon*, by Dr. J. Holland Rose (Putnam), consists of the Lowell Lectures delivered in Boston in February and March, 1912.

An *Itinéraire Général de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>*, compiled by Albert Schuermans, is published with a preface by the late Henry Houssaye, as the sixth volume of the *Bibliothèque de la Société des Études Historiques*. Alexander von Peez died before completing his *Englands Vorherrschaft, aus der Zeit der Kontinentalsperre*, and the work has been completed and published by Paul Dehn (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1912, pp. xx, 381). The author sets forth England's leadership in the coalitions against France. An excellent contribution to the history of the campaign of 1812 is P. Holzhausen's *Die Deutschen in Russland, 1812, Leben und Leiden auf der Moskauer Heerfahrt* (Berlin, Morawe and Scheffelt, 1912).

Ernest d'Hauterive has issued a second volume of *La Police Secrète du Premier Empire* (Paris, Perrin, 1912, pp. 626), covering the years 1805 and 1806. The volume is made up of the daily bulletins prepared by Fouché for the Emperor, and is printed from the originals in the National Archives. There is an index covering the first two volumes.

Robert Pimienta has based *La Propagande Bonapartiste en 1848* upon wide and minute investigations (Paris, Cornély, 1911, pp. 130).

General Derrécagaix is the author of a life of Marshal Péliissier (Paris, Chapelot, pp. viii, 635).

The sixth volume of *Les Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-1871, Recueil de Documents publié par le Ministère des Affaires Étrangères* (Paris, Ficker, 1912), covers from March 1 to August 31, 1865, and so includes the negotiations which ended in the Convention of Gastein of August 14. It is quite impossible to determine either the value or the motive for these publications, for the frequent omissions may be irrelevant materials but the natural suspicion is that the meat is withheld and only the shucks given. A single illustration will suffice: serial numbers 30 to 123 of the correspondence of the Berlin embassy (Benedetti and Lefebvre de Béhaine) belong to this period, but twenty-six of them are not published, and in one case the gap is a fortnight. The anonymous editor seems to have done his work well with such materials as he was allowed to use. The publication is under the direction of MM. A. Aulard, E. Bourgeois, and J. Reinach. The small octavo format is vastly superior to the large octavo used in the *Documents Inédits*, and its adoption for the latter series would be a welcome change.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Audouin, *Sur l'Armée Royale au Temps de Philippe-Auguste*, I. (Le Moyen Âge, July); M. Jusselin, *Comment la France se préparait à la Guerre de Cent Ans* (Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes, May); A. Thomas, *Un Émigré Normand au Temps de Jeanne d'Arc*, Maître Robert Masselin (Annales du Midi, October); F. Aubert, *Recherches sur l'Organisation du Parlement de Paris au Seizième Siècle, 1515-1589* (Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger, XXXVI. 1); K. Glaser, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Politischen Litteratur Frankreichs in der Zweiten Hälfte des Sechszehnten Jahrhunderts*, III. *Die Politischen Theorien* (Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Litteratur, XXXIX. 5); S. Canal, *Les Origines de l'Intendance de Bretagne* (Annales de Bretagne, July, November, 1911, January, April, July, 1912); M. Liber, *Les Juifs et la Convocation des États-Généraux, 1789* (Revue des Études Juives, April, July); J. Letaconnoux, *Les Sources de l'Histoire du Comité des Députés extraordinaires des Manufactures et du Commerce de France, 1789-1791* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, September-October); M. Rouff, *Le Peuple Ouvrier de Paris aux Journées du 30 Juin et du 30*

*Août 1789*, I. (La Révolution Française, November); F. Braesch, *Essai de Statistique de la Population Ouvrière de Paris vers 1791* (*ibid.*, October); J. Durieux, *Bonaparte au Pont d'Arcole* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September).

### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

F. Gabotto, professor in the University of Genoa, has published the first two volumes of a monumental *Storia dell' Italia Occidentale nel Medio Evo*, 395-1313, which bring the account down to 568.

Among the fall announcements of Messrs. Putnam is a study entitled *Roger of Sicily, and the Normans in Lower Italy, 1016-1154*, by Mr. Edmund Curtis.

*Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, by Henry D. Sedgwick, in two volumes, is published by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

In 1866-1874 the late Cav. F. Trinchera published in three volumes, under the title *Codice Aragonese*, the registers of King Ferdinand I. of Naples for the periods 1467-1468, 1490-1494. Now, in a volume entitled *Le Codice Aragonese* (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. cxlviii, 524), Dr. A. A. Messer of the University of Dijon publishes from a Paris manuscript the full text of the register of that monarch from 1458 to 1460, with a learned introduction giving a full history of his court and chancery, of his humanist chancellor Giovanni Pontano, and of the manuscripts involved.

A new life of the notable Italian humanist and cardinal, the bishop of Carpentras, has been written by S. Ritter. The title is *Un Umanista Teologo, Jacopo Sadoletto, 1477-1547* (Rome, Ferrari, 1912, pp. vii, 184).

Signor Cardona has added another chapter to the history of the reign of Victor Amadeus II. in Sicily by his *Catania e Siracusa dal 1713 al 1720* (Catania, Giannotta, 1912, pp. 81). The abundant foot-notes testify to the careful researches of the author.

The fifth volume of the *Bibliografia Generale di Roma*, prepared by Emilio Calvi, covers the Risorgimento from 1789 to 1846 (Rome, Loescher, 1912).

Among the recent publications on the Risorgimento have been M. Mazziotti, *La Reazione Borbonica nel Regno di Napoli* (Rome, Alighieri, 1912, pp. xvi, 445); F. Guardione, *La Sicilia nella Rigenerazione Politica d'Italia, 1795-1860* (Palermo, Reber, 1912, pp. vii, 688); and G. Bandi, *I Mille, da Genova a Capua* (Florence, Salani, 1912, pp. 394).

The life of Cavour, with special reference to his youth, which quite naturally has not received the same degree of attention as has his later life, forms the theme of *La Giovinezza del Conte di Cavour: Saggi Storici secondo Lettere e Documenti inediti* (Turin, Broca, 1912, 2 vols.), by Francesco Ruffini.

*United Italy*, by F. M. Underwood, deals with Italy since 1870 in a way calculated to give the reader a satisfactory understanding of present-day conditions.

A good, though not exhaustive, study of the social history of the reign of Charles II. is *España en Tiempo de Carlos II. el Hechizado*, by J. Juderías (Madrid, Tipografía de la *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos*, 1912). Another recent study of the internal affairs during the reign is *Carlos II. y su Corte*, by G. Maura Gamago (vol. I., 1661-1669, Madrid, Beltrán, 1911, pp. 655).

Contemporary events and conditions, including the causes of the recent revolution, are discussed in A. Marvaud's *Le Portugal et ses Colonies* (Paris, Alcan, 1912, pp. 335).

The long-belated concluding number of volume VIII. (1910) of the *Archivo Historico Portuguez* has just appeared. Hereafter the *Archivo* will not appear in numbers but in volumes. The present number contains a list of recent works on Portuguese history.

A Portuguese Society of Historical Studies, founded in 1911, issued in January, 1912, the first number of a quarterly *Revista de Historia* (Lisbon, Teixeira).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Zippel, *Documenti per la Storia del Castel Sant' Angelo* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXV. 1); H. Kalbfuss, *Urkunden und Regesten zur Reichsgeschichte Oberitaliens*, I. (Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, XV. 1); F. Schneider, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Friedrichs II. und Manfreds* (*ibid.*); P. Boissonnade, *Les Études relatives à l'Histoire Économique de l'Espagne et leurs Résultats* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, August); P. Matter, *Les Origines des Cavour*, II. (Revue Historique, November, December).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The third section of the *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft*, edited by Aloys Meister (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912), contains H. Grotefend's *Abriss der Chronologie des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, and the fourth, T. Ilgen's *Sphragistik*, E. Gritzner's *Heraldik*, and F. Friedensburg's *Deutsche Münzgeschichte*. The articles contain a wealth of useful material admirably arranged in a small space.

A dozen recent publications concerning local German archives are reviewed and much useful information is summarized in the article, *Übersicht über neuere Archivlitteratur*, by W. Lippert, in the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIII. 2.

A notable contribution to German economic history is A. Dopsch's *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit, vornehmlich in Deutschland* (Weimar, Böhlau, 1912, pp. x. 374).



Several attempts have been made recently to determine the historical background and significance of the *Nibelungenlied*, which have no doubt yielded considerable incontestable results, including many identifications of geographical localities. Some writers, for example A. Beneke, in his *Siegfrid ist Armin!* (Dortmund, Ruhfus, 1911, pp. 85) have endeavored to revive the effort to identify Siegfried with Arminius, but their arguments have not received general acceptance.

Count Lütow expects to have ready for the press this spring a history of the Hussite Wars, written in English.

The volume, *Deutsche Geschichte zur Zeit Maximilians I., 1486-1519* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1912), by K. Kaser, completes the *Bibliothek Deutscher Geschichte* which has long been in process of publication under the editorship of Professor von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst.

A fifth and enlarged edition of Koser's *Geschichte Friedrichs des Grossen* has appeared (Stuttgart, Cotta).

Several studies have recently appeared on the Napoleonic period in Germany, among which may be cited: A. Kleinschmidt's *Geschichte von Arenberg, Salm, und Leyen, 1789-1815* (Gotha, Perthes, 1912, pp. xvi, 416); H. Dicke's *Die Gesetzgebung und Verwaltung im Fürstentum Salm, 1802-1810* (Hildesheim, Lax, 1912, pp. 166); and F. Vollheim's *Die Provisorische Verwaltung am Nieder- und Mittel-Rhein während der Jahre 1814-1816* (Bonn, Haude, 1912, pp. iv, 256).

Professor Felix Salomon has published a second edition of *Die Deutschen Parteiprogramme* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912, pp. x, 147; vi, 178). The first part gives the texts of the party platforms or similar documents from 1845 to 1871, and the second part from 1871 to 1912. There is a brief bibliography of the history of German parties.

Joseph Baer and Company, of Frankfort on the Main, have recently issued a catalogue of the library of the late Dr. Heino Pfannenschmid of Colmar, which possesses a real value for the bibliography of Alsace.

The Verein für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen has published in commemoration of its fiftieth anniversary Dr. Bertold Bretholz's *Geschichte Böhmens und Mährens bis zum Aussterben des Premysliden, 1306* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot). Rudolf Kötzschke has prepared for pedagogical use a small volume of *Quellen zur Geschichte der Ostdeutschen Kolonisation im 12.-14. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912, pp. viii, 142).

Albert de Berzeviczy has completed a life of Beatrice of Aragon, the queen of Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, in two volumes, for the *Bibliothèque Hongroise* (Paris, Champion).

The Gesellschaft für Neuere Geschichte Oesterreichs has published *Die Protokolle des Verfassungsausschlusses über die Grundrechte: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Oesterreichischen Reichstags vom Jahre 1848*, by Alfred Fischel (Vienna, Gerlach and Wiedling, 1912, pp. 203).

K. Meyer's *Blenio und Leventina, von Barbarossa bis Heinrich VII.: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Südschweiz im Mittelalter* (Lucerne, 1912, pp. xi, 284, mit 100 Beilagen) is a valuable study of the conditions in the canton of Ticino parallel to the Forest Cantons. Legal and economic as well as political matters are treated, and much new material is presented.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Krabbo, *Die Stadtgründungen der Markgrafen Johann I. und Otto III. von Brandenburg, 1220-1267* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, IV. 2); G. A. Kiesselbach, *Die Entstehung der Deutschen Städtchane* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 3); T. Mayer, *Zur Frage des Wiener Stapelrechtes* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, X. 3); A. Hofmeister, *Zum Kronungsrecht des Mainzer Erzbischofs* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 3); J. Kolberg-Braunsberg, *Die Tätigkeit Johannes Dantiscus für das Herzogtum Preussen auf dem Reichstage zu Augsburg, 1530* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXIII. 3); W. Tuckermann, *Bedingt die Deutsch-Slawische Sprachgrenze eine Kultur-geographische Scheidung?* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, X. 1); E. Leupold, *Journal der Armee des Herzogs Bernhard von Sachsen-Weimar aus den Jahren 1637 und 1638* (Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Band XI.); E. Salzer, *Ungedrucktes aus dem Briefwechsel zwischen Gutz und Metternich in den Jahren 1803-1813* (Deutsche Rundschau, August, September); J. von Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Ernennung Blüchers zum Oberfeldherrn, 1815* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXIII. 3); R. T. House, *Graf von Achrenthal and the Rise of Austria* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); R. Thommen, *Bern, Unterwalden und die Reformation im Berner Oberland* (Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Band XI.).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

In the July number of the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, D. De Kok, O.F.M., begins a series of bibliographical and critical notes on Franciscan studies in Holland since 1894.

Mr. Martinus Nijhoff of the Hague has brought out the second volume of Professor Blok's *Geschiedenis eener Hollandsche Stad*, dealing with the history of Leyden under the Burgundian-Austrian dominion (pp. xii, 298); and *De Nederlandsche Hanzesteden tot het laatste Kwartaal der XII<sup>e</sup> Eeuw* (pp. xi, 326), by Dr. P. A. Meilink.

The *Bulletin* of the Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire, LXXXI. 1, contains an important general survey of the commerce, industry, and administration of the Austrian Netherlands, made for the Austrian government in 1728 by the Comte de Wynants.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Häpke, *Die neuere Litteratur zur Geschichte der Niederländischen Wollindustrie* (Vierteljahrschrift

für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, X. 1); F. Rachfahl, *Die Niederländische Verwaltung des 15.-16. Jahrhunderts und ihr Einfluss auf die Verwaltungsreformen Maximilians I. in Oesterreich und Deutschland* (Historische Zeitschrift, CX. 3); C. Pergameni, *Un Projet inédit de Réorganisation Ecclésiastique aux Pays-Bas, à la Fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire, LXXXI. 2).

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

*Danmarks Riges Historie* (Copenhagen, Gyldendal), a co-operative history of Denmark from the earliest times to 1864, written by such leading Danish scholars as Steenstrup, Erslev, Heise, Møllerup, Fridericia, Holm, Jørgenson, and Neergaard, the publication of which began some twelve years ago, has recently been completed. The work is in six volumes, well illustrated, and, though the work of scholars, is addressed to the general reading public. It is therefore without notes and other critical apparatus but is well indexed.

E. Holm has published the first volume of *Danmark-Norges Udenrigske Historie i Aarene 1800 til 1814* (Copenhagen, 1912, pp. 440).

A book throwing fresh light on Scandinavian history and political development from 1872 to 1884 is Professor Yngvar Nielsen's *Under Oscar 2's Regjering*.

Vol. II. of *A History of Russia*, by Professor V. O. Kliuchevsky, translated by C. U. Hogarth, covers the period from 1462 to 1610.

The fifth volume of *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, by P. Pierling, S.J., covers the reigns of Catherine II., Paul, and Alexander I. (Paris, Plon, 1912, pp. v, 475).

*Le Fils de la Grande Catherine, Paul I<sup>er</sup> Empereur de Russie: sa Vie, son Règne, et sa Mort, 1754-1801*, by K. Waliszewski (Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1912, pp. viii, 698) is a minute, brilliant, and conscientious study, like his preceding volumes.

The eleventh volume of the *Lettres et Papiers du Chancelier Comte de Nesselrode, 1760-1856, extraits de ses Archives* (Paris, Lahure, 1912, pp. ii, 307), published by A. de Nesselrode, covers the last two years of the chancellor's life.

Alexander Popov, rector of the cathedral of Saint Andrew at Kronstadt, has published the second volume of *La Question des Lieux-Saints de Jérusalem dans la Correspondance Diplomatique Russe du XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (St. Petersburg, Kügelgen, 1911, pp. xxiii, 762). This volume contains 416 documents drawn from the state archives and deals with the important period from 1851 to 1853.

Fascicle 1 of the new series of the *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires* contains a most elaborate and learned cata-

logue (pp. 544) of eighteenth-century maps of Siberia, by M. Gaston Cahen.

*The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Sulciman the Magnificent*, by A. H. Lybyer, comes from the Harvard University Press.

Henri Guys has completed and published a *Bibliographie Albanaise, Description raisonnée des Ouvrages publiés en Albanais ou relatifs à l'Albanie du Quinzième Siècle à l'Année 1900*, which was mainly the work of Émile Legrand (Paris, Welter, 1912, pp. viii, 228). The bibliography includes 724 items. Publications later than 1900 are included in *Albanesische Bibliographie*, by Manek, Pekmezi and Stotz (Vienna, 1909). A. Fevret has begun the publication of an *Essai de Bibliographie pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, Leroux), which was originally planned by the late G. Auboyneau. In spite of certain faults, the work is bound to be of use as the first in its field.

### THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

On November 13-16 a Conference on Recent Developments in China was held at Clark University, in which, beside many important addresses upon the recent Chinese revolution, upon various other aspects of progress in China, and upon China's relations with other nations, at least two important historical papers were read, one by the Honorable E. B. Drew, on Sir Robert Hart and his Life Work in China, and the other by Professor F. W. Williams, on the Manchu Dynasty.

One of the recent volumes of the *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature* is a well-written work on *China and the Manchus*, by Professor Herbert A. Giles.

*Anson Burlingame and the first Chinese Mission to Foreign Powers* by Professor Frederick Wells Williams (Scribner) is a study, based on first-hand materials, of an episode of high importance.

A history of recent events which seems an unusually accurate account related with great fairness is Percy Horace Kent's *The Passing of the Manchus*.

### AMERICA

#### GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has had the aid of Professor Max Farrand during the months of October, November, and December, and for a month that of Professor Jesse S. Reeves, as Research Associates assisting in the preparations for the proposed Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States. Upon occasion of the annual meeting of the trustees of the Institution the Department gave an exhibition of books, photographs, and diagrams illustrating the materials for American history in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. Volume I. of Professor Andrews's

*Guide to the Materials for American History to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain*, has been issued. In one of the appendixes is a Key translating old references to volumes in the Public Record Office, Colonial Office series, into terms of the present classification; and this Key may be had by historical investigators as a separate pamphlet, upon application to the Department. Miss Frances Davenport has returned from Europe to Washington. In February Professor Albert B. Faust of Cornell University will go to Europe for the Department, to spend some months in the preparation of a *Guide to the Materials for American History in the Archives of German Switzerland, Salzburg, and Austria*. Delays respecting certain additions to Mr. Parker's *Guide to the Canadian Archives* have temporarily held it back from publication. More than half of the galley-proofs of Messrs. Paullin and Paxson's *Guide to the Materials in London Archives for the History of the United States since 1783* have been read; but a renumbering of F. O. volumes at the Public Office imposes further delay.

Messrs. Channing and Hart's *Guide to the Study of American History* now appears in a revised edition, edited by Professors Channing and Hart and Frederick J. Turner. The volume, still published by Ginn and Company, is especially enlarged in the sections relating to social, economic, and industrial history.

The Naval History Society was incorporated by act of Congress, August 21, 1912, and held its first annual meeting since incorporation in Washington on December 5. It is about to issue, as its third volume of publications, the *Despatches of Molineux Shulldham*, vice-admiral of the blue and commander-in-chief of the naval forces in North America, January to July, 1776, edited by Mr. Robert W. Neeser, secretary of the organization. The fourth annual publication, announced for next year, will consist of the letter-books of the Marine Committee of the Continental Congress, to be edited by Dr. C. O. Paullin. The society has received, by gift from Colonel William C. Church, the papers and correspondence of John Ericsson, and has also received transcripts, from the Admiralty section of the Public Record Office, of all the out-letters relating to the fleets in North American waters commanded by Admirals Graves and Shulldham. These correspond to the in-letters for the same period possessed by the Library of Congress. The society has at present a membership of about 200. The officers elected for 1913 are as follows: president, Rear-Admiral Charles H. Davis, U.S.N., vice-president, Herbert L. Satterlee, secretary-treasurer, Robert W. Neeser.

The papers of the *American Society of Church History*, second series, volume III. (Putnams, pp. 201), embrace the reports and papers of the annual meetings of 1910 and 1911, edited by Professor W. W. Rockwell, secretary of the society. The chief papers are those of Professor Edward T. Corwin on the ecclesiastical condition of New York at the opening of the eighteenth century, of Professor George W.

Richards on the Mercersburg theology, and of Professor Francis A. Christie on the beginnings of Arminianism in New England.

The American Antiquarian Society, whose published *Proceedings* extend in a notable series of pamphlets and volumes from 1849 to the present time, has signalized its one-hundredth anniversary by publishing in a large volume (pp. x, 582), under the title *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 1812-1849*, the records of all its earlier meetings and so far as possible the reports of the librarian, of the council, and of many committees, together with a few early addresses delivered before the society. To the student of the development of historical studies in the United States the volume is of much interest and value. Particularly interesting are the reports of C. C. Baldwin and S. F. Haven as librarians.

The *Proceedings* of this society for its meeting of last April embraces a long history and list of the Massachusetts almanacs from 1639 to 1850, and a paper by Professor Hiram Bingham of Yale University, on Vitcos, the Last Inca Capital.

The same society on October 15 and 16 celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of its foundation with appropriate exercises, including an interesting review of the society's history by Mr. Charles G. Washburn, an historical address by Professor A. C. McLaughlin, and a dinner, at which the President of the United States, the British Ambassador, and other distinguished guests spoke effectively concerning the progress of the society and of historical studies in America.

The twenty-first annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society will be held in New York on February 11 and 12. The present corresponding secretary is Mr. Alfred N. Friedenberg, 13 Park Row, New York City.

The Library of Congress has acquired as a gift from Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan a set of autographic documents of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and from Mr. Lewis H. Stanton a considerable body of papers of Edwin M. Stanton.

*The American Catholic Historical Researches*, the quarterly conducted by the late Martin I. J. Griffin, has been combined with the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*. The September issue of the *Records* contains an interesting series of letters written from Kentucky during the years 1801-1805, by Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin to Bishop Carroll. Father Badin, who was born in France, came to the United States in 1792 and went to Kentucky as a missionary in the following year.

Professor Albert B. Faust's *The German Element in the United States* has been issued by Messrs. B. G. Teubner of Leipzig in a German version, *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten*.

The chapter in the volume for 1912 of *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* upon the recent historical productions of the United States, "Zur Litteratur über die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika", is by Dr. Ernst Daenell. His estimates are comprehending and judicious.

During the last few years there have been emanating from the economic seminary of Johns Hopkins University valuable studies in the history and practices of trade unions in America. The latest of these to appear is *The Standard Rate in American Trade Unions* (*Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, series XXX., no. 2, pp. 251), by Dr. David A. McCabe. The study is based chiefly on material in trade union publications but is supplemented by personal interviews with trade union officials.

*The Government of American Cities*, by Professor William B. Munro of Harvard University (Macmillan, 1912, pp. 401) is a treatise of the highest competence and value, upon the powers and duties and administrative organs of American municipal corporations, but touches history only in so far, that a preliminary chapter of some twenty-eight pages is devoted to American municipal government. The need of a general history of municipal government still remains urgent.

*Progress and Uniformity in Child-Labor Legislation: a Study in Statistical Measurement*, by W. F. Ogburn, is brought out as one of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

The Yale University Press has recently brought out the sixth volume of *Yale Biographies and Annals*, compiled by Professor F. B. Dexter.

A Senate resolution passed last August provided for the printing of a third volume of Mr. Kappler's compilation of *Laws and Treaties relating to Indian Affairs*, embracing such material as has accumulated since 1902.

No. 3 of the *Publications* of the Newberry Library of Chicago presents, under the title *Narratives of Captivity among the Indians of North America* (pp. 120), a list of the extraordinarily complete set of books and manuscripts on this subject in the Edward E. Ayer Collection, presented by that gentleman to the Newberry Library. The bibliography is a model of scrupulous care and of handsome typography.

Professor Eduard Meyer has written *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen, mit Exkursen über die Anfänge des Islams und des Christentums* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1912, pp. vi, 300). The volume is the result of a visit to Salt Lake City and a study of the Mormon faith made during his recent stay in America. To him Mormonism is of interest for the light it throws on the comparative study of religions, and especially for the comparison with the origin of Mohammedanism.

## ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, the well-known archaeologist, at a recent meeting of the Hakluyt Society communicated a body of unpublished documents, 61 in all, discovered by her relating to Francis Drake's voyage along the Pacific coast in 1579. The collection, which is of the greatest importance, is to be printed as one of the volumes of the Hakluyt Society. Its nucleus was a group of manuscripts discovered in the Archivo General in Mexico, among papers relating to the Inquisition, being mainly declarations of a Portuguese pilot and other captives whom Drake put ashore at Guatulco. These depositions cast most interesting light upon Drake, his men, and his voyage, and in Mrs. Nuttall's view establish the fact of a license from Queen Elizabeth. She has completed the story by additional documents discovered in the archives of Washington, London, Simancas, Madrid, Seville, Florence, and Venice.

The second volume of the Champlain Society's edition of Lescarbot's *History of New France*, edited by Professor W. L. Grant, with the assistance of Mr. H. P. Biggar, contains the English version and the original French text of books III. and IV. The narrative begins with the voyages of Cartier and carries the story of Canadian exploration and settlement through the period of Champlain, de Monts, and Poutrincourt. The careful attention to the details of proof-reading and the verification of references maintains the high standard which the Society has set.

The whole period to the formation of the Constitution of 1787 is covered by a *Syllabus of American Colonial History* (Longmans, pp. x, 123), prepared by Professors W. T. Root of the University of Wisconsin and H. V. Ames of the University of Pennsylvania.

*Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims*, two volumes of original narratives of voyages on the New England coast, 1600-1620, edited by Charles H. Levermore, is announced by Ginn and Company.

The author of *The Romantic Story of the Mayflower Pilgrims*, A. C. Addison, has produced a companion volume, which bears the title *The Romantic Story of the Puritan Fathers and their Founding of New Boston and the Massachusetts Bay Colony, together with some Account of the Conditions which led to their Departure from Old Boston and the neighboring Towns in England*. The book contains numerous illustrations (L. C. Page and Company).

The purpose of Mr. William S. McClellan, in a book on *Smuggling in the American Colonies* just published by Moffat, Yard, and Company, is to set forth the part which smuggling, especially in connection with the West India trade, played in developing the economic and political elements of the spirit of American independence.

Volume XVII. of the *Harvard University Studies* will consist of the unofficial and intimate letters which passed between Sir Francis Ber-



nard, governor of Massachusetts from 1760 to 1769, and his friend and political backer in England, Lord Barrington, cousin of Bernard's wife. An appendix contains other original papers throwing light on the same general theme.

"The Life and surprising Adventures of John Nutting, Cambridge Loyalist, and his strange Connection with the Penobscot Expedition of 1779", by Samuel Francis Batchelder, is reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the Cambridge Historical Society. The story of Nutting's chequered career is told in an interesting manner and is built up out of many and widely scattered materials. His history involves some episodes of the Revolution of more than passing importance.

In a paper entitled "The Legendary and Myth Making Process in Histories of the American Revolution", reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society, vol. II., no. 254, Mr. Sydney G. Fisher finds that the real facts of the American Revolution have been largely disregarded and even suppressed by our principal historians of the Revolution, and discusses the reasons therefor.

The Library of Congress has published volume XIX. of the *Journals of the Continental Congress* (1912, pp. xi, 436), covering the period from January 1 to April 23, 1781.

*The Real Authorship of the Constitution of the United States Explained* (62 Cong., 2 sess., Senate Doc. no. 787) is a pamphlet of 87 quarto pages, in which an indulgent government permits Mr. Hannis Taylor to set forth once more his now familiar thesis that the real author of that revered document (as if the Constitution could have had a "real author") was Pelatiah Webster. In form the pamphlet is a reply to Mr. Gaillard Hunt's *Nation* article, which some member has also caused to be reprinted in a Congressional document. Such issuing of controversial historical pamphlets as public documents is an unfitting method of procedure, and much to be deplored.

The General Land Office of the Department of the Interior has put forth in a small pamphlet with several maps *An Historical Sketch of "Louisiana" and the Louisiana Purchase*, by Mr. Frank Bond, chief clerk of the General Land Office.

The Macmillan Company announces the first volume of the *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, edited by Mr. W. C. Ford, which will unquestionably be one of the most interesting and valuable historical publications of the next few years. It will include personal letters, communications to officials of the government, and various articles and addresses.

Professor W. S. Robertson's paper, Europe and Spanish America in 1822-1824, read at the Buffalo meeting of the American Historical Association, has been printed in the November issue of the *American Political Science Review* under the title *The Monroe Doctrine Abroad in 1823-1824*.

Moffat, Yard, and Company have brought out in their *American History in Literature* series *Noted Speeches of Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun*, edited, with biographical sketches, by Lilian M. Briggs.

In a paper entitled "The Railroads of the 'Old Northwest' before the Civil War", reprinted from vol. XVII., pt. 1, of the *Transactions* of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, Professor Frederic L. Paxson presents the results of investigations made at the University of Wisconsin. A series of maps has been constructed showing the annual railroad construction in the "Old Northwest" from 1850 to 1860.

In the preparation of his life of Lincoln, in collaboration with John Hay, John G. Nicolay gathered a great deal of material upon the personal characteristics and every day life of Lincoln which was not used in that work. This material has been used by his daughter, Miss Helen Nicolay, in the construction of a volume, which the Century Company has published with the title *Personal Traits of Abraham Lincoln*.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have published *Letters of Ulysses S. Grant to his Father and his youngest Sister*, edited by his nephew, Jesse Grant Cramer.

Mr. George G. Meade of Philadelphia, grandson of the general of that name, expects to bring out in March a volume of the general's letters, covering his entire military career but having special value for the campaigns of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. The letters are mostly addressed to the writer's wife, an experienced army woman, to whom he wrote with freedom upon all military events. The book will be published by Scribner.

*General Jubal A. Early: Autobiographical Sketch and Narrative of the War between the States*, with introductory notes by R. H. Early, comes from the press of J. B. Lippincott and Company.

*Personal Recollections of the War of the Rebellion*, edited by A. Noel Blakeman and published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, is a collection of addresses delivered before the New York commandery of the Loyal Legion.

The Neale Publishing Company have added to their series of books relating to the Civil War *Antietam and the Maryland and Virginia Campaigns of 1862*, by Isaac W. Heysinger, a participant in both campaigns; *The Attack and Defense of Little Round Top, Gettysburg, July 2, 1863*, by O. W. Norton; *The Numerical Strength of the Confederate Army*, by Randolph H. McKim; *One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry*, by J. H. Worsham; and *Fighting by Southern Federals*, by C. C. Anderson.

It is announced that the papers of General Morris Schaff which have been running serially in the *Atlantic Monthly* under the general title

*The Sunset of the Confederacy*, will be published in book form by John W. Luce and Company.

General James H. Wilson's *Under the Old Flag: Recollections of Military Operations in the War for the Union, the Spanish War, the Boxer Rebellion*, recently published in two volumes by D. Appleton and Company, has already attracted considerable attention by its frank expressions concerning men and campaigns.

Readers of Edward Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*, which closed with the year 1896, will welcome the continuation of the author's studies as presented in *A History of the Presidency from 1897 to 1909* (Houghton Mifflin Company).

It is understood that the *Autobiography* of Senator Robert M. LaFollette will shortly be issued by Doubleday, Page, and Company.

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

*A History of the Town of Bowdoinham, 1762-1912*, by Silas Adams, has been brought out in Fairfield, Maine, by the Fairfield Publishing Company.

The New Hampshire Historical Society has issued a sumptuous volume descriptive of the *Dedication of the Building of the New Hampshire Historical Society*. The beautiful new home of the society, the generous gift of Mr. Edward Tuck, was dedicated on November 23, 1911, with elaborate ceremonies and addresses. The building is described and illustrated in the volume, and the addresses are given in full. There are also numerous portraits, including those of Mr. and Mrs. Tuck. Among the addresses delivered are those of Dr. William J. Tucker, Hon. Samuel W. McCall, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Senator Jacob H. Gallinger, and Mr. Frank B. Sanborn.

Mr. J. F. Colby has brought out a revised edition of the *Manual of the Constitution of the State of New Hampshire*. The manual includes the constitution as it now stands, together with all the constitutions and amendments proposed as well as adopted, from 1783 to the present time. There is also much other material relating to the constitutional history of the state.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has just brought out, in two large volumes, its definitive edition of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, edited by Mr. W. C. Ford. The typography, illustrations, and general carefulness of execution make a strong impression at first glance; review of the work must be deferred until a later number. The society has also issued volume XLV. of its *Proceedings* (pp. xvi, 693), covering the meetings from October, 1911, to June, 1912. A volume of *Collections*, embracing papers of the Commissioners of the Customs and other documents exhibiting the customs administration in the British

colonies in America, is in course of preparation by Mr. Ford and Professor Edward Channing.

*Merchant Venturers of Old Salem*, by Robert E. Peabody, is a recent publication of Houghton Mifflin Company. Old letters and log-books form a prominent part of the volume.

In the October number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* is printed the journal of Lieutenant Daniel Giddings of Ipswich during the expedition against Cape Breton in 1744-1745.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have brought out an elaborate work on *The Hoosac Valley: its Legends and its History*, by Grace Greylock Niles. The work is profusely illustrated.

A history of the northern section of Greater New York, bearing the title *The Story of the Bronx from the Purchase made by the Dutch from the Indians in 1639 to the present Day*, has been brought out by Putnam. The author is Mr. Stephen Jenkins.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have published *Pioneer Irish of Onondaga, about 1776-1847*, by Theresa Bannan, M.D.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has made a very important acquisition of papers of General Anthony Wayne, about 1100 in number, embracing letters, orders, etc., connected with his expedition against the Indians of the West; an assortment of letters of Generals Thompson and Armstrong, and various officials of the Pennsylvania Line; papers of the Comfort family of Bucks County; the original manuscript of John Woolman's Journal, and his day-book; and a number of documents relative to Bishop William White.

Professor E. R. Turner contributes to the April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* a paper on the Abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania, and Vice-Chancellor Edwin R. Walker gives an historical account of the old barracks at Trenton, New Jersey. With a brief foreword, under the caption "The Mother of 'Mary, the Mother of Washington'", Mr. Charles H. Browning contributes a copy of the will (recently discovered) of Washington's grandmother. "Notes of a Journey from Philadelphia to New Madrid, Tennessee, 1790", contributed by John W. Jordan from the papers of the firm of Reed and Forde of Philadelphia, recently acquired by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is of interest for its description of the difficulties of navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi; and five letters from the same source, written in 1778 and 1779, touch upon conditions at Valley Forge and in Boston. William Logan's journal of a journey to Georgia, 1745, is concluded, and the orderly book of the second Pennsylvania Continental Line (Valley Forge, March 29-May 27, 1778) is continued.

*The Colonial Homes of Philadelphia and its Neighborhood*, promised some time ago by J. B. Lippincott and Company, has now come from the press. The authors are H. D. Eberlein and H. M. Lippincott.

In volume XV. of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (pp. 368) much the largest element is Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster's Early Chapters in the Development of the Potomac Route to the West, a well documented narrative; the volume also contains a sketch of the history of the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, by President E. M. Gallaudet, and an article on the development of the Catholic Church in the District of Columbia, by Mrs. Margaret Brent Downing.

Among the numerous documents in the October number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* the following are of interest: the commission (1714) of the Earl of Orkney for the government of Virginia (from the Randolph Manuscript); a circular letter accompanied by a series of "enquiries" to Governor Berkeley in 1676; a paper describing conditions in Virginia in 1676; agreement between Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina for a cessation of tobacco planting, 1665; a portrait of Colonel Daniel Parke and some account (chiefly documentary) of his career; and an interesting and valuable series of letters from and to George Hume, formerly of Wedderburn, Scotland, who settled in Virginia in 1721. The letters begin as early as 1723 but were written mainly in the forties and fifties.

The October number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* prints several letters of historical value. A letter of Major Charles Yancey to James Barbour, February 9, 1820, relates to the Missouri Compromise; one from John C. Calhoun to T. W. Gilmer and others, June 15, 1834, is concerned with "executive encroachments"; one from R. M. T. Hunter to T. W. Gilmer, September 18, 1837, deals with the currency question; and one from General James Hamilton to T. W. Gilmer is in regard to a Texan loan. There is also a letter from George R. Gilmer to T. W. Gilmer, April 9, 1842. The *Quarterly* prints also some abstracts of letters (1769-1770) from the letter-book of Thomas Jett, and some letters (1739-1740) from the letter-book of Richard Chapman. These letters relate principally to business affairs. Among "Some Extracts from Northumberland County Records" is given the will of the grandmother of George Washington. This will is also printed, as has been noted, in the April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.

*The College of Hampden-Sidney: Calendar of Board Minutes, 1776-1876* (pp. 186), edited, with extensive notes, by Alfred J. Morrison, affords a valuable insight into the legislative history of the institution through a century of its existence and, through the editor's notes, something of its biographical history. Such a volume is also of great value for the study of the history of education during the period. A list is given of the one hundred and fifty-six trustees of the college appointed within the period and portraits of thirty of them are distributed through the volume.

Under the somewhat misleading title *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (pp. 623), Miss Mary S. Lockwood of Washington has published the first of three volumes of a series of abstracts from the records of this extensive and important county selected by Judge Lyman Chalkley. The abstracts are made somewhat casually; while they include many matters of local historical interest, derived from the order books of the county court, their chief use is as the raw material of genealogy.

*Recent Administration in Virginia*, by F. A. Magruder, is a Johns Hopkins University doctoral dissertation, and its purpose is to study the expansion of the administrative functions of the state under the constitution of 1902 in contrast with the administration of the preceding period, under the constitution of 1869. The enlargement of state activities is especially manifest in the domains of public education, the electorate and elections, charities and corrections, public health, agriculture, and finances. In some of these matters a tendency to enlargement is more noticeable than the accomplished fact.

Mr. J. W. Wayland has brought out through Ruebush-Elkins Company of Dayton, Virginia, *A History of Rockingham County, Virginia*.

Volume II., no. 2, of *The James Sprunt Historical Publications* includes a paper on the North Carolina Constitution of 1776 and its Makers, by Frank Nash, and one on the German Settlers in Lincoln County and Western North Carolina, by Joseph R. Nixon. The latter article describes in an interesting manner some characteristics of these German settlers and adds some biographical material concerning members of the Ramsour family.

What was formerly *An Annual Publication of Historical Papers*, brought out by the Historical Society of Trinity College under the supervision of the Department of History, now becomes *Historical Papers*, published by the Trinity College Historical Society and the North Carolina Conference Historical Society. Series IX., just issued, comprises a group of papers which are instructive in the early history of Methodism in North Carolina. They are: *The Reids: Eminent Itinerants through Three Generations*, by Rev. N. H. D. Wilson; *Some First Things in North Carolina Methodism*, by Rev. W. L. Grissom; *Peter Doub: Itinerant of Heroic Days*, by Rev. M. T. Plyler; *Methodism in the Albemarle Section*, by L. L. Smith; and a *Journal and Travel of James Meacham*, pt. 1, May 19-August 31, 1789. These papers cast light upon religious conditions in North Carolina in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In a volume entitled *Stories of the Confederacy*, edited by U. R. Brooks (Columbia, the State Company), are found letters and other documents pertaining principally to officers and troops of South Carolina. The book includes (pp. 67-218) "Sketches of Hampton's Cavalry", a reprint of a pamphlet published in 1864.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for October contains an interesting paper by Judge A. W. Terrell, in which he relates his recollections of General Sam Houston. The writer does not, however, limit himself to his recollections. A first paper on the "Retreat of the Spaniard from New Mexico in 1680, and the Beginnings of El Paso" is contributed by Charles W. Hackett, Repudiation of State Debt in Texas since 1861, by E. T. Miller, and the British Correspondence concerning Texas, edited by Professor E. D. Adams, is continued.

In the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for October, under the caption Old Fort Sandoski and the De Lery Portage, Lucy Elliot Keeler gives an account of the exercises at the unveiling of monuments erected on the sites of Old Fort Sandoski and the point where General William Henry Harrison embarked for the conquest of Canada in 1813; Rev. E. E. Williams gives a history of the affair known as the "Copus Battle" (September 15, 1812); Mr. Osman C. Hooper describes at some length the Ohio-Columbus centennial August 26-September 1, 1912; and Mr. George D. Kratz contributes some documents on the War of 1812, principally relative to the siege of Fort Meigs. There is also an interesting statement by Benjamin Seth Youngs, August 31, 1810, concerning an expedition against the Shakers.

The issue for June and September of the *Quarterly Publications of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* contains a brief though valuable account by Henry N. Sherwood, of the movement in Ohio to deport the negro, together with reprints of two pamphlets upon negro colonization: *A brief Exposition of the Views of the Society for the Colonization of Free Persons of Colour, in Africa* (Columbus, 1827), addressed to the citizens of Ohio, and *Ohio in Africa*, a memorial to the Ohio legislature, dated January 8, 1851.

Mr. Logan Esarey's monograph on *Internal Improvements in Early Indiana* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, vol. V., no. 2, pp. 112) not only presents an interesting and important phase of Indiana history but is valuable material for the study of the subject on the national scale. Beginning with a description of economic conditions about 1816, the author recounts the early, rather unsystematic, attempts to build transportation routes (1816-1827), both roads and canals, the launching of a larger system of internal improvements (1827-1840), and the ultimate collapse, due to overestimate of the state's financial capacity, inexperience of the pioneers, and gross dishonesty on the part of officials and promoters. A fuller analysis of the influence of railroad building would have helped to clarify the subject.

The *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for September contains a sketch, by Louise Maxwell, of Dr. David H. Maxwell, surgeon in the War of 1812, member of the constitutional convention of 1816, and otherwise prominent in the early history of Indiana, and a brief paper

on Indiana geographical nomenclature by J. P. Dunn. In the department of reprints are the third installment from Professor A. C. Shortridge's *Schools of Indianapolis* and *Early Times in Indianapolis*, by Mrs. Julia Merrill McGres. Another group of papers is concerned with Indian affairs: General Richard C. Drum gives his reminiscences of the Indian fight at Ash Hollow, 1855; Mr. Robert Harvey describes the battle-ground of Ash Hollow; and Mr. James Mooney gives an account of the Indian ghost dance. There is also an account left by the Rev. John Dunbar of missionary life (about 1834) among the Pawnees.

*The Story of Indiana and its People*, by R. J. and Max Alez, is published in Chicago by O. P. Barnes.

Noteworthy among the papers in volume XXXVIII. of the *Collections and Researches* made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society are: the Boundary Lines of the United States under the Treaty of 1782, by Clarence M. Burton; the Gateways of the Old Northwest, by Frederic L. Paxson; Unexplored Fields of American History, by Claude H. Van Tyne; the Dutch Pioneers of Michigan, by Martin L. D'Ooge; History of Fort Malden or Fort Amherstburg, by Francis Cleary; French and Indian Footprints at Three Rivers on the St. Joseph, by Blanche M. Haines; and an Introduction to the Settlement of Southern Michigan from 1815 to 1855, by George N. Fuller.

Mr. Clarence M. Burton has just added to the Burton library a great number of manuscripts collected by Solomon Sibley during his long life in Detroit. He came to Detroit in 1797 and occupied many public positions. The papers extend from 1780 to 1846, including, besides much civil correspondence, a German journal kept by the Moravian ministers at Mt. Clemens and elsewhere.

The Minnesota Historical Society has published, as volume XIV. of its *Collections*, a book of *Minnesota Biographies*, 1655-1912 (pp. xxviii, 892) compiled by Dr. Warren Upham, secretary and librarian of the society, and Mrs. Rose B. Dunlap. The book embraces some 9000 sketches, mostly of less than ten lines, derived from a great variety of printed and manuscript sources, and provided with references and numbers which direct the reader to the ampler biographies from which the compilation was effected. The scope of the work includes early explorers, fur traders, missionaries, and noteworthy aborigines, as well as more modern persons conspicuous in territory or state.

In the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for October Mr. Louis B. Schmidt sketches the history of Congressional elections in Iowa, 1846-1848, prefaced by some account of the territorial elections. In the same issue of the *Journal* Mr. Thomas Teakle presents an extended discussion of the Rendition of Barclay Coppoc, a member of the John Brown party at Harper's Ferry, who escaped to his home in Iowa. The article is devoted principally to an account of the political contro-



versy which the honoring of the requisition stirred up in Iowa and to a discussion of the legal and constitutional aspects of the case.

In the January-April issue (double number) of the *Annals* of Iowa Dr. Charles R. Keyes tells the story of the Earliest Explorations of Iowa-Land, Mr. C. H. Hanford writes of Pioneers of Iowa and of the Pacific Northwest, Mr. E. H. Stiles presents sketches of George G. Wright and Joseph C. Knapp, prominent men of early Iowa, and Mr. C. C. Stiles continues his articles on the public archives of Iowa. The *Annals* reprints, under the title "An Expedition across Iowa in 1820", the journal of Stephen Watts Kearny which appeared in the *Collections* of the Missouri Historical Society for 1908. The index (pp. 225) to the *Annals*, vols. I. to VIII., 1893-1909, has been issued.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has inaugurated the publication of a series of papers under the title of *Applied History*, edited by Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh. In the opening number of the series Professor Shambaugh explains the scope and purpose of the undertaking. In his view applied history is "the use of the scientific knowledge of history and experience in efforts to solve present problems of human betterment". The past is viewed as a vast "social laboratory" in which "the conditions are *real* conditions, the factors are *real* men and women, and the varied relations and combinations or conditions and factors are always those of *real* life". Some of the papers in the first volume of the series are: Road Legislation in Iowa, by John E. Brindley; Regulation of Urban Utilities in Iowa, by E. H. Downey; Primary Elections in Iowa, by F. E. Horack; Corrupt Practices Legislation in Iowa, by H. J. Peterson; and Taxation in Iowa, by J. E. Brindley.

The contents of the October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* include an account, by J. F. Snyder, of the capture of Lexington, Missouri, an address on General J. O. Shelby, by W. P. Borland, and an article on the Province of Historical Societies, by H. E. Robinson.

Volume IV. of the *Publications* of the Arkansas Historical Association will shortly come from the press. It includes the official correspondence of Governor James S. Conway, the correspondence of the adjutant-general during the Brooks-Baxter War, the correspondence of David O. Dodd, and the history of the constitutional convention of 1874, prepared by J. W. House.

The Macmillan Company have brought out *The Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, by Katharine Coman. The work is in two volumes and is illustrated with numerous maps and half-tone plates.

Volume XIII. of the *Collections* of the Nebraska State Historical Society, which is volume III. of the *Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Conventions of Nebraska*, will be issued in January.

The *Collections* (formerly called *Transactions*) of the Kansas State Historical Society for 1911-1912, edited by George W. Martin, is a

closely printed volume of about 600 pages, made up principally of articles relating to Kansas. Only a few of the more extended articles can here be mentioned: Some Western Border Conditions in the Fifties and Sixties, by A. B. Whiting; the Service of the Army in Civil Life after the War, by W. A. Calderhead; the West: its Place in American History, by J. L. Webster; the Methodist Episcopal Church South in Kansas, 1854 to 1906, by Rev. Joab Spencer; Life among the Delaware Indians, by Miss Clara Gowing; a Study of the Route of Coronado between the Rio Grande and Missouri Rivers, by J. N. Baskett; With Albert Sidney Johnston's Expedition to Utah, 1857, by General S. W. Ferguson; Indian Fight in Ford County in 1859, by J. B. Thoburn; Reminiscences concerning Fort Leavenworth in 1855-1856, by E. T. Carr. There is also an extensive account of "Some of the Lost Towns of Kansas", and a long list of extinct geographical locations in Kansas.

The Torch press has brought out *A Concise History of New Mexico*, by L. B. Prince.

The *Twenty-eighth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology will contain two papers by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, both reporting researches in Arizona, the first entitled "Casa Grande", the other "Antiquities of the Upper Verde River and Walnut Creek".

A Northwestern Association of Teachers of History, Government, and Economics has been organized, to embrace members of the profession in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly*, publication of which was suspended between October, 1908, and April, 1912, reappears improved in form and in the character of its contents. It is now published by the State Historical Society at Seattle. To the July number Mr. James C. Strong contributes some Reminiscences of a Pioneer of the Territory of Washington, Mr. Sol H. Lewis a History of the Railroads in Washington, and Mr. T. C. Elliot the journal of John Work, November and December, 1824, for which he writes an introduction. Work was a member of an expedition sent out by Sir George Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, to ascertain the possibility of reaching the coast with boats by way of Fraser's River and to explore as far as practicable the coast between Fort George and Fraser's River. A document of similar character is the journal of William Fraser Tolmie, April 30 to May 11, 1833, pertaining chiefly to a voyage from Cape Disappointment to Fort Vancouver. The October number contains a narrative, by Frank H. Woody, of a journey on horseback from Missoula to Walla Walla in 1857, and an article on the Whitman controversy, by James C. Strong. The *Quarterly* is reprinting the *History of Oregon, Geographical and Political* (1845), by George Wilkes.

*The Philippines Past and Present*, by Eleanor F. Egan, is announced by Dodd, Mead, and Company.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission of the Dominion of Canada has been reorganized, Hon. Thomas Chapais taking the place of Dr. J. E. Roy, and additional members being appointed as follows: Sir Edmund Walker, Mr. R. E. Gosnell of British Columbia, Professor Chester Martin of Winnipeg, Archdeacon William O. Raymond of St. John, Archdeacon Armitage of Halifax, and Professor W. L. Grant of Queen's University. A Royal Commission of three, to investigate the various departmental records, their condition, safety, bulk, etc., has been appointed with large powers. Its investigations seem likely to result in a turning over of much additional material to the Dominion Archives.

In the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, third series, vol. V., Mgr. L.-A. Paquet has an historical article on tithes, and M. Benjamin Sulte one of greater extent upon the projects and conspiracies which marked the relations between Canada and Vermont and other parts of New England from 1793 to 1810, and another entitled "Les Coureurs de Bois au Lac Supérieur, 1660". In the English portion of the volume the most notable articles are one by Archdeacon W. O. Raymond, on Colonel Alexander McNutt and the Pre-Loyalist Settlements of Nova Scotia; one by Dr. Hervey M. Bowman, on the Origin and Treatment of Discrepancies in Trust-worthy Records; and one by Dr. L. D. Scisco, on Lescarbot's Baron de Lery; while Mr. Duncan C. Scott presents the Traditional History of the Confederacy of the Six Nations, as prepared some years ago by a committee of the present chiefs of those nations.

The first and second parts of *L'Église du Canada depuis Monseigneur de Laval jusqu'à la Conquête*, by Abbé Auguste Gosselin of the Royal Society of Canada, have appeared, dealing with Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, Mgr. de Mornay, Mgr. Dosquet, and Mgr. de Lauberivière.

Dr. Arthur G. Doughty and Professor Adam Shortt are about to issue (London and New York, Macmillan) the *Correspondence between Lord Elgin and Lord Grey on the Affairs of Canada*.

Fascicle 4 of the new series of the *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires* contains an account by Maurice de Périgny of his exploration in 1909 of the ruins of an important Maya city at Nakeun in British Honduras, and one by Captain Paul Berthon of his archaeological investigations in lower Peru.

Messrs. Smith and Elder will soon publish Sir Clements R. Markham's *The Conquest of New Granada*, a description of the civilization of the Chibches.

The history of the diplomatic relations of Brazil from the founding of the republic in 1889 has been written by A. G. de Aranjó Jorge. The first volume of these *Ensaio de Historia Diplomatica do Brasil no Regimen Republicano* extends to 1902.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. de La Roncière, *Notre Première Tentative de Colonisation au Canada* [Cartier, 1541] (Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes, May); H. ten Kate, *On Paintings of North American Indians and their Ethnographical Value* (Anthropos, VI.); G. Hanotaux, *North America and France* (North American Review, November); H. P. Ford, *A Revolutionary Hero: James Caldwell* (Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, September); W. R. Riddell, *An Early German Traveller in the United States and Canada* (Queen's Quarterly, October, November, December); J. Finley, *The French in the Heart of America*, II., III., IV. (Scribner's Magazine, October-December); C. Warren, *An Historical Note on the Dartmouth College Case* (American Law Review, September-October); G. A. King, *The French Spoliation Claims*, III. (American Journal of International Law, October); F. L. Nussbaum, *The Compromise Tariff of 1833: a Study in Practical Politics* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); J. L. Morison, *Lord Elgin in Canada, 1847-1854* (Scottish Historical Review, October); Sara Norton and M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *War-Time Letters of Charles Eliot Norton to George William Curtis* (Atlantic Monthly, November); J. G. de R. Hamilton, *The Union League in North Carolina* (Sewanee Review, October); Gen. N. A. Miles, *My Recollections of Antietam* (Cosmopolitan, October); G. Bradford, *Confederate Portraits*, I. *Joseph E. Johnston* (Atlantic Monthly, November); *The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson*; H. G. Otis, *The Causes of Impeachment*; J. B. Henderson, *Emancipation and Impeachment* (Century Magazine, December); H. Watterson, *The Humor and Tragedy of the Greeley Campaign* (*ibid.*, November); H. C. Lodge, *Some Early Memories*, II., III. (Scribner's Magazine, October, November); Admiral G. Dewey, *Autobiography* (Hearst's Magazine, October, November, December); Rear-Admiral A. T. Mahan, *Was Panama "a Chapter of National Dishonor"?* (North American Review, October).

#### ERRATUM

##### DIARY OF THOMAS EWING

By error on the part of the managing editor, in the introduction to the Diary of Thomas Ewing printed in the last number of this Journal, page 97, the statement is made that the copy of the diary by means of which we were enabled to print it "is possessed by the Library of Ohio University at Marietta". The fact of course is that the Ohio University, the oldest college in the old Northwest, is situated at Athens, Ohio, where it was placed by Manasseh Cutler and Rufus Putnam in 1798, and not at Marietta.

The  
**American Historical Review**

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION AT BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE

FROM the point of view of the general public, the chief characteristic of the Association's twenty-eighth annual meeting lay in the presence of Colonel Roosevelt, and in the power and charm of the address which he delivered as president and which we print on subsequent pages. The attractive force of his political and literary fame accounts in great measure for the large attendance, which ran to about 450 members, surpassing the number of those brought together on any previous occasion except the quarter-centennial at New York in 1909. Much attractive power lay also in the conjunction of allied societies. The American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the New England History Teachers' Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Statistical Association, and the American Association for Labor Legislation all held their meetings in Boston and Cambridge in these same days, December 27 to 31. The intervention of a Sunday among these days gave welcome relief from a programme which was, as is usual, distinctly too congested.

The arrangements made by the local committee deserve all praise and gratitude. The halls and rooms for the sessions were adequate in space (though not in oxygen) and those in Boston were convenient of access to the hotel chosen as headquarters. To many members the choice in the latter respect seemed to have fallen upon a hotel whose rates were unsuitable for academic purses; the point is worth dwelling upon because in most cities a laudable pride will cause the local committee to choose the best hotel, in spite of its expensiveness, while visiting members would in most cases be glad to be housed in modest quarters, and to take on faith the presumption that greater splendors exist elsewhere.

The Massachusetts Historical Society invited the members of the Association to luncheon on one of the days of the sessions, and Harvard University exercised similar hospitality upon another. There was also a reception for the members by President and Mrs. Lowell at Cambridge, tea at Simmons College on one of the afternoons, and "smokers" at the City Club and at the University Club. For all these hospitable entertainments the gratitude of the members was publicly and privately expressed. The sessions ended with a subscription luncheon at the Copley Plaza, at which Professor Albert Bushnell Hart presided, and at which brief addresses were made by Professor Albion W. Small, president of the American Sociological Society, President Samuel C. Mitchell of the University of South Carolina, Professor Talcott Williams of the School of Journalism of Columbia University, and President Eliot.

A characteristic note of the meeting was the prevalence of conferences for the discussion of practical problems, rather than general sessions for the reading of formal papers. The latter, aside from the evening devoted to Colonel Roosevelt's presidential address, were confined to the two last sessions, those of Monday evening, December 30, and of Tuesday forenoon, with the addition of a joint session held with the American Political Science Association on the afternoon of Monday, before the meeting for business. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association also had an open session. Practical conferences on the other hand numbered not fewer than nine, devoted respectively to the work of archivists, to ancient history, to historical bibliography, to military history, to the interests of teachers, to those of state and local historical societies, to medieval history, to American history, and to modern history. In nearly all these conferences the committee on programme and the respective chairmen had almost entire success in bringing about real and lively discussion. Their process consisted in permitting, at each conference, the reading of only one or two formal papers, the texts of which had usually been circulated among those appointed to discuss them, which they were then expected to do with the freedom of oral if not of extemporaneous discourse.

In the sessions devoted to the reading of formal papers, the long-established rule of the society limiting such papers to twenty minutes was frequently disregarded. The results of such excess of speech on the part of those who read—or of leniency on the part of those who preside—are always in some degree injurious to the success of a session, and to the interests of those who come last upon the programme.

The fourth annual conference of archivists, presided over by

Professor Herman V. Ames, was held on Saturday morning, December 28, in the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In opening the conference the chairman recalled the organization of the Public Archives Commission at Boston in 1900 and briefly reviewed its work, pointing out what had thus far been accomplished in the way of publishing information respecting public archives and of arousing general interest in and securing legislation for their preservation. The first contribution to the programme was an informal report by Mr. Gaillard Hunt on the archives of the federal government outside the District of Columbia. The most important of these are the archives of the various legations and embassies, which fortunately have never suffered from fire. Thirty-nine field offices in the Indian service have records prior to 1873. Of the offices under the Treasury Department the custom-houses, mints, and assay offices have the most important records. Of the federal courts the only one that has preserved its records from the beginning is that at Hartford. Mr. Hunt's report showed how little attention has been paid to this class of federal archives and made it clear that prompt measures are necessary to ensure the preservation of valuable material.

The conference was devoted mainly to the consideration of a plan for a manual of archive practice or economy, similar in method to the manual of library economy prepared by the American Library Association. Mr. Victor H. Paltsits presented a tentative outline for the manual and indicated the general nature of its contents, dwelling more at length on such matters as official and public use of the archives, sites and plans of archive buildings and their heating, ventilation, and lighting, classification and cataloguing of archives, and the restoration or repair of manuscripts. The general discussion was opened by Mr. Waldo G. Leland, who emphasized the utility of profiting from European experience, pointed out the distinction between public archives and historical manuscripts, and reiterated the necessity of observing the principle of the *respect des fonds* in the classification of records. Mr. Dunbar Rowland pointed out the desirability of adopting uniform methods of classification throughout the archives of the various states, urged the adoption of the most liberal regulations respecting the use of archives, and dwelt upon the qualifications of the archivist. The problems of local records were dealt with by Mr. Solon J. Buck and Mr. Herbert O. Brigham, who urged the standardization and abbreviation of forms, eliminating much useless legal verbiage. Mr. James J. Tracy told of his experiences as chief of the Massachusetts Division of Archives and asked for the co-operation of historical and hereditary societies in

securing suitable legislation. The advantage of publicity in arousing general interest in archives was dwelt upon by Dr. Henry S. Burrage and Mr. Thomas C. Quinn.

The conference on ancient history was held in one of the buildings of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, on the same morning. In the absence of Mr. Fairbanks of the Boston Museum, Professor William S. Ferguson of Harvard presided and introduced Professor George F. Moore, of the same university, who opened the conference with a presentation of Oriental history as a field for investigation. He pointed out that recent explorations had revolutionized the knowledge held a century ago and had raised innumerable fresh problems—problems of race, of language, of chronology, and of intercourse. The fact that Syria was the connecting link between the three centres of ancient civilization would suggest that there the most important discoveries of the future would be made. This speaker was followed by Professor Henry A. Sill, of Cornell University, who, with a wealth of illustration, showed what had been done and what remained to do in the Graeco-Roman field. Among other things he suggested, as work ready to be entered upon, a new edition of Diodorus, and of the fragments of the Greek historians, and a history of ancient historiography. The great mass of material which has been brought to light, much of which is yet unpublished, gives opportunity for a study of the economic and social, as well as the political life of the Greeks and Romans. As special fields in which yet unworked material exists in abundance the speaker suggested the origins of Greek and of Italian civilization, the expansion of Hellenism, Egypt in Ptolemaic and Roman days, and the Roman Republic. The chairman, in commenting upon the papers, said that he stood appalled at two things, the number of tools necessary for the work, and the immense fertility of the field. Professor Breasted, of the University of Chicago, in opening the discussion laid still further stress upon the first of these thoughts. The historian of the ancient world must master Oriental philology and archaeology, yet he must primarily be neither a philologist nor an archaeologist if his work is to be acceptable. At the present time he does not possess so much as a satisfactory handbook. This lack must be supplied and a mass of material must be published, as the primary steps. Professor Robert W. Rogers, of Drew Theological Seminary, briefly suggested that the great need was for intensive work. Dr. Ralph V. Magoffin, of Johns Hopkins University, advocated extensive work on the history of Roman law, attempts toward synthesis of the results of excavations already made, studies in municipal affairs, and monographs on the Roman em-



perors. Mr. Oric Bates, who closed the discussion, limited his remarks to Libya, a region which he regarded as worthy of far more attention than it had received. The people of ancient Libya were probably of the same race as those north of the Mediterranean, so that problems of ethnology and of philology must be studied here which are closely related to those of Greece and Italy. Materials casting light on problems of trade, of colonization, of culture, are all to be found here. Themes especially in need of investigation are, the connections between Libya and Syria, the relations between the Greek colonists of Cyrene and the natives, and those of the Carthaginians to the races which surrounded them.

The same morning's conference on historical bibliography, presided over by Professor Ernest C. Richardson, librarian of Princeton University, was entirely occupied with the discussion of an exceedingly clever and suggestive paper by Professor Carl Becker of the University of Kansas, on the reviewing of historical books. The speaker began by setting forth the dissatisfaction which he and many others have felt with the present status of the art of reviewing historical books in this country. He believed the main faults of the system to be due to the attempt to combine in one notice of a book two elements essentially different, on the one hand presentation of purely bibliographical data respecting the form, content, sources, and characteristics of a book, and on the other hand an attempt at critical discourse concerning it, shaped in accordance with literary traditions which in the main are inappropriate to the task as actually executed. Many books, he declared, did not at all require this ambitious and pseudo-literary treatment. On the other hand, we need a much greater amount of critical writing of a high order. He therefore advocated a segregation of the bibliographical or non-critical data respecting all books noticed, the undisputed descriptive facts concerning them, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the critical articles in which *some* books, deserving such fuller treatment or lending themselves to it appropriately, should be made the theme of more intellectual discussion and of appreciations more useful toward the improvement of the historical art. The managing editor of this journal expressed his appreciation of the value of Mr. Becker's thoughts, and agreed with cordiality that benefit should be derived from them in the conduct of, for instance, such a journal as this; but he believed that practical obstacles stood in the way of carrying out in its entirety so drastic a programme. He dwelt upon the evils which he has felt to exist in the reviewing of historical books among us—the frequent inadequacy, the insufficient amount of penetrating thought, the rareness with which the higher levels of criticism are

reached, and above all, the excess of leniency which, he held, constantly characterized the bulk of the reviews which it is his function to print. He of course disclaimed all desire for slashing reviews, bad manners, or unkindness; and he duly valued the amiability of his profession and the unreserved amenity which can now characterize the meetings of reviewer and reviewed at the sessions of the American Historical Association. But he believed that our book notices could never do what they ought for the improvement of our profession if the writers of signed or unsigned reviews shirked their duty of setting forth deficiencies with an unsparing hand.

Mr. W. Dawson Johnston, librarian of Columbia University, took up the subject from the librarians' point of view, expressing their wish for a greater mass of bibliographical notes, helpful in the choice of books, more critical notes, more analysis, showing contents not shown by titles, and the like. Others, speaking from the same point of view, made evident the need of criticisms that follow quickly upon publication, and of larger and more systematic information on foreign books, while teachers and investigators desired a greater number of those surveys of recent literature and recent progress in special fields which this journal has occasionally afforded, and which it will endeavor more often to provide in the future.

The session on military history, of Saturday morning, was a conference between representatives of the military and the historical profession for the discussion of a practical problem—how to establish the scientific study of military history, making its results of value to the soldier, the civilian, and the nation.<sup>1</sup> The conference was presided over in turn by Professor Hart and Professor William A. Dunning. Professor R. M. Johnston of Harvard, who opened the discussion, spoke of the disrepute into which old-fashioned military history had justly fallen, the growing attention to the subject, especially its technical phases, in Europe, indicated the wealth of material for American military history, and urged the furthering of the study through such methods as the co-operation of military and historical experts, the greater recognition of military history at army headquarters, the establishment of seminar work in the universities, and the founding of a journal and a national society. Captain Arthur L. Conger, of the Army Service Schools at Fort Leavenworth, maintained that any real solution of the problem must include the creation of an historical section of the General Staff. Mr. Oswald G. Villard, who may be said to have represented the civilian pacifist, feared that such a solution would result in the writing of history with a

<sup>1</sup> A stenographic report of the conference is printed in the *Infantry Journal*, January-February, 1913, pp. 545-578.

biased point of view, although an historical section of the General Staff might well work for the development of instruction in history in the military schools. He hoped rather for the organization of a national civilian society in which military men should participate. Colonel T. L. Livermore, U. S. A. retired, stated that he had long urged the creation of an historical section of the General Staff, and asserted his belief in the ability of the soldier to write history unbiased by his profession; he thought also that the time had come for the establishment of a national society for military history. Professor F. M. Fling of Nebraska was of the opinion that military history should be dealt with by military men with historical training and pointed out the necessity of laying a foundation in detailed studies. Major J. W. McAndrew of the Army War College, detailed by the War Department to attend the conference, held that for the successful study of military history the collaboration of military men and historians was indispensable. He advocated the creation of an historical section of the General Staff and maintained that an important purpose of military history was to demonstrate to the nation the cost of unpreparedness. Major George H. Shelton, editor of the *Infantry Journal*, felt that the start in the right direction lay through the General Staff and asked for the encouragement of the American Historical Association in securing the necessary legislation. The discussion was brought to a close by the president of the association, Colonel Roosevelt, who declared that military history could not be treated as something apart from national history. Military history should be written primarily by military men and under the observation of the General Staff, but with the collaboration of civilian historians. He emphasized especially the lessons which our military history should bring home to the nation, illustrating his point with personal experiences in the war of 1898 and with the mistakes and failures of the War of 1812. The conference closed with the appointment of a committee to consider the best method of furthering the study and presentation of military history, and to make at the next meeting of the American Historical Association a report upon this subject. The committee was constituted by the chair as follows: Professor R. M. Johnston, chairman, Professor F. M. Fling, Colonel T. L. Livermore, Major J. W. McAndrew, and Major George H. Shelton. Later the Council of the Association requested this committee to co-operate with the committee on the programme for the next annual meeting, in framing for that occasion a programme for a second conference on military history.

The increasing interest in the history teachers' conference was shown by the numbers that assembled in the Museum of Fine Arts

on Saturday afternoon. After a short business meeting of the New England History Teachers' Association, which met in joint session with the teachers of the Historical Association, Professor Ferguson, the chairman, introduced Professor John O. Sumner, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the chairman of the Committee on the Equipment for the Teaching of History in High Schools and Colleges, who presented the report of the committee. This report summarized the returns received from 150 preparatory schools and ten colleges, most of the 150 schools using the four courses recommended by the Committee of Seven. Some of the general observations that resulted from the survey thus afforded were, that while libraries are most cordial in their co-operation, city museums are not used as they might be, that there is no conspicuous difference between the results obtained by private and by public schools, that the importance of a large number of duplicates in libraries is overlooked, that maps are sadly deficient, that pictures are in very general use, and that a number of schools possess lanterns. Professor Henry Johnson, of Teachers' College, opened the discussion with the suggestion that the report, though valuable, had lessened its usefulness by attempting too much, and that the important thing is not the accumulation of material, which is comparatively easy, but the proper using of the material when collected. Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton, of the Central High School, Newark, New Jersey, in his remarks further emphasized the idea that the stress should be laid not on the acquisition of the material but on its use. Even in the most poorly equipped school, material by which the past can be made real, the object of all illustrative material, will be found by the skillful teacher. Professor Arthur P. Butler, of Morristown, New Jersey, added the suggestion that the vital and the difficult thing is to set the pupil himself to work with the material, and to teach him facility in reproducing what he has heard and read. In the general discussion which followed Professor Sumner stated that the report did not yet reach the matter of utilization of material, but that the committee hoped to be of use in that respect as well as in the selection of material. Professor Ernest F. Henderson suggested ways of using the current *History Teacher's Magazine* in illustration of the general subject, and Mr. G. H. Howard, of Springfield, Massachusetts, dwelt further on the necessity of teaching the pupil to give expression to his knowledge. At the close of the session those present were invited to Simmons College to inspect the rooms arranged there illustrating with books, maps, pictures, and other material the recommended high-school courses. The space given to industrial history proved most popular, probably because of the greater opportunity afforded for illustrative work by the pupils.

The ninth annual conference of historical societies was held in the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society on Saturday afternoon, with President Henry Lefavour of Simmons College, president of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, as chairman. Only two papers were presented but each was of unusual merit. Mr. Charles K. Bolton, librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, dealt with the subject, not frequently discussed at meetings of the Association, of "Genealogy and History". He pointed out that "the vicissitudes of families conceal the very sources of political and economic history" and urged that the genealogist should not concern himself merely with the names and vital statistics of those whose relationships he records, but also with their environment, activities, and state of culture, thus making a genuine contribution to history which the historian cannot afford to ignore. In discussion of the subject Dr. H. W. Van Loon indicated the close relation between genealogy and the continuance of reigning families and described the careful preservation of genealogical material in the Netherlands, while Dr. F. A. Woods of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology spoke briefly of genealogy as an aid in the study of heredity, and pointed out the unusual degree of interrelationship among the personages most eminent in American history. Mr. Worthington C. Ford's paper on the Massachusetts Historical Society was exceedingly suggestive. Indicating the conditions in 1790 which brought the society into existence, Mr. Ford sketched the broad lines of the society's development to the present day, showing the part played by such factors as the personality of its membership, the gradual delimitation of the scope of its activities, and its policy in the collection and publication of material. With regard to this latter it was stated that "the wholesome lesson was early learned that the society must support its publications and could not hope to derive any profit from them". In the matter of collection Mr. Ford made a plea for the proper geographical distribution of material, pointing out how historical societies may act as clearing-houses of archival and other original material that has gone astray. The principal matter of business that came before the conference was the report by Mr. Dunbar Rowland for the committee on co-operative activities on the progress of the catalogue of documents in French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley. The committee was authorized to secure additional funds, and \$750 was pledged at the conference by the Illinois Historical Library, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, the Cambridge Historical Society, and the Wisconsin Historical Society.

The principal paper in the Conference on Medieval History, of

which Professor George B. Adams of Yale University was chairman, was that which is printed upon a later page of the present issue, on Profitable Fields of Investigation in Medieval History, by Professor J. W. Thompson of the University of Chicago. In discussing it Professor J. T. Shotwell of Columbia University dwelt upon the large possibilities which lie before American students in respect to constructive work in medieval history, European scholars having performed for them the needful toil of getting the materials ready. He likewise, in a similar spirit, adverted to the fact that early medieval church history, the materials of which had largely been already prepared by clerics, affords much work for laymen to do, in examining such topics, for instance, as the government of the *patrimonium Petri*, papal finance, the extension of Christian morals over the north of Europe, the sacraments considered from the point of view of anthropology, and the archaeology of the Middle Ages, especially the prehistoric archaeology of the North. Professor A. B. White of the University of Minnesota dwelt upon the crucial importance of a much larger amount of work in the critical study of the meanings and uses of medieval terms. Dr. Howard L. Gray of Harvard University spoke of the necessity of many local studies before medieval economic history can be securely advanced, and of the difficulties presented by the agrarian history of France, and in a less degree of England, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Among the others who spoke, Professor W. E. Lunt laid emphasis upon critical studies of the chroniclers and of the documents respecting taxation; Professor Edgar H. MacNeal, of the Old French and Middle High German romances; and Professor A. C. Howland, of the history of medieval education and of the legal institutions of the Middle Ages.

The two remaining conferences, occupied with American history and with modern history respectively, took place at Harvard University on the morning of Monday, December 30. All the sessions of Monday morning and Monday afternoon, including the annual business meeting, were held in Cambridge.

Those interested primarily in the subject of American history held their conference in Emerson Hall, Professor Frederick J. Turner presiding. Professor Dodd's paper on Profitable Fields of Investigation in American History, 1815-1860, which appears on later pages of this journal, pointed to a wide range of unexplored or partially explored territory and provided food for a fruitful discussion which was opened by Professor Ulrich B. Phillips, of the University of Michigan. He took exception to Professor Dodd's statement that slave property was the most valuable investment in a

Southern community, giving explicit reasons for his opinion. He stated his belief that the greatest need in the period under discussion was a study of economic and social conditions, district by district, with especial emphasis on the social conditions. Professor Theodore C. Smith, of Williams College, felt that Professor Dodd had ignored the northeast and the central states, and had narrowed his interest by using an inadequate formula. He believed a study of the political history of a single state would be of the greatest use and suggested Pennsylvania as a fertile subject. The development of the modern party he also cited as needing much more investigation. Professor Allen Johnson of Yale expressed a desire that for a time 1861 be forgotten and the ante-bellum period be treated as preliminary to our own days, particularly along the line of political processes and party machinery. Professor Homer C. Hockett, of Ohio State University, suggested as a principle of selection, a necessity in all historical work, the connection of past events with present-day problems such as the third-party movement, the evolution of the wage problem, and the manufacturing interests. Professor P. Orman Ray, of Pennsylvania State College, followed Professor Smith's suggestion for detailed work on Pennsylvania politics from 1815 to 1828, by citing numerous topics, among others a study of Pennsylvania financial history, a history of the railroads of the state, the connection between the railroads and legislation, the proceedings of the various state constitutional conventions, the reform movements in connection with debtor laws and liquor legislation, and finally suggested a series of monographs on the presidential campaigns. Professor Jonas Viles, of the University of Missouri, emphasized the need for scholarly local history investigated from the national point of view. Miss Katharine Coman, of Wellesley College, brought to the consideration of the conference research beyond the Mississippi where no slavery question was known. The material for this work, diaries of the early explorers and settlers, letters, business papers, newspapers, early church records, recollections of living pioneers, exists in great quantities, but much of it of value has already been destroyed and more will disappear with each decade that passes.

The conference on modern history, held at the same hour, in the lecture hall of the Fogg Museum of Art, was presided over by Professor Charles D. Hazen of Smith College. The principal paper laid before the conference was one by Professor Edwin F. Gay of Harvard, on the History of Commerce as a Field for Investigation, and commercial history remained the sole topic of the conference. Professor Gay set out with great force, clearness, and grasp of general

aspects a wide variety of topics in the history of modern commerce upon which greater light was needed, and expressed with particular vigor the need both of greater breadth and of far greater exactness in the presentation and use of materials, especially of statistical materials, for commercial history. Too much of the history of commerce which has been written is merely romantic fiction.

Professor Clive Day of Yale expressed cordial agreement with Professor Gay in his demand for a study of the history of commerce in its broader aspects, leading to a better understanding of the successive economic stages. He joined him in pleading for more exact methods in studying the history of commerce, and called attention to such recent works as those by Madame Bang, Becht, and Wätjen, giving a statistical basis for study. He emphasized the importance of the constitutional aspects of commercial history, and urged that students should not be blinded by an exaggerated belief in the importance of commercial policy.

Professor A. L. P. Dennis of Wisconsin spoke of the history of the trade of the English in India, especially in the seventeenth century, as distinguished from the commerce between England and India, of which more is known. Added materials in print have now made it possible to make intensive studies of such subjects as Indian banking, private trading of servants of the East India Company, prices, and the like. Professor William E. Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania, remarking that the period from 1803 to 1813 had mainly been dealt with from the military and political points of view, advocated a much fuller study of the Napoleonic period as consisting in a great commercial struggle. The sources for the history of English commercial policy during this period are voluminous, those for the French even richer; and there is need of many regional studies on the history and effect of the Continental System upon particular areas. American consular reports, enclosures in the diplomatic correspondence, and the manuscripts of private firms, like the five hundred volumes of the papers of Stephen Girard, afford many materials for the discussion of profitable topics like the Baltic trade of that time, the commercial position of the subsidiary states under Napoleon, the amelioration of the system by licenses, English and French, smuggling, and places like Halifax and Amelia Island, which constituted strategic points comparable to Heligoland.

Mr. Abbott P. Usher of Cornell University dwelt upon the international aspects of commercial history and the need of observing them in spite of the natural temptation to observe national boundaries unduly because the deposits of material are national. He instanced Schmoller's history of the Prussian grain trade in the



*Acta Borussica*, in which the ignoring of the relations of Polish and Baltic trade to Prussian leave the book a work of erudition rather than a vital history of important movements; and the history of the bill of exchange, Goldschmidt's work being confined to Italian sources instead of following in the archives of all important countries alike a subject which is essentially cosmopolitan.

Mr. Clarence H. Haring of Bryn Mawr spoke of the Archives of the Indies in Seville, and of the opportunities which they afford for a study of the origin, organization, and history of Spanish colonial commerce, and especially of the Spanish silver fleets, for which the accounts of the treasurers of the Casa de Contratacion and of the various colonial treasurers afford ample materials, while the registers preserved in Seville of ships sailing to and from America are invaluable for the general study of colonial trade and navigation. Dr. Stewart L. Mims of Yale, from the point of view of a student of the French colonial empire, adverted to the need of many special studies of individual colonies in the Antilles, individual ports of France, and individual divisions of French colonial commerce.

Dr. N. S. B. Gras of Clark College closed the discussion by remarks on a group of new sources for the history of English customs and commerce, namely, the great mass of Port Books and Coast Bonds recently saved from destruction and brought to attention at the Public Record Office, and in which the history of English commerce in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries can be followed in minute detail of ships, exports, and destinations.

A special session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, presided over by its president, Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, of Wisconsin, was held on Monday morning, the general subject of the four papers read being New England and the West. Professor Archer B. Hulbert brought new light to bear, from his investigation of the Craigie Papers in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, on the history of the Scioto Company and its short-lived and unhappy settlement of Gallipolis. The Scioto Company, he stated, had no real organization, but was composed of Colonel Duer, Andrew Craigie, and Royal Flint, as principal associates, who with others styled themselves "trustees", and, under the wing of the Ohio Company, attempted to carry on a speculation pure and simple. Their methods were the purchase of United States claims, the attempt, through foreign financiers such as Brissot de Warville, to secure transfers of the foreign debt or to make loans abroad on Scioto stock, and the exchange of Scioto shares for those of other corporations. The speculators, Mr. Hulbert stated, had no intention of exploiting and settling the region on which they held options, gave

no such right to the French company, and should not be held directly responsible for the Gallipolis episode. In the second paper, Dr. Solon J. Buck controverted the generally accepted view that the people of early Illinois came almost entirely from the South and held all "Yankees" in aversion. On the basis of statistical study of the nativity of office-holders in Illinois before 1833, he showed that the New England element was about twelve per cent. (one-third of the northern element). The participation of New Englanders in Illinois politics was greatest from 1818 to 1824, and the part they played in the slavery struggle was distinctly honorable. The New England emigration was especially strong just after the War of 1812. Professor Karl F. Geiser, dealing with the early New England influence in the Western Reserve, pointed out that the social and political institutions of that region had developed out of New England Puritanism modified by forces springing out of the new soil to which it was transferred. The settlers from New England formed the nuclei of the various communities, the leadership of which they retained, shaping the development of religion and educational institutions, long after they were outnumbered by other elements.

Mrs. Lois K. Mathews's paper on the Mayflower Compact and its Descendants developed the idea that compact-making was a well-known process to the Americans of 1775, and survived after 1865, while side by side with the idea of compact, indeed as a corollary to it, developed that of secession. The plantation covenants of early New England, such as those of Providence, Exeter, and Dover, were discussed. The New England Confederation of 1643 represents the same principle on a larger scale, and the Articles of Confederation were in a sense a still more developed outgrowth. It was not, therefore, theoretical knowledge alone which the delegates to the Constitutional Convention possessed, but much practical experience of compacts. The application of the compact theory by no means ceased with the adoption of the Constitution, for numerous colonies or settlements in western territory bound themselves by compact. The conclusions reached were, that government by compact was evolved from practical necessity, not from theoretical speculation; that its beginnings are to be found in the separatist church covenant; that the germ of the larger compacts is found in the town compacts, and finally, that the institution often accompanied further settlement, changing its character to suit changing conditions; all of which suggest the need of studying the church covenant and the town compact, (1) among settlers from New England, (2) among settlers from the southern seaboard, and (3) among the Scotch-Irish.

On the afternoon of the same day, the last whole day of the ses-

sions, the Historical Association and the Political Science Association met in joint session at the New Lecture Hall of Harvard University. The first two papers of the session pertained to the field of political science, the last to history. President Harry A. Garfield, of Williams College, in a paper entitled Good Government and the Suffrage, skillfully led up to the conclusion that for the purposes of good government a universal franchise was neither a danger nor an essential, however desirable it might be for other reasons. Professor Adam Shortt of the Canadian Civil Service Commission explained with some detail the historical development which resulted in the present relationship between the Canadian executive and legislative bodies. The first of the papers in the field of history was presented by Professor Frank M. Anderson, of the University of Minnesota, and dealt with the Enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798. While the Alien Law was never actually enforced, Burk, the editor of the *Time Piece*, of New York, was obliged to go into hiding until the close of the administration, and the departure of General Victor Collot was all that prevented action being taken against him. Several prosecutions that occurred before the actual passage of the Sedition Law (July 14, 1798) are often alluded to as Sedition Law cases. The number of persons arrested under the act seems to have been about twenty-five and at least sixteen were indicted, of whom ten came to trial and were pronounced guilty. These cases were discussed in four classes: proceedings aimed at prominent Republican newspapers; proceedings aimed at minor Republican papers; proceedings against important individuals; and cases against unimportant persons. Charges of unfairness in all these cases were numerous. It seems true that the juries could scarcely be called impartial, and the defendant was not in all cases given a fair chance to present his side of the case.

Professor E. D. Adams followed with an interesting paper on the Point of View of the British Traveller in America, 1810-1860, the object of which was to study "the mental attitude" of the writers of the various accounts. Guided by this principle one may group the British writers into five classes. Those writing in the decade 1810-1820 were middle-class Englishmen, interested in agriculture, discontented with the social order at home, and attracted by the industrial opportunity offered by this country. For the second period the books were of two distinct types: books written by the laborers themselves dilating on their wages, their food, their comfortable housing; and books written by those whose attitude toward American political institutions was distinctly critical. The third decade, 1830-1840, was characterized solely by writers whose judgments, sometimes

friendly and sometimes unfriendly, were predetermined by their political opinions. From 1840 to 1850 the majority of travellers were primarily observers, apparently without strong bias. From 1850 to 1860, as in the decade from 1830 to 1840, the writers were concerned chiefly with political institutions in America, the feeling of friendliness predominating.

The last evening of the sessions in Boston was given to the reading, before a general audience, of papers in European history. The first was a brilliant discourse "Anent the Middle Ages", by Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University, which we shall have the pleasure of presenting to our readers in a future number. After some discussion of the beginnings of modern tolerance, and their relation to the demarcation of the Middle Ages, Mr. Burr showed how medieval history may most properly be thought of as the period when Christian theocracy was the usual ideal; how, beginning the Middle Ages with Constantine, we may rightly allow them to overlap ancient history at one end; and how, overlapping modern history at the other, we cannot think of them as ending till, after Luther and Calvin, the ecclesiastical City of God is supplanted by the lay state.

In the second paper, *Antecedents of the Quattrocento*, Mr. Henry Osborn Taylor of New York took for his topic the fundamental identity of relationship borne by the Middle Ages as well as the humanists of the *Quattrocento* to the antique past from which they both drew the substance of their thought. In each succeeding medieval century, as in the *Quattrocento*, scholars were always reaching back, beyond that which they had received from their immediate predecessors, in the fruitful endeavor to appropriate and profit by a larger share of the great antique past. In this respect the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries resemble the twelfth and thirteenth.

In a systematic and thorough descriptive paper on the Court of Star Chamber, Professor Edward P. Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania set forth in entertaining fashion the composition and functions of the court, its relations to monarch and council and Parliament, its practices and procedure, and the true facts as to its operations and the part it played in the history of the time—all supported and enlivened by concrete examples drawn from exhaustive researches. The paper will at a later time be printed in this journal.

Mr. William R. Thayer's paper entitled "*Crispi: a Legend in the Making*" consisted in a comparison, made step by step through the successive stages of Crispi's career, between the actual historic facts and the representation of those facts which is now coming before the public as the result of Crispi's dealings with his own papers and of the publications, out of that collection and from other sources,

which have been made by his nephew and other apologists. An anonymous article in the *Nation* of January 16 will give to students, at considerable extent, an excellent notion of what was said upon this interesting topic by Mr. Thayer. He described the early days of conspiracy, the relations of discipleship with Mazzini, the Orsini episode, and the remarkable part which Crispi played in the Sicilian Expedition as lieutenant of Garibaldi, as private secretary, and as intriguer for Sicilian and personal interests rather than for those of united Italy; the adhesion of Crispi to the monarchy, his long career as parliamentary privateer, his periods of ministerial power, his policy in external and internal affairs. At every step he showed how nepotic piety and that of lesser adherents has been of late sophisticating the actual facts and creating the legend of a high-minded, unselfish, and farseeing statesman.

In view of the lateness of the hour which had now been reached, Professor John M. Vincent of the Johns Hopkins University abstained from reading his paper on Sumptuary Laws in the Eighteenth Century. The paper was intended to show the duration of this intimate paternal legislation in certain of the old independent cities of Switzerland where the ordinances were persistently renewed and re-enacted throughout the century. The French Revolution seems to close the period of serious "blue-law" making. Mr. Vincent has been investigating the extent to which these ordinances were enforced. The execution was usually in the hands of a social court or commission for the reformation of morals. In Basel the docket of this court is complete from 1674 to 1797. In Zürich the record for the eighteenth century is fairly complete, and in other cities information is fragmentary, but interesting irregularities are seen in the enforcement. Spasmodic revivals of stringency are followed by neglect, with a general tendency to mildness as the century advances, until the attempt to enforce strictly sumptuary regulation is abandoned.

The final session of the Association, on the last morning of the year, was devoted to a series of papers in American history, of which the first, entitled the New Columbus, had been prepared by Mr. Henry P. Biggar, representative in Europe of the Archives of the Dominion of Canada.

Our scanty information as to the life of Columbus has been largely based on the biography published by his son Fernando. This, Mr. Henry Vignaud has in recent volumes tried to show, is in large measure composed of forged documents, and he has also attempted to demonstrate that much of what Columbus told of himself was untrue, and most important of all, that he was seeking not a new

route to the East, but new islands in the ocean when he sailed to the west in 1492. Mr. Vignaud, in order to support this theory, regards the entire correspondence with Toscanelli as a forgery on the part of Bartholomew Columbus, the brother of Christopher. There are however certain facts that militate against this theory. We know that in 1494 the Duke of Ferrara wrote to Florence asking for Toscanelli's notes on the island recently discovered by the Spaniards. We know that what Columbus proposed to King John of Portugal was a search for the island Cipangu and that that was what he on his return from the first voyage declared that he had found. The letter given to Columbus by Isabella, April 30, 1492, was apparently intended for the Grand Khan of Cathay. Finally, the introduction to the journal of the first voyage, written by Columbus, seems to prove that he expected to reach the East.

Dr. Clarence W. Bowen's paper on the Charter of Connecticut sketched briefly the early history of the various settlements in Connecticut, the procuring of the charter by John Winthrop, agent for the colony in England, the enmity of Edward Randolph to the colony, and the attack on the charter by Andros. He described the efforts of Colonel Benjamin Fletcher and Governor Joseph Dudley to gain control of the military forces of Connecticut and the numerous appeals made to the king throughout the eighteenth century, to support the charter. To this he added illustrations showing its importance to Connecticut in the present day.

Professor Claude H. Van Tyne in his paper on Religious and Sectarian Forces as Causes of the American Revolution declared that in a sense the American Revolution was simply the Puritan and Anglican struggle of the early seventeenth century deferred 150 years, and removed to another land. There followed a discussion of all of those controversies in the earlier colonial history which kept the colonists suspicious of encroachments by the Anglican Church. Then the annoying activities of the Bishop of London were considered, and the disallowance by the British government of colonial laws on religious subjects. The effect of giving all important British offices in America to Episcopalians was discussed, and the struggle over the proposed American episcopate. From this the speaker passed to reflections upon the effect of the preaching by Calvinistic ministers, throughout the colonial period, of the doctrines of Locke, Milton, Sidney, and Hoadly. Especial attention was given to the opposition to the Episcopal doctrines of submission and non-resistance. The preaching of the non-Anglican ministers between the Stamp Act and the outbreak of war was discussed, and evidence was submitted to show the extent and character of their

influence, then and after Concord and Lexington. The discussion here turned to the activity of Revolutionary leaders in the use of religious forces, with especial emphasis upon the appeal of Samuel Adams to Puritan fanaticism when the Catholic religion was recognized in Quebec. There followed an account of the attack on the "Divine Rights" doctrine and its effect in removing the last barrier to independence. In closing, the speaker presented the results of a study of a large number of Revolutionary biographies, which show the adhesion of about eighty per cent. of the non-Episcopalians to the Whig party, and of about seventy-five per cent. of the Episcopalians to the Loyalist party. The speaker expressed the belief that conflicting political ideas, and not tea or taxes, caused the American secession from the British Empire, and that the Puritan clergy had a large part in planting the prevalent political ideals which were antagonistic to those dominant in England.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams's stirring paper on the fight of the *Constitution* and the *Guerriere*—"August 19, 1812, at 6.30 P.M.; the Birth of a World Power"—follows in full upon a later page.

The veteran historian Dr. James Schouler was not able to be present on Saturday morning. The paper which he had prepared developed the thesis that to-day we have material which enables us to form a far more just opinion of Andrew Johnson than did his contemporaries. The manuscript collection of Johnson papers placed in the Library of Congress and the *Diary of Gideon Welles*, recently published, have furnished vindication for that president's character and official acts. His early reconstruction measures showed courage and ability, his chief mistakes being his failure to unite with the moderate Republicans on a definite policy, his neglect to take the younger Republican leaders into his confidence, and his faults of taste in the canvass of 1866, in which his speeches offended the northern audiences that heard them.

The business meeting of the Association was held at Cambridge on Monday afternoon with Vice-President Dunning in the chair. The report of the secretary showed a total membership of 2846. The treasurer reported net disbursements of \$11,619, with net receipts of \$10,823. The total assets of the Association were \$27,255. The report of the Executive Council included, for the first time, the presentation of a formal budget for the expenditures for 1913; and recommended that a committee of five be appointed at the present meeting to prepare nominations for office to be voted on at the next annual meeting. The recommendation was adopted. The new policy with regard to nominations will allow a longer consideration of the

matter of elections and will afford opportunity for members of the Association to make suggestions to the committee. Upon recommendation by the council it was voted to accept the invitation of Columbia, South Carolina, to hold in that city a part of the annual meeting for 1913, the major portion of which is to be held in Charleston. It was also voted to accept the invitation from the Universities of Chicago and Illinois and Northwestern University to hold the annual meeting of 1914 in Chicago. The Association furthermore voted to hold a special meeting in San Francisco in July, 1915, in response to invitations received from the Pacific Coast Branch and the Panama Exposition committee.

The report of the Pacific Coast Branch was presented by Professor E. D. Adams, who gave a brief account of its tenth annual meeting, held in Berkeley. The next meeting will be held at Los Angeles. The chairman of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Mr. Ford, reported that through the generosity of the Adams family the commission would offer as its next report the private letters of William Vans Murray to John Adams, 1797-1801. This material being of national interest, in private possession, and not likely otherwise to be printed, was considered especially appropriate for inclusion in a report of the commission. For the Public Archives Commission, Professor Ames stated that reports were in progress on the archives of California and Louisiana, and that arrangements were being made for securing reports on Montana and Wyoming. The activity of the commission during the past year has been principally along two lines: the preparation of a manual of archive practice or economy and the securing of information about federal archives located outside of the District of Columbia. An outline of the archive manual had been discussed at the conference of archivists just held and it was hoped that by next year some preliminary publication could be prepared. The work of securing information respecting federal archives outside of the District of Columbia has been taken up by Mr. Gaillard Hunt, who has secured an executive order from the President calling for the information desired. Professor Ames also stated that the commission would present as part of its report a list, prepared under the supervision of Professor C. M. Andrews, of the reports and representations relative to America made by the British Board of Trade to the king in council, Parliament, the secretary of state, and other authorities. Dr. J. F. Jameison made an informal report for the council committee on a national archive building; while uncertain whether any action would be taken during the present session, the committee was continuing to call public attention to the need of such a building and making sys-



tematic efforts to have various historical societies make representations to Congress upon the subject.

The Committee on Publications reported through its chairman, Professor Farrand, that the Adams prize essay for 1911, Miss Brown's *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum*, had been printed and would be distributed shortly. The committee has decided to reprint the first essay to receive the Adams prize, that of David S. Muzzey on *The Spiritual Franciscans*. Mr. Farrand stated that the total sales of the four essays already issued amounted to 1674 copies, the number of the standing subscribers to the whole series being only 159. He especially urged that this number should be made as large as possible. The committee announced that it will be impossible to publish the biennial handbook during the coming year. The report of the Board of Editors of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW was presented by its chairman, Professor George B. Adams, who stated that owing to a decrease of expenses the board had been able to return \$300 to the Association. The editors had agreed with the advisory committee of the *History Teacher's Magazine* upon a natural and logical definition of the fields of the respective publications. Professor Henry Johnson presented a report for the advisory board of the *History Teacher's Magazine* which showed that the outlook for that publication is very encouraging, the number of subscribers having nearly trebled during the past year.

For the Committee on Bibliography, Dr. E. C. Richardson stated that three pieces of work were being carried on or being considered: a list of sets of works on European history to be found in American libraries, a bibliography of American travels, and a union list of historical periodicals. The list of works on European history is now in press; a revised and improved edition of it is to be published under the editorship of Dr. Walter Lichtenstein. The bibliography of American travels is waiting for the procuring of a suitable editor, and the matter of a union list of periodicals is to be taken up with the publishing board of the American Library Association. Professor Cheyney reported that a considerable part of the material for the first volume of the bibliography of modern English history had been gathered. The English committee, he stated, had made a contract with John Murray for the publication of the work and the American committee planned to arrange with an American publisher for issuing the work in America. It has been decided to include the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the plan, thus making the bibliography cover the whole modern period. Dr. Jameson reported respecting the series of *Original Narratives of Early*

*American History* the facts and announcements set forth from time to time in the "Notes and News" of this journal. Professor D. C. Munro reported that the work of the committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools had been mainly directed to arousing interest in the subject throughout the country. The committee expects to publish a formal report in the near future. The chairman of the Justin Winsor Prize Committee, Professor Van Tyne, stated that the Winsor prize had been awarded to Dr. A. C. Cole for his essay on the Whig Party in the South. The rules governing contributions for the prize essays were amended in such a way as to place the burden of preparing the manuscript of the successful essay for the printer upon the author rather than upon the Association.

Professor William A. Dunning, the first vice-president, was elected president of the Association for the ensuing year, Professors Andrew C. McLaughlin and H. Morse Stephens vice-presidents; Mr. Waldo G. Leland was re-elected secretary; Professor Charles H. Haskins secretary to the Council; Dr. Clarence W. Bowen treasurer; and Mr. A. Howard Clark curator. In the place of President Edwin E. Sparks and Professor Franklin L. Riley, who had served three terms on the Executive Council, Professors Archibald C. Coolidge and John M. Vincent were chosen.

#### OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

<i>President,</i>	Professor William A. Dunning, New York.
<i>First Vice-President,</i>	Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, Chicago.
<i>Second Vice-President,</i>	Professor H. Morse Stephens, Berkeley.
<i>Secretary,</i>	Waldo G. Leland, Carnegie Institution, Washington.
<i>Treasurer,</i>	Clarence W. Bowen, 130 Fulton Street, New York.
<i>Secretary to the Council,</i>	Professor Charles H. Haskins, Cambridge.
<i>Curator,</i>	A. Howard Clark, Smithsonian Institution.

*Executive Council* (in addition to the above-named officers):

Hon. Andrew D. White, <sup>1</sup>	Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, <sup>1</sup>
President James B. Angell, <sup>1</sup>	Professor Frederick J. Turner, <sup>1</sup>
Henry Adams, <sup>1</sup>	Professor William M. Sloane, <sup>1</sup>
James Schouler, <sup>1</sup>	Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, <sup>1</sup>
James Ford Rhodes, <sup>1</sup>	Professor Fred M. Fling,

<sup>1</sup> Ex-presidents.

Charles Francis Adams, <sup>1</sup>	Professor James A. Woodburn,
Rear-Admiral Alfred T. Mahan, <sup>1</sup>	Professor Herman V. Ames,
Professor John B. McMaster, <sup>1</sup>	Professor Dana C. Munro,
Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, <sup>1</sup>	Professor Archibald C. Coolidge,
J. Franklin Jameson, <sup>1</sup>	Professor John M. Vincent.
Professor George B. Adams, <sup>1</sup>	

*Committees:*

*Committee on Programme for the Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting:*

Professor St. George L. Sioussat, Vanderbilt University, chairman; Waldo G. Leland, Samuel C. Mitchell, Ulrich B. Phillips, James T. Shotwell, Henry A. Sill.

*Committees on Local Arrangements:* For Charleston, Joseph W. Barnwell, chairman; Oliver J. Bond, Theodore D. Jervey, Harrison Randolph; for Columbia, Benjamin F. Taylor, chairman; Samuel C. Mitchell, Alexander S. Salley, Jr., Yates Snowden.

*Committee on Nominations:* Professor William MacDonald, Brown University, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, John S. Bassett, Edward B. Krehbiel, Franklin L. Riley.

*Editors of the American Historical Review:* George L. Burr, Edward P. Cheyney, J. Franklin Jameson, Andrew C. McLaughlin, James H. Robinson, Frederick J. Turner.

*Historical Manuscripts Commission:* Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Julian P. Bretz, Archer B. Hulbert, Ulrich B. Phillips, Frederick G. Young.

*Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize:* Professor Claude H. Van Tyne, University of Michigan, chairman; Carl Becker, Carl R. Fish, J. G. deR. Hamilton, William MacDonald.

*Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize:* Professor George L. Burr, Cornell University, chairman; Edwin F. Gay, Charles D. Hazen, Laurence M. Larson, Albert B. White.

*Public Archives Commission:* Victor H. Paltsits, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Eugene C. Barker, Robert D. W. Connor, Gaillard Hunt, Jonas Viles, Henry E. Woods.

*Committee on Bibliography:* Professor Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; Clarence S. Brigham, W. Dawson Johnston, Walter Lichtenstein, Frederick J. Teggart, George Parker Winship.

*Committee on Publications:* Professor Max Farrand, Yale University, chairman; and (*ex officio*) George L. Burr, Worthing-

ton C. Ford, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paletsits, Ernest C. Richardson, Claude H. Van Tyne.

*General Committee:* Professor Frederick L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Arthur I. Andrews, William K. Boyd, Pierce Butler, Isaac J. Cox, Frederic Duncalf, Miss Julia A. Flisch, Clarence S. Paine, Morgan P. Robinson, W. Roy Smith, David D. Wallace; and Waldo G. Leland and Haven W. Edwards, *ex officio*.

*Committee on a Bibliography of Modern English History:* Professor Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Ernest C. Richardson, Williston Walker.

*Committee on the Preparation of Teachers of History in Schools:* Professor Dana C. Munro, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Kendrick C. Babcock, Charles E. Chadsey, Edgar Dawson, Haven W. Edwards, Robert A. Maurer.

*Conference of Historical Societies:* Thomas M. Owen, Montgomery, chairman; Solon J. Buck, secretary.

*Advisory Board of History Teacher's Magazine:* Professor Henry Johnson, Columbia University, chairman; George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat (these two reappointed to serve three years); Fred M. Fling, Miss Blanche Hazard, James Sullivan.

## HISTORY AS LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

THERE has been much discussion as to whether history should not henceforth be treated as a branch of science rather than of literature. As with most such discussions, much of the matter in dispute has referred merely to terminology. Moreover, as regards part of the discussion, the minds of the contestants have not met, the propositions advanced by the two sides being neither mutually incompatible nor mutually relevant. There is, however, a real basis for conflict in so far as science claims exclusive possession of the field.

There was a time—we see it in the marvellous dawn of Hellenic life—when history was distinguished neither from poetry, from mythology, nor from the first dim beginnings of science. There was a more recent time, at the opening of Rome's brief period of literary splendor, when poetry was accepted by a great scientific philosopher as the appropriate vehicle for teaching the lessons of science and philosophy. There was a more recent time still—the time of Holland's leadership in arms and arts—when one of the two or three greatest world painters put his genius at the service of anatomists.

In each case the steady growth of specialization has rendered such combination now impossible. Virgil left history to Livy; and when Tacitus had become possible Lucan was a rather absurd anachronism. The elder Darwin, when he endeavored to combine the functions of scientist and poet, may have thought of Lucretius as a model; but the great Darwin was incapable of such a mistake. The surgeons of to-day would prefer the services of a good photographer to those of Rembrandt—even were those of Rembrandt available. No one would now dream of combining the history of the Trojan War with a poem on the wrath of Achilles. Beowulf's feats against the witch who dwelt under the water would not now be mentioned in the same matter-of-fact way that a Frisian or Frankish raid is mentioned. We are long past the stage when we would accept as parts of the same epic Siegfried's triumphs over dwarf and dragon, and even a distorted memory of the historic Hunnish king in whose feast-hall the Burgundian heroes held their last revel and made their death fight. We read of the loves of the

<sup>1</sup> Annual address of the president of the American Historical Association, delivered at Boston, December 27, 1912.

Hound of Muirthemne and Emer the Fair without attributing to the chariot-riding heroes who "fought over the ears of their horses" and to their fierce lady-loves more than a symbolic reality. The Roland of the Norman trouvères, the Roland who blew the ivory horn at Roncesvalles, is to our minds wholly distinct from the actual Warden of the Marches who fell in a rear-guard skirmish with the Pyrennean Basques.

As regards philosophy, as distinguished from material science and from history, the specialization has been incomplete. Poetry is still used as a vehicle for the teaching of philosophy. Goethe was as profound a thinker as Kant. He has influenced the thought of mankind far more deeply than Kant because he was also a great poet. Robert Browning was a real philosopher and his writings have had a hundredfold the circulation and the effect of those of any similar philosopher who wrote in prose, just because, and only because, what he wrote was not merely philosophy but literature. The form in which he wrote challenged attention and provoked admiration. That part of his work which some of us—which I myself for instance—most care for is merely poetry. But in that part of his work which has exercised most attraction and has given him the widest reputation, the poetry, the form of expression, bears to the thought expressed much the same relation that the expression of Lucretius bears to the thought of Lucretius. As regards this, the great mass of his product, he is primarily a philosopher, whose writings surpass in value those of other similar philosophers precisely because they are not only philosophy but literature. In other words, Browning the philosopher is read by countless thousands to whom otherwise philosophy would be a sealed book, for exactly the same reason that Macaulay the historian is read by countless thousands to whom otherwise history would be a sealed book; because both Browning's works and Macaulay's works are material additions to the great sum of English literature. Philosophy is a science just as history is a science. There is need in one case as in the other for vivid and powerful presentation of scientific matter in literary form.

This does not mean that there is the like need in the two cases. History can never be truthfully presented if the presentation is purely emotional. It can never be truthfully or usefully presented unless profound research, patient, laborious, painstaking, has preceded the presentation. No amount of self-communion and of pondering on the soul of mankind, no gorgeousness of literary imagery, can take the place of cool, serious, widely extended study. The vision of the great historian must be both wide and lofty. But

it must be sane, clear, and based on full knowledge of the facts and of their interrelations. Otherwise we get merely a splendid bit of serious romance writing, like Carlyle's *French Revolution*. Many hardworking students, alive to the deficiencies of this kind of romance writing, have grown to distrust, not only all historical writing that is romantic, but all historical writing that is vivid. They feel that complete truthfulness must never be sacrificed to color. In this they are right. They also feel that complete truthfulness is incompatible with color. In this they are wrong. The immense importance of full knowledge of a mass of dry facts and gray details has so impressed them as to make them feel that the dryness and the grayness are in themselves meritorious.

These students have rendered invaluable service to history. They are right in many of their contentions. They see how literature and science have specialized. They realize that scientific methods are as necessary to the proper study of history as to the proper study of astronomy or zoology. They know that in many, perhaps in most, of its forms, literary ability is divorced from the restrained devotion to the actual fact which is as essential to the historian as to the scientist. They know that nowadays science ostentatiously disclaims any connection with literature. They feel that if this is essential for science, it is no less essential for history.

There is much truth in all these contentions. Nevertheless, taking them all together, they do not indicate what these hard-working students believed that they indicate. Because history, science, and literature have all become specialized, the theory now is that science is definitely severed from literature and that history must follow suit. Not only do I refuse to accept this as true for history but I do not even accept it as true for science.

Literature may be defined as that which has permanent interest because both of its substance and its form, aside from the mere technical value that inheres in a special treatise for specialists. For a great work of literature there is the same demand now that there always has been; and in any great work of literature the first element is great imaginative power. The imaginative power demanded for a great historian is different from that demanded for a great poet; but it is no less marked. Such imaginative power is in no sense incompatible with minute accuracy. On the contrary, very accurate, very real and vivid, presentation of the past, can come only from one in whom the imaginative gift is strong. The industrious collector of dead facts bears to such a man precisely the relation that a photographer bears to Rembrandt. There are innumerable books, that is, innumerable volumes of printed matter between covers, which

are excellent for their own purposes, but in which imagination would be as wholly out of place as in the blue prints of a sewer system or in the photographs taken to illustrate a work on comparative osteology. But the vitally necessary sewer system does not take the place of the cathedral of Rheims or of the Parthenon; no quantity of photographs will ever be equivalent to one Rembrandt; and the greatest mass of data, although indispensable to the work of a great historian, is in no shape or way a substitute for that work.

History, taught for a directly and immediately useful purpose to pupils and the teachers of pupils, is one of the necessary features of a sound education in democratic citizenship. A book containing such sound teaching, even if without any literary quality, may be as useful to the student and as creditable to the writer, as a similar book on medicine. I am not slighting such a book when I say that once it has achieved its worthy purpose, it can be permitted to lapse from human memory as a good book on medicine, which has outlived its usefulness, lapses from memory. But the historical work which does possess literary quality may be a permanent contribution to the sum of man's wisdom, enjoyment, and inspiration. The writer of such a book must add wisdom to knowledge, and the gift of expression to the gift of imagination.

It is a shallow criticism to assert that imagination tends to inaccuracy. Only a distorted imagination tends to inaccuracy. Vast and fundamental truths can be discerned and interpreted only by one whose imagination is as lofty as the soul of a Hebrew prophet. When we say that the great historian must be a man of imagination, we use the word as we use it when we say that the great statesman must be a man of imagination. Moreover, together with imagination must go the power of expression. The great speeches of statesmen, and the great writings of historians can live only if they possess the deathless quality that inheres in all great literature. The greatest literary historian must of necessity be a master of the science of history, a man who has at his finger-tips all the accumulated facts from the treasure-houses of the dead past. But he must also possess the power to marshal what is dead so that before our eyes it lives again.

Many learned people seem to feel that the quality of readability in a book is one which warrants suspicion. Indeed, not a few learned people seem to feel that the fact that a book is interesting is proof that it is shallow. This is particularly apt to be the attitude of scientific men. Very few great scientists have written interestingly, and these few have usually felt apologetic about it. Yet sooner or later the time will come when the mighty sweep of modern



scientific discovery will be placed, by scientific men with the gift of expression, at the service of intelligent and cultivated laymen. Such service will be inestimable. Another writer of *Canterbury Tales*, another singer of *Paradise Lost*, could not add more to the sum of literary achievement than the man who may picture to us the phases of the age-long history of life on this globe, or make vivid before our eyes the tremendous march of the worlds through space.

Indeed, I believe that already science has owed more than it suspects to the unconscious literary power of some of its representatives. Scientific writers of note had grasped the fact of evolution long before Darwin and Huxley; and the theories advanced by these men to explain evolution were not much more unsatisfactory, as full explanations, than the theory of natural selection itself. Yet, where their predecessors had created hardly a ripple, Darwin and Huxley succeeded in effecting a complete revolution in the thought of the age, a revolution as great as that caused by the discovery of the truth about the solar system. I believe that the chief explanation of the difference was the very simple one that what Darwin and Huxley wrote was interesting to read. Every cultivated man soon had their volumes in his library, and they still keep their places on our bookshelves. But Lamarck and Cope are only to be found in the libraries of a few special students. If they had possessed a gift of expression akin to Darwin's, the doctrine of evolution would not in the popular mind have been confounded with the doctrine of natural selection and a juster estimate than at present would obtain as to the relative merits of the explanations of evolution championed by the different scientific schools.

Do not misunderstand me. In the field of historical research an immense amount can be done by men who have no literary power whatever. Moreover, the most painstaking and laborious research, covering long periods of years, is necessary in order to accumulate the material for any history worth writing at all. There are important by-paths of history, moreover, which hardly admit of treatment that would make them of interest to any but specialists. All this I fully admit. In particular I pay high honor to the patient and truthful investigator. He does an indispensable work. My claim is merely that such work should not exclude the work of the great master who can use the materials gathered, who has the gift of vision, the quality of the seer, the power himself to see what has happened and to make what he has seen clear to the vision of others. My only protest is against those who believe that the extension of the activities of the most competent mason and most energetic contractor will supply the lack of great architects. If, as in

the Middle Ages, the journeymen builders are themselves artists, why this is the best possible solution of the problem. But if they are not artists, then their work, however much it represents of praiseworthy industry, and of positive usefulness, does not take the place of the work of a great artist.

Take a concrete example. It is only of recent years that the importance of inscriptions has been realized. To the present-day scholar they are invaluable. Even to the layman, some of them turn the past into the present with startling clearness. The least imaginative is moved by the simple inscription on the Etruscan sarcophagus: "I, the great lady"; a lady so haughty that no other human being was allowed to rest near her; and yet now nothing remains but this proof of the pride of the nameless one. Or the inscription in which Queen Hatshepsut recounts her feats and her magnificence, and ends by abjuring the onlooker, when overcome by the recital, not to say "how wonderful" but "how like her!"—could any picture of a living queen be more intimately vivid? With such inscriptions before us the wonder is that it took us so long to realize their worth. Not unnaturally this realization, when it did come, was followed by the belief that inscriptions would enable us to dispense with the great historians of antiquity. This error is worse than the former. Where the inscriptions give us light on what would otherwise be darkness, we must be profoundly grateful; but we must not confound the lesser light with the greater. We could better afford to lose every Greek inscription that has ever been found than the chapter in which Thucydides tells of the Athenian failure before Syracuse. Indeed, few inscriptions teach us as much history as certain forms of literature that do not consciously aim at teaching history at all. The inscriptions of Hellenistic Greece in the third century before our era do not, all told, give us so lifelike a view of the ordinary life of the ordinary men and women who dwelt in the great Hellenistic cities of the time, as does the fifteenth idyll of Theocritus.

This does not mean that good history can be unscientific. So far from ignoring science, the great historian of the future can do nothing unless he is steeped in science. He can never equal what has been done by the great historians of the past unless he writes not merely with full knowledge, but with an intensely vivid consciousness, of all that of which they were necessarily ignorant. He must accept what we now know to be man's place in nature. He must realize that man has been on this earth for a period of such incalculable length that, from the standpoint of the student of his development through time, what our ancestors used to call "an-

tiquity" is almost indistinguishable from the present day. If our conception of history takes in the beast-like man whose sole tool and weapon was the stone fist-hatchet, and his advanced successors, the man who etched on bone pictures of the mammoth, the reindeer, and the wild horse, in what is now France, and the man who painted pictures of bison in the burial caves of what is now Spain; if we also conceive in their true position our "contemporaneous ancestors", the savages who are now no more advanced than the cave-dwellers of a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand years back, then we shall accept Thothmes and Caesar, Alfred and Washington, Timoleon and Lincoln, Homer and Shakespeare, Pythagoras and Emerson, as all nearly contemporaneous in time and in culture.

The great historian of the future will have easy access to innumerable facts patiently gathered by tens of thousands of investigators, whereas the great historian of the past had very few facts, and often had to gather most of these himself. The great historian of the future cannot be excused if he fails to draw on the vast storehouses of knowledge that have been accumulated, if he fails to profit by the wisdom and work of other men, which are now the common property of all intelligent men. He must use the instruments which the historians of the past did not have ready to hand. Yet even with these instruments he cannot do as good work as the best of the elder historians unless he has vision and imagination, the power to grasp what is essential and to reject the infinitely more numerous non-essentials, the power to embody ghosts, to put flesh and blood on dry bones, to make dead men living before our eyes. In short he must have the power to take the science of history and turn it into literature.

Those who wish history to be treated as a purely utilitarian science often decry the recital of the mighty deeds of the past, the deeds which always have aroused, and for a long period to come are likely to arouse, most interest. These men say that we should study not the unusual but the usual. They say that we profit most by laborious research into the drab monotony of the ordinary, rather than by fixing our eyes on the purple patches that break it. Beyond all question the great historian of the future must keep ever in mind the relative importance of the usual and the unusual. If he is a really great historian, if he possesses the highest imaginative and literary quality, he will be able to interest us in the gray tints of the general landscape no less than in the flame hues of the jutting peaks. It is even more essential to have such quality in writing of the commonplace than in writing of the exceptional. Otherwise no profit will come from study of the ordinary; for writings are useless

unless they are read, and they cannot be read unless they are readable. Furthermore, while doing full justice to the importance of the usual, of the commonplace, the great historian will not lose sight of the importance of the heroic.

It is hard to tell just what it is that is most important to know. The wisdom of one generation may seem the folly of the next. This is just as true of the wisdom of the dry-as-dusts as of the wisdom of those who write interestingly. Moreover, while the value of the by-products of knowledge does not readily yield itself to quantitative expression, it is none the less real. A utilitarian education should undoubtedly be the foundation of all education. But it is far from advisable, it is far from wise, to have it the end of all education. Technical training will more and more be accepted as the prime factor in our educational system, a factor as essential for the farmer, the blacksmith, the seamstress, and the cook, as for the lawyer, the doctor, the engineer, and the stenographer. For similar reasons the purely practical and technical lessons of history, the lessons that help us to grapple with our immediate social and industrial problems, will also receive greater emphasis than ever before. But if we are wise we will no more permit this practical training to exclude knowledge of that part of literature which is history than of that part of literature which is poetry. Side by side with the need for the perfection of the individual in the technique of his special calling goes the need of broad human sympathy, and the need of lofty and generous emotion in that individual. Only thus can the citizenship of the modern state rise level to the complex modern social needs.

No technical training, no narrowly utilitarian study of any kind will meet this second class of needs. In part they can best be met by a training that will fit men and women to appreciate, and therefore to profit by, great poetry, and those great expressions of the historian and the statesman which rivet our interest and stir our souls. Great thoughts match and inspire heroic deeds. The same reasons that make the Gettysburg speech and the Second Inaugural impress themselves on men's minds far more deeply than technical treatises on the constitutional justification of slavery or of secession, apply to fitting descriptions of the great battle and the great contest which occasioned the two speeches. The tense epic of the Gettysburg fight, the larger epic of the whole Civil War, when truthfully and vividly portrayed, will always have, and ought always to have, an attraction, an interest, that cannot be roused by the description of the same number of hours or years of ordinary existence. There are supreme moments in which intensity and not duration is the all-important element. History which is not professedly utilitarian,

history which is didactic only as great poetry is unconsciously didactic, may yet possess that highest form of usefulness, the power to thrill the souls of men with stories of strength and craft and daring, and to lift them out of their common selves to the heights of high endeavor.

The greatest historian should also be a great moralist. It is no proof of impartiality to treat wickedness and goodness as on the same level. But of course the obsession of purposeful moral teaching may utterly defeat its own aim. Moreover, unfortunately, the avowed teacher of morality, when he writes history, sometimes goes very far wrong indeed. It often happens that the man who can be of real help in inspiring others by his utterances on abstract principles is wholly unable to apply his own principles to concrete cases. Carlyle offers an instance in point. Very few men have ever been a greater source of inspiration to other ardent souls than was Carlyle when he confined himself to preaching morality in the abstract. Moreover his theory bade him treat history as offering material to support that theory. But not only was he utterly unable to distinguish either great virtues or great vices when he looked abroad on contemporary life—as witness his attitude toward our own Civil War—but he was utterly unable to apply his own principles concretely in history. His *Frederick the Great* is literature of a high order. It may, with reservations, even be accepted as history. But the "morality" therein jubilantly upheld is shocking to any man who takes seriously Carlyle's other writings in which he lays down principles of conduct. In his *Frederick the Great* he was not content to tell the facts. He was not content to announce his admiration. He wished to square himself with his theories, and to reconcile what he admired, both with the actual fact and with his previously expressed convictions on morality. He could only do so by refusing to face the facts and by using words with meanings that shifted to meet his own mental emergencies. He pretended to discern morality where no vestige of it existed. He tortured the facts to support his views. The "morality" he praised had no connection with morality as understood in the New Testament. It was the kind of archaic morality observed by the Danites in their dealings with the people of Laish. The sermon of the Mormon bishop in Owen Wister's "Pilgrim on the Gila" sets forth the only moral lessons which it was possible for Carlyle truthfully to draw from the successes he described.

History must not be treated as something set off by itself. It should not be treated as a branch of learning bound to the past by the shackles of an iron conservatism. It is neither necessary rigidly

to mark the limits of the province of history, nor to treat of all that is within that province, nor to exclude any subject within that province from treatment, nor yet to treat different methods of dealing with the same subject as mutually exclusive. Every writer and every reader has his own needs, to meet himself or to be met by others. Among a great multitude of thoughtful people there is room for the widest possible variety of appeals. Let each man fearlessly choose what is of real importance and interest to him personally, reverencing authority, but not in a superstitious spirit, because he must needs reverence liberty even more.

There is an infinite variety of subjects to treat, and no need to estimate their relative importance. Because one man is interested in the history of finance, it does not mean that another is wrong in being interested in the history of war. One man's need is met by exhaustive tables of statistics; another's by the study of the influence exerted on national life by the great orators, the Websters and Burkes, or by the poets, the Tyrtaeuses and Koerners, who in crises utter what is in the nation's heart. There is need of the study of the historical workings of representative government. There is no less need of the study of the economic changes produced by the factory system. Because we study with profit what Thorold Rogers wrote of prices we are not debarred from also profiting by Mahan's studies of naval strategy. One man finds what is of most importance to his own mind and heart in tracing the effect upon humanity of the spread of malaria along the shores of the Aegean; or the effect of the Black Death on the labor-market of medieval Europe; or the profound influence upon the development of the African continent of the fatal diseases borne by the bites of insects, which close some districts to human life and others to the beasts without which humanity rests at the lowest stage of savagery. One man sees the events from one viewpoint, one from another. Yet another can combine both. We can be stirred by Thayer's study of Cavour without abating our pleasure in the younger Trevelyan's volumes on Garibaldi. Because we revel in Froissart, or Joinville, or Villehardouin, there is no need that we should lack interest in the books that attempt the more difficult task of tracing the economic changes in the status of peasant, mechanic, and burgher during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

History must welcome the entrance upon its domain of every science. As James Harvey Robinson in his *New History* has said:

The bounds of all departments of human research and speculation are inherently provisional, indefinite, and fluctuating; moreover, the lines of demarcation are hopelessly interlaced, for real men and the real universe

in which they live are so intricate as to defy all attempts even of the most patient and subtle German to establish satisfactorily and permanently the *Begriff und Wesen* of any artificially delimited set of natural phenomena, whether words, thoughts, deeds, forces, animals, plants, or stars. Each so-called science or discipline is ever and always dependent on other sciences and disciplines. It draws its life from them, and to them it owes, consciously or unconsciously, a great part of its chances of progress.

Elsewhere this writer dwells on the need of understanding the genetic side of history, if we are to grasp the real meaning of, and grapple most effectively with, the phenomena of our present-day lives; for that which is can be dealt with best if we realize at least in part from what a tangled web of causation it has sprung.

The work of the archaeologist, the work of the anthropologist, the work of the palaeo-ethnologist—out of all these a great literary historian may gather material indispensable for his use. He, and we, ought fully to acknowledge our debt to the collectors of these indispensable facts. The investigator in any line may do work which puts us all under lasting obligations to him, even though he be totally deficient in the art of literary expression, that is, totally deficient in the ability to convey vivid and lifelike pictures to others of the past whose secrets he has laid bare. I would give no scanty or grudging acknowledgment to the deeds of such a man. He does a lasting service; whereas the man who tries to make literary expression cover his ignorance or misreading of facts renders less than no service. But the service done is immeasurably increased in value when the man arises who from his study of a myriad dead fragments is able to paint some living picture of the past.

This is why the record as great writers preserve it has a value immeasurably beyond what is merely lifeless. Such a record pulses with immortal life. It may recount the deed or the thought of a hero at some supreme moment. It may be merely the portrayal of homely every-day life. This matters not, so long as in either event the genius of the historian enables him to paint in colors that do not fade. The cry of the Ten Thousand when they first saw the sea still stirs the hearts of men. The ruthless death scene between Jehu and Jezebel; wicked Ahab, smitten by the chance arrow, and propped in his chariot until he died at sundown; Josiah, losing his life because he would not heed the Pharaoh's solemn warning, and mourned by all the singing men and all the singing women—the fates of these kings and of this king's daughter, are part of the common stock of knowledge of mankind. They were petty rulers of petty principalities; yet, compared with them, mighty conquerors, who added empire to empire, Shalmaneser and Sargon, Amenhotep and

Rameses, are but shadows; for the deeds and the deaths of the kings of Judah and Israel are written in words that, once read, cannot be forgotten. The Peloponnesian War bulks of unreal size to-day because it once seemed thus to bulk to a master mind. Only a great historian can fittingly deal with a very great subject; yet because the qualities of chief interest in human history can be shown on a small field no less than on a large one, some of the greatest historians have treated subjects that only their own genius rendered great.

So true is this that if great events lack a great historian, and a great poet writes about them, it is the poet who fixes them in the mind of mankind, so that in after-time importance the real has become the shadow and the shadow the reality. Shakespeare has definitely fixed the character of the Richard III. of whom ordinary men think and speak. Keats forgot even the right name of the man who first saw the Pacific Ocean; yet it is his lines which leap to our minds when we think of the "wild surmise" felt by the indomitable explorer-conqueror from Spain when the vast new sea burst on his vision.

When, however, the great historian has spoken, his work will never be undone. No poet can ever supersede what Napier wrote of the storming of Badajoz, of the British infantry at Albuera, and of the light artillery at Fuentes d'Oñoro. After Parkman had written of Montcalm and Wolfe there was left for other writers only what Fitzgerald left for other translators of Omar Khayyam. Much new light has been thrown on the history of the Byzantine Empire by the many men who have studied it of recent years; we read each new writer with pleasure and profit; and after reading each we take down a volume of Gibbon, with renewed thankfulness that a great writer was moved to do a great task.

The greatest of future archaeologists will be the great historian who instead of being a mere antiquarian delver in dust heaps has the genius to reconstruct for us the immense panorama of the past. He must possess knowledge. He must possess that without which knowledge is of so little use, wisdom. What he brings from the charnel-house he must use with such potent wizardry that we shall see the life that was and not the death that is. For remember that the past was life just as much as the present is life. Whether it be Egypt, or Mesopotamia, or Scandinavia with which he deals, the great historian, if the facts permit him, will put before us the men and women as they actually lived so that we shall recognize them for what they were, living beings. Men like Maspero, Breasted, and Weigall have already begun this work for the countries of the Nile and the Euphrates. For Scandinavia the groundwork was laid long



ago in the *Heimskringla* and in such sagas as those of Burnt Njal and Gisli Soursop. Minute descriptions of mummies and of the furniture of tombs help us as little to understand the Egypt of the mighty days, as to sit inside the tomb of Mount Vernon would help us to see Washington the soldier leading to battle his scarred and tattered veterans, or Washington the statesman, by his serene strength of character, rendering it possible for his countrymen to establish themselves as one great nation.

The great historian must be able to paint for us the life of the plain people, the ordinary men and women, of the time of which he writes. He can do this only if he possesses the highest kind of imagination. Collections of figures no more give us a picture of the past than the reading of a tariff report on hides or woolens gives us an idea of the actual lives of the men and women who live on ranches or work in factories. The great historian will in as full measure as possible present to us the every-day life of the men and women of the age which he describes. Nothing that tells of this life will come amiss to him. The instruments of their labor and the weapons of their warfare, the wills that they wrote, the bargains that they made, and the songs that they sang when they feasted and made love; he must use them all. He must tell us of the toil of the ordinary man in ordinary times, and of the play by which that ordinary toil was broken. He must never forget that no event stands out entirely isolated. He must trace from its obscure and humble beginnings each of the movements that in its hour of triumph has shaken the world.

Yet he must not forget that the times that are extraordinary need especial portrayal. In the revolt against the old tendency of historians to deal exclusively with the spectacular and the exceptional, to treat only of war and oratory and government, many modern writers have gone to the opposite extreme. They fail to realize that in the lives of nations as in the lives of men there are hours so fraught with weighty achievement, with triumph or defeat, with joy or sorrow, that each such hour may determine all the years that are to come thereafter, or may outweigh all the years that have gone before. In the writings of our historians, as in the lives of our ordinary citizens, we can neither afford to forget that it is the ordinary every-day life which counts most; nor yet that seasons come when ordinary qualities count for but little in the face of great contending forces of good and of evil, the outcome of whose strife determines whether the nation shall walk in the glory of the morning or in the gloom of spiritual death.

The historian must deal with the days of common things, and

deal with them so that they shall interest us in reading of them as our own common things interest us as we live among them. He must trace the changes that come almost unseen, the slow and gradual growth that transforms for good or for evil the children and grandchildren so that they stand high above or far below the level on which their forefathers stood. He must also trace the great cataclysms that interrupt and divert this gradual development. He can no more afford to be blind to one class of phenomena than to the other. He must ever remember that while the worst offense of which he can be guilty is to write vividly and inaccurately, yet that unless he writes vividly he cannot write truthfully; for no amount of dull, painstaking detail will sum up as the whole truth unless the genius is there to paint the truth.

There can be no better illustration of what I mean than is afforded by the history of Russia during the last thousand years. The historian must trace the growth of the earliest Slav communities of the forest and the steppe, the infiltration of Scandinavian invaders who gave them their first power of mass action, and the slow, chaotic development of the little communes into barbarous cities and savage princedoms. In later Russian history he must show us priest and noble, merchant and serf, changing slowly from the days when Ivan the Terrible warred against Bátorý, the Magyar king of Poland, until the present moment, when with half-suspicious eyes the people of the Czar watch their remote Bulgarian kinsmen standing before the last European stronghold of the Turk. During all these centuries there were multitudes of wars, foreign and domestic, any or all of which were of little moment compared to the slow working of the various forces that wrought in the times of peace. But there was one period of storm and overthrow so terrible that it affected profoundly for all time the whole growth of the Russian people, in inmost character no less than in external dominion. Early in the thirteenth century the genius of Jenghiz Khan stirred the Mongol horsemen of the mid-Asian pastures to a movement as terrible to civilization as the lava flow of a volcano to the lands around the volcano's foot. When that century opened, the Mongols were of no more weight in the world than the Touaregs of the Sahara are to-day. Long before the century had closed they had ridden from the Yellow Sea to the Adriatic and the Persian Gulf. They had crushed Christian and Moslem and Buddhist alike beneath the iron cruelty of their sway. They had conquered China as their successors conquered India. They sacked Baghdad, the seat of the Khalif. In mid-Europe their presence for a moment caused the same horror to fall on the warring adherents of the pope and the kaiser. To

Europe they were a scourge so frightful, so irresistible, that the people cowered before them as if they had been demons. No European army of that day, of any nation, was able to look them in the face on a stricken field. Bestial in their lives, irresistible in battle, merciless in victory, they trampled the lands over which they rode into bloody mire beneath the hoofs of their horses. The squat, slit-eyed, brawny horse-bowmen drew a red furrow across Hungary, devastated Poland, and in Silesia overthrew the banded chivalry of Germany. But it was in Russia that they did their worst. They not merely conquered Russia, but held the Russians as cowering and abject serfs for two centuries. Every feeble effort at resistance was visited with such bloodthirsty vengeance that finally no Russian ventured ever to oppose them at all. But the princes of the cities soon found that the beast-like fury of the conquerors when their own desires were thwarted, was only equalled by their beast-like indifference to all that was done among the conquered people themselves, and that they were ever ready to hire themselves out to aid each Russian against his brother. Under this régime the Russian who rose was the Russian who with cringing servility to his Tartar overlords combined ferocious and conscienceless greed in the treatment of his fellow-Russians. Moscow came to the front by using the Tartar to help conquer the other Russian cities, paying as a price abject obedience to all Tartar demands. In the long run the fierce and pliant cunning of the conquered people proved too much for the short-sighted and arrogant brutality of the conquerors. The Tartar power, the Mongolian power, waned. Russia became united, threw off the yoke, and herself began a career of aggression at the expense of her former conquerors. But the reconquest of racial independence, vitally necessary though it was to Russia, had been paid for by the establishment of a despotism Asiatic rather than European in its spirit and working.

The true historian will bring the past before our eyes as if it were the present. He will make us see as living men the hard-faced archers of Agincourt, and the war-worn spearmen who followed Alexander down beyond the rim of the known world. We shall hear grate on the coast of Britain the keels of the Low-Dutch sea-thieves whose children's children were to inherit unknown continents. We shall thrill to the triumphs of Hannibal. Gorgeous in our sight will rise the splendor of dead cities, and the might of the elder empires of which the very ruins crumbled to dust ages ago. Along ancient trade routes, across the world's waste spaces, the caravans shall move; and the admirals of uncharted seas shall furrow the oceans with their lonely prows. Beyond the dim centuries

we shall see the banners float above armed hosts. We shall see conquerors riding forward to victories that have changed the course of time. We shall listen to the prophecies of forgotten seers. Ours shall be the dreams of dreamers who dreamed greatly, who saw in their vision peaks so lofty that never yet have they been reached by the sons and daughters of men. Dead poets shall sing to us the deeds of men of might and the love and the beauty of women. We shall see the dancing girls of Memphis. The scent of the flowers in the Hanging Gardens of Babylon will be heavy to our senses. We shall sit at feast with the kings of Nineveh when they drink from ivory and gold. With Queen Maeve in her sun parlor we shall watch the nearing chariots of the champions. For us the war-horns of King Olaf shall wail across the flood, and the harps sound high at festivals in forgotten halls. The frowning strongholds of the barons of old shall rise before us, and the white palace-castles from whose windows Syrian princes once looked across the blue Aegean. We shall know the valor of the two-sworded Samurai. Ours shall be the hoary wisdom and the strange, crooked folly of the immortal civilizations which tottered to a living death in India and in China. We shall see the terrible horsemen of Timur the Lame ride over the roof of the world; we shall hear the drums beat as the armies of Gustavus and Frederick and Napoleon drive forward to victory. Ours shall be the woe of burgher and peasant, and ours the stern joy when freemen triumph and justice comes to her own. The agony of the galley-slaves shall be ours, and the rejoicing when the wicked are brought low and the men of evil days have their reward. We shall see the glory of triumphant violence, and the revel of those who do wrong in high places; and the broken-hearted despair that lies beneath the glory and the revel. We shall also see the supreme righteousness of the wars for freedom and justice, and know that the men who fell in these wars made all mankind their debtors.

Some day the historians will tell us of these things. Some day, too, they will tell our children of the age and the land in which we now live. They will portray the conquest of the continent. They will show the slow beginnings of settlement, the growth of the fishing and trading towns on the seacoast, the hesitating early ventures into the Indian-haunted forest. Then they will show the backwoods-men, with their long rifles and their light axes, making their way with labor and peril through the wooded wilderness to the Mississippi; and then the endless march of the white-topped wagon-trains across plain and mountain to the coast of the greatest of the five great oceans. They will show how the land which the pioneers won

slowly and with incredible hardship was filled in two generations by the overflow from the countries of western and central Europe. The portentous growth of the cities will be shown, and the change from a nation of farmers to a nation of business men and artisans, and all the far-reaching consequences of the rise of the new industrialism. The formation of a new ethnic type in this melting-pot of the nations will be told. The hard materialism of our age will appear, and also the strange capacity for lofty idealism which must be reckoned with by all who would understand the American character. A people whose heroes are Washington and Lincoln, a peaceful people who fought to a finish one of the bloodiest of wars, waged solely for the sake of a great principle and a noble idea, surely possess an emergency standard far above mere money-getting.

Those who tell the Americans of the future what the Americans of to-day and of yesterday have done, will perforce tell much that is unpleasant. This is but saying that they will describe the arch-typical civilization of this age. Nevertheless when the tale is finally told, I believe that it will show that the forces working for good in our national life outweigh the forces working for evil, and that, with many blunders and shortcomings, with much halting and turning aside from the path, we shall yet in the end prove our faith by our works, and show in our lives our belief that righteousness exalteth a nation.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

## PROFITABLE FIELDS OF INVESTIGATION IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

THERE is a striking sentence in the prologue of Froissart's *Chronicles*, which in the sonorous Tudor translation runs:

It is said of trouth that al buyldynges are masoned and wroughte of dyverse stones, and all great ryvers are gurged and assemblede of divers surges and sprynges of water. In lyke wyse, all sciences are extraught and compiled of diverse clerkes; of that one wryteth, another, paraventure, is ignorant. But by the famous wrytyng of auncient auctours all thyngs is ben knowen in one place or other.

The student of history knows that even if history were not every year in the making and if new archives were not still accumulating, the sources of the past will ever continue to be an inexhaustible repository. The thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns. The point of view changes from generation to generation, and new interests are accentuated. The amount of new-found source material pertaining to medieval history is relatively slight when compared with the mass of inscriptions, clay tablets, pyramid texts, and papyri which have broadened the horizon of antiquity so greatly in the past fifty years, or the vast collections of modern history still unexamined and even uncatalogued in European archives. And yet there is no field of history which will better reward the investigator than that of the Middle Ages, and there is probably no field in which greater progress is being made.

When the chairman of the programme committee invited me to prepare this paper, he expressed the wish that it should consist of a general view of the field in question in relation to investigation, indicating subjects which have been reasonably well worked out, and the lines along which study can at present most profitably be carried on. With your permission, I will reverse the order of these ideas, and consider some lines along which the study of medieval history can most profitably be carried on, for it were an uninteresting task to undertake that of warning people away from unprofitable subjects.

The dean of American medievalists some years ago, in an article which all doubtless know, but which the student of medieval history may re-read with great benefit, because of its pregnant suggestiveness, has said:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A paper read in a conference of students of medieval history, at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Boston, December 28, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> G. B. Adams, "Present Problems of Medieval History", *International Congress of Arts and Science*, III. 126-128.

There is no other considerable portion of history, ancient or modern, that has been as yet investigated with such minuteness as that which embraces the history of Europe from the beginning of the fifth century to the end of the ninth, and we may add that, as a natural result, regarding all questions of importance in this field there is now a nearly or quite general consensus of opinion among scholars. . . . In view of this condition of things . . . I should like in all earnestness to raise the question whether the time has not now come when the main force of our vigorous and advancing historical effort should be turned into some other portion of the field; whether scholarly work in the first half of medieval history is not likely to find itself more and more shut up to the study of minute facts, which are, it may be, interesting in themselves, but of no essential influence on the real current of affairs. If this is true, and the students of medieval history continue in the future as they have in the past to spend their chief effort in this field, are we not running some risk of that danger which seems to threaten every science at some period of its history, the danger of the development of a more or less barren scholasticism? . . . Have we not now reached the point in our study of the first half of the Middle Ages when we should expect and encourage, as the next step in advance, constructive rather than analytical work?

Unless this statement be understood to have reference to the larger things of institutional history, I trust that it will not seem captious to dissent in part from this opinion. Admitting the thoroughness of investigation in the case of early medieval history, can we yet believe that this period is so empty of opportunity to do analytical research, or that there is so completely settled an opinion regarding it? Is there not danger of our historical conclusions becoming too conventionalized and too fixed? The history of the medieval Church is one which has been notoriously conventionalized. It seems to me there is danger lest the great scholarship of men like Waitz, Roth, and Dahn compel too ready an acceptance, and our interpretation of early medieval history become too conventionalized under the great weight of their authority. Much analytical work may yet frequently be done and with profit in new study of an old subject. The graduate student may not unnaturally think that the greatest immediate progress will be made by the investigation of new and unexplored subjects, but this is not always so. The actual extent of existing information upon a given subject in and of itself is sometimes difficult to find. I have often thought that a valuable pro-seminar training would be the endeavor to ascertain the present historical status of certain problems and accurately to define that status with a view to further research.

Historical research ought ordinarily to be constructive in its results. I do not mean to imply that there is no room for destructive criticism, for this form of writing is necessary and valuable in its place as a corrective. Yet in the main it is true that historical re-

search ought to be constructive, not destructive. To prove a negative is ordinarily profitless.

The genuinely great product of historical investigation is four-square—its length and breadth and height are equal, and it has weight in proportion. Krumbacher's criticism of Drapeyron's *L'Empereur Héraclius*, "Ein dickes, aber ziemlich luftiges Buch",<sup>3</sup> is as terse as it is crushing a judgment. The critical review of established conclusions by careful examination of another's method and criticism, or a new interpretation of familiar sources, may be of more proportionate value to the advancement of history than the investigation of an entirely new subject. The door of early medieval history, I believe, is still wide open to modern "high-power" research, if I may so phrase it, to re-examine evidence and make new valuations and new determinations. One who has read that wonderful fourth chapter in Bernheim is likely to rise from it skeptical of even the most accepted interpretation of events. In other words, old subjects may become new in the light of better methods or a new point of view. For the point of view is often of as much importance as the thing seen from it.

Let me illustrate this by an example falling directly within this circumscribed field of medieval history, between the decline of the Roman Empire and the break-up of the Carolingian Empire. The legislation of Charlemagne would seem to be a subject that has been exhaustively studied, and no document more so than the capitulary *De Villis*. This famous ordinance, from Montesquieu to Inama-Sternegg, has been assumed to have had uniform application to all imperial domains. Kaempfer's *Karl der Grosse* (Mainz, 1910) which gives special attention to economic conditions, assumes the traditional view. Yet during the present year this assumption has been heavily attacked by a German scholar, Alfons Dopsch.<sup>4</sup> In the course of a searching examination of Inama-Sternegg's classic conclusions, Dopsch denies that the capitulary *De Villis* was intended to apply to the imperial domains in general. He contends that the capitulary was local in its application, and in all probability was intended to apply to Aquitaine only, and that it was issued in 794 or 795 for the instruction of Frank officials who actually administered Louis the Pious's toy kingdom of Aquitaine. Now, while this most recent conclusion must be accepted with caution, it yet seems to me to show that we cannot accept too unreservedly the view that "regarding all questions of importance in this field there is now a nearly or quite general consensus of opinion among scholars".

<sup>3</sup> Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur*, p. 1074 D.

<sup>4</sup> Dopsch, *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit*, part I. (Weimar, 1912).



So fundamental an historical matter as the separation of the East and West<sup>5</sup> in the fourth and fifth centuries is still full of obscurities. It is easy to use broad generalizations and point to the antagonism of culture, institutions, language, and the influence of religious variance. But the *actual detail* of this slow process of separation is still an unwritten chapter, the constructive writing of which cannot be done until patient preliminary analysis has been made.

If we go back into the history of the Church in the third and fourth centuries, the same state of affairs obtains. Much of our understanding of church history in this period is still unemancipated from tradition, and in many particulars we have not advanced far beyond Ruinart and Tillemont. Even admitting that the erudition of these scholars enabled them to be independent of the lodestone of ecclesiastical tradition, or the coercive influence of church authority, nevertheless their critical apparatus was a clumsy instrument when compared to the edged tool of a Scheffer-Boichorst, a Wattenbach, a Julien Havet, or a Léopold Delisle. Church history in the centuries lying on either side of 300 A.D. still embodies much that is venerable and conventionalized, awaiting new analysis. Let me give a case in point, that of the Edict of Milan. Seeck has assembled strong evidence to show that the so-called "Edict of Milan" was not actually an edict at all, but a letter addressed by Constantine's colleague Licinius to some official in the East enjoining him to see that the Edict of Galerius was enforced.<sup>6</sup>

I refrain from attempting to tabulate a list of the old wines that might be put into new bottles. Such a list would be merely a matter of opinion. But—voicing the opinion of others—as to profitable and unworked subjects of investigation in the early history of the Church, Harnack has mentioned two and Bury one.

1) The technical side of the spread of early Christian literature has not yet been investigated.<sup>7</sup>

2) Little attempt has yet been made to collect the opinions of Christians as to the personal character and regulations of the various emperors, although ample material lies in the Apologists, Melito, Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius, Eusebius, etc., as well as in the Sibylline Oracles and the Apocryphal Acts.<sup>8</sup>

Since Harnack indicated this subject, two theses have partially

<sup>5</sup> E. g. the diffusion of Latin as the language of administration in the East in the fifth century; see the declaration of the bishops at the Council of Ephesus in 431 (Mansi, IV. 1282) and that of Chalcedon in 451 (Mansi, VII. 54 and 455).

<sup>6</sup> *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XII. 381 ff. But compare the reply of Görres, *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1892, pp. 282 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, I. 376.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 43, note 3.

covered it, one in French, the other in German,<sup>9</sup> but the whole body of apologetic literature yet remains to be studied.

3) The ecclesiastical policy of Justinian is still a field for research.<sup>10</sup>

No one needs to be told that some of the richest results in medieval research in the last thirty years have been in the field of economic history. In some subjects, the American medievalist has an advantage over his European confrère, because, if he has imagination, he will discover that there are certain events in his own history that will enable him to visualize the history of the Middle Ages more clearly than they. He ought to have keener historical perception of their nature and operation. In 1893, in his memorable paper upon "The Significance of the Frontier in American History", Professor Turner quoted the words of the Italian economist Loria: "America has the key to the historical enigma which Europe has sought for centuries in vain."

An admirable illustration of this is to be found in German history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Lamprecht has pointed out that the great deed of the German people in the Middle Ages<sup>11</sup> was the expansion of the German race eastward over the Slavonic nations and the making of three-fifths of modern Germany. The significance of the frontier in conditioning the history of Germany in the Middle Ages was little less than the significance of the frontier in shaping American history. But there is no German writer who has perceived it with the vividness with which Professor Turner has set forth the influence of American western expansion. The reason is not hard to find. The European frontier is a fortified line, an artificial barrier, running through densely populated regions. The stages in Germany's eastward expansion and the formative processes which made that expansion have largely become obliterated. In the United States west of the Alleghanies, the history of this process is still intimately associated with family and personal history. Men are yet living whose grandsires settled Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, whose fathers made Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. To the American the history of the making of the great West is still a vivid personal and family history. To the German scholar the history of the making of the Northeast is an academic question. The German pioneer is seven hundred years removed from the students of Berlin

<sup>9</sup> Denner, "Les Sentiments des Chrétiens à l'égard de l'Empereur d'après les Acta Primorum Martyrum et Selecta de Dom Th. Ruinart", *Positions de Thèses de l'Université de Paris* (1896); Morawitzky, *Die Kaiseridee in den echten und unechten Märtyrerakten der Christenverfolgungen des Decius* (Breslau, 1909).

<sup>10</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (ed. Bury), I. introduction, p. lx.

<sup>11</sup> Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, III. 349.

and Leipzig. The American pioneer is less than a century's distance from the American scholar of to-day, and is not yet a wholly vanished factor.

This parallel between American westward expansion and German eastward expansion in the Middle Ages is not a fanciful one. With scarcely more than change of dates and proper names many of the paragraphs in Professor Turner's essay may be applied to German medieval history. The line of the Elbe, Oder, and Vistula rivers as clearly demarked the eastward expansion of Germany as the "fall line" of the Atlantic seaboard, the Alleghanies, and the Mississippi delimited the formation of the West. That "return to primitive conditions in a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development of that area", which is so manifest in American expansion, is just as true of the history of the German border. The stages of transition are identical—from cattle-raising and swine-herding to farming, to commerce, to manufacturing. In the time of the Ottos, the Saxon peasant fed his cattle in the plains of the Elbe and Saale rivers, and the Thuringian herded swine on the pine-slopes of the Harz. The cowpens were not far from the town life of old Franconia—Mainz, Worms, Speyer, as they were near the "fall line" in the colonies when tide-water cities like Baltimore, Richmond, and Charleston had become staid communities. Erfurt, Hallstadt, Forchheim, Priemberg, Schesel, Magdeburg, were fortified trading depots with the Wends like forts Granville, Shirley, and Bedford in Pennsylvania, Cumberland in Virginia, Chiswell on the Great Kanawha, and Prince George above the Saluda. These German fortified towns were often built on the site of former Slavonic villages, as Indian villages were occupied over here. Beyond these posts the German pack-trader, with whom furs were an important article of trade, threaded the Slavonic wilderness as his American successor pierced the Alleghany watershed into the plains of Kentucky and Ohio.

The Franconian period witnessed the transition of Lower Germany from cattle-raising and barter to a more settled agricultural régime and an awakening trade. The war of investiture, which fell so heavily on Saxony, changed its pioneer simplicity and plain social texture. Saxony was feudalized after the manner of Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria. The result was that the hardier spirits "trekked" eastward to new lands, leaving the great manors of Church and noble, which had supplanted the Saxon free-farmer, to be farmed more intensively by Flemish and Dutch colonists used to deep ploughings in the heavy soils of the Low Countries, who were imported by Henry the Lion and Adolph of Mecklenburg.

As "the most significant thing about the American frontier is that it lies at the hither edge of free land", so one of the most striking things about the medieval German frontier is that it lay at the edge of feudalized land. I do not mean, of course, to say that Brandenburg was not a feudal state; but the conditions, institutional and social, varied so much in degree between Brandenburg and the rest of Germany, that a certain parallel between the borderland of Germany and our own western lands can be made. The rectangular survey has a certain prototype in the rectangular *mansus regalis* of the East German border, which was adopted in place of the complex manor of older Germany, with its demesne, its strips of glebe land, and dividing "balks".

East of the Elbe, the village was laid out in a long street with houses on either side; behind the house, in a single rectangular tract, stretched the homestead lands—first the fields, then the pasture land, and behind these the wood-lot. This manner of settling new tracts spread to other parts of Germany later in the Middle Ages—into Upper Bavaria, the Black Forest, the Odenwald; nearly one-quarter of Silesia was so colonized, as later the marsh lands between the Oder, the Wartha, and the Netze. But the whole system goes back to the Dutch settlers first established in 1106 along the North Sea littoral<sup>12</sup> and in clearings in the Franconian forest, and then *in extenso* in Brandenburg. A charter of Albert the Bear<sup>13</sup> mentions these manors of Dutch measurement—*mansos Hollandriensis dimensionis*. The contention of Mr. Douglas Campbell that the rectangular survey here in America was derived from the Dutch may be doubted. But there is a striking analogy in practice and results between this manorial rectangular survey, undeniably of Dutch origin, which obtained in medieval Brandenburg, and our own system of public land survey.

There are other details also of German frontier history that ought to be more luminous to the American student of history than to the German. When the silver mines of the Erzgebirge were discovered in 1171 there was a rush from the older mining region of the Harz that resembled the gold fever of '49 and carried the German frontier at a bound to the Upper Elbe, as the American frontier leaped the plains to the Pacific. The salt springs of Hallstadt and other places in Germany conditioned expansion and

<sup>12</sup> See the charter of the Bishop of Hamburg (1106) to "certain people called Hollanders", in Altmann and Bernheim, no. 68. The grants measured "720 royal rods long and 30 royal rods wide", approximately 13½ acres. For Flemings in Austria see the charter of Leopold VI. (1208) in Reich, *Select Documents*, p. 265. The literature is indicated in Schwind-Dopsch, *Urkunden* (1895), p. 38 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Riedel, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, II, 51.

settlement, as those of the Kanawha, of Kentucky, and of southern Indiana influenced the westward movement of American pioneers between 1780 and 1820. The colonies of Flemings and Hollanders established in lower Saxony in the time of Henry the Lion and in Brandenburg by Albert the Bear, the Angle colony about Merseburg, the settlements of Saxon miners in the Bohemian mountains, and the sixteen free "Zips" towns founded in the Hungarian Zipser-Erzgebirge were woven into the texture of medieval German society as the Dutch of the Hudson, the Germans of the Mohawk, and the Palatine Germans of the Shenandoah Valley and Piedmont have been merged with the American people.

When commerce and trade became established along the Oder and Vistula, and the fair of Frankfort-on-the-Oder rivalled that of Frankfort-on-the-Main, the German possession of Wollin at the mouth of the Oder and Danzig at that of the Vistula, which belonged to Denmark, was just as important to eastern German trade then as it was to the United States to secure Mobile and New Orleans to protect our own western trade. The problem and the conditions were not unsimilar.

Again, everyone knows the particularism which characterized central and western Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and that it was largely absent in Brandenburg and Austria. Why? Because they were *border* states. There was less particularism in them for the same reason that particularism in America was strongest in colonies with no Indian problem. There was less feudal caste and more democracy in Brandenburg than elsewhere in Germany at the same time, just as American democracy had its birth in the "New West" of Jackson and Benton. Even in religion a not unremote similarity of conditions produced similar results. Helmold<sup>14</sup> is struck with the revival of missionary spirit on the German frontier where Norbert ministered in Magdeburg and Wicelin in Lübeck, that finds its psychological parallel—not absolute, of course, but relative—in the strong revivalist tendencies observable in the pioneer communities among whom Cartwright labored.

I have spent more time, perhaps, than I should have done upon this subject, but it will not have been done in vain if, by this detailed illustration, I have succeeded in convincing the American student that there are more things in the history of medieval Germany than Riedel and Raumer and Heinemann and Meitzen, or even Lamprecht have divined. He can see what they have not; his historical imagination ought to be quicker than theirs.

But if America has the key to the understanding of the devel-

<sup>14</sup> Helmold, I. 54.

opment of the German frontier, no less have the English in India and Egypt a key to the understanding of the Plantagenet empire which has not yet been used. We lose historical proportion and we shorten English history in regarding English imperialism as a wholly modern thing. Bordeaux was as far from London in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as Bombay is to-day. Making all allowance for the great differences, Guienne was a dependency not unlike India to-day, where Britain learned its earliest lessons in colonial government.<sup>15</sup> Edward I.'s sixteen years' residence in Aquitaine was a period of preparation and a school of political education that may be compared with Wellington's career in India. Think of the numbers of Englishmen then as now in her colonial service; of the problems of administration; of the commercial relation between the two countries. Full treatment of the interior development and external history of Guienne must await the completion of the publication of the *Gascon Rolls*. But there is a wealth of material already indicated in the volumes of the Public Record Office *Calendars* which may be supplemented by much French material.

To use a miner's phrase, there are old "diggings" in history, capable of being newly worked, and many unexplored fields. Every one knows that improved machinery and the cyanide process of ore extraction have revolutionized mining to-day and made profitable use of matter once discarded. So modern historical research, with new and critical editions of the sources, keener criticism, and above all, greater sympathetic imagination, new kinds of interests, new points of view, has extracted new evidence and amassed new information from sources which the old-school historian would have thought exhausted. An illustration of this is to be found in Luchaire's *La Société Française au Temps de Philippe-Auguste*. On page 430 of this work Luchaire, as Mr. Powicke has pointed out,<sup>16</sup> "makes the startling and interesting suggestion that the rural population was much more nomadic, much less sedentary in the days of Philip Augustus than it is to-day. He gives instances of the flight and removal of whole villages. If this conclusion be correct, the author was obviously at the threshold of important economic and social discoveries which might clear up the problem of medieval population"—and it might be added, might even enable us to settle the furious and unabated controversy as to the *homo migrans* of the Lex Salica.

One can never be sure that the last drop has been pressed out

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the remarks of Montagu Burrows, *The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire* (London, 1886), p. 18.

<sup>16</sup> *English Historical Review*, XXV. 565 (1910).

of the grape. Dr. Cunningham says that "the life of Anskar gives a good many interesting hints as to northern commerce in the ninth century",<sup>17</sup> and refers to chapters 16, 19, 22, 28, 29, and 41. But when I read the life I was surprised that he had omitted three of the most interesting chapters, *viz.*, 20, 24, 27.

Luchaire, Flach, Viollet, Lot, Pfister, Guilhiermoz, Garreau, and others have done notable service in investigating the history of feudal France. But I do not believe that we may say that their findings—even when they all agree, as they do not—are permanent. Conclusions are not final but tentative still. Who will deny that this epoch is imperfectly known? We know little of lay life, especially lower lay life, before the period of the towns, and little enough then. Relations were primitive; conventions oftener oral than written, and little of these remain. Even the written sources give limited information, as of a place at a given moment. They leave in darkness the condition of a great part of the country over years together. A *geographical* classification of the sources would be valuable to show the magnitude of the gaps, and this has not yet been made. In the domain of local investigation historical research is very necessary and very fruitful. National history to-day rests on intensive local research. It is beyond the powers of any one man to sift all the sources of an entire epoch, but a great historian may take of these local quarries of humble workmen and build the materials into the edifice of a history of national dimensions. To take merely one instance—historians of the peasant revolt of 1525 in Germany will never be able to pass over Hirn's little study of the Landtag of the Tyrol between 1518 and 1525.

The field of ecclesiastical institutions in France and England is full of fertile topics of investigation. There are few monographs upon the history of monastic administration in medieval France and fewer still of England.<sup>18</sup> The history of English ecclesiastical institutions, especially in their local workings, is far behind that of Germany and France. The subject of the alien priories of England has been cleared up by Mr. New in a recent dissertation. But how many more remain! In England the reign of John saw the beginning of the lay rector. But what of the origin and practice of the office and the process of its decline? A similar query arises as to rural deaneries in both England and France, especially in the former.

The debris of the Carolingian régime to which feudal France fell heir was greater than is usually supposed, especially in the

<sup>17</sup> Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce*, I. 52, note.

<sup>18</sup> Luchaire, *Manuel*, p. 78.

region south of Picardy and Normandy, i. e., the old duchy of France, comprising the Ile-de-France, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, the Orléannais, and Poitou.<sup>19</sup> It would be worth while for some one to trace these survivals and assemble the evidence thereof.

The broken threads of the Carolingian system were more woven into the texture of feudal society and institutions than is usually supposed. There is need for scholarship yet to unravel the threads. We know, for example, the status of the *minores* and *mediocres* in the barbaric codes,<sup>20</sup> and we meet the same *names* late in the tenth and eleventh centuries. But do they connote the same things? Du Cange fails us wholly on this subject. One turns to Waitz, "that vast and orderly museum of desiccated antiquities", as Mr. Herbert Fisher has characterized it,<sup>21</sup> and gets little light.<sup>22</sup>

Of the *minores* Waitz has not a word. Even Guilhiermoz and Flach fail to help. Were the *minores* the least of the feudality? If so, to what rank did they belong? What were their feudal rights and obligations? Or did they pertain, as one of the editors of Richer thinks,<sup>23</sup> not to the noble, but to the servile class? Were the *mediocres* synonymous with them? Or were they, as Poinsongnon has hazarded—I think wholly in error—the remnant of the allodial proprietors who were left?<sup>24</sup> We must guard against being deceived by the *names* of things. The transformation of Europe between the ninth and twelfth centuries was so great that a monk of the twelfth century avows that, in reading the charters of earlier centuries, he could not recognize the institutions of his own time in them; that sometimes it was impossible to understand the terminology of two hundred years before.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the observations of Guilhiermoz, *L'Origine de la Noblesse en France au Moyen Âge*, p. 191.

<sup>20</sup> MacNeal, *The Minores and Mediocres in the Barbaric Codes* (Chicago, 1904).

<sup>21</sup> Fisher, *The Medieval Empire*, I. 7.

<sup>22</sup> *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, III. 491; IV. 281; V. 188.

<sup>23</sup> Richer (ed. Poinsongnon), vol. I., ch. 9, p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Chénon, *Étude sur l'Histoire des Alleux*, who nowhere entertains this idea.

<sup>25</sup> "Ea quae primo scripturus sum a praesenti usu admodum discrepare videntur; nam rolli conscripti ab antiquis et in armario nostro nunc reperti, habuisse minime ostendunt illius temporis rusticos has consuetudines in rebus quos moderni rustici in hoc tempore dinoscuntur habere; neque habent vocabula rerum quas tunc sermo habebat vulgaris. . . . Quaedam loca scripta inveni, quorum nunc nomina ita sunt abolita, et innotata, ut ab hominibus penitus ignorentur, nedum habeantur." Cited by Guérard, *Prolégomènes, Polyptyque d'Irminon*, p. 502. Compare with this the wise words of M. Paul Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philippe le Long*, introduction, p. ix, quoting M. Langlois, "Le moyen âge est si peu immuable, le mécanisme des institutions y est si fréquemment modifié, les mots mêmes y changent si souvent de signification qu'à moins de se complaire dans le vague et dans l'erreur, il est nécessaire 'de le diviser en tranches chronologiques, et



The status of the *minores* and *mediocres* in the feudal period has yet to be defined. If I may hazard an opinion it is that in these two classes we find two examples of that debris of the Carolingian régime to which allusion has been made. The burden of military service in the time of Charlemagne was so great that the emperor, as all know, attempted to graduate it by providing for service from fractions of manors. The same practice obtained in the twelfth century.

In Flanders and Picardy, Anjou, Maine, Poitou, the Orléannais, and Normandy, by the side of the *fiefs de haubert* we find *demi-pairies*, *demi-fiefs de haubert*, and even fractional *roncins de service*, less than half. M. Guilhaumez has described the feudal practice,<sup>26</sup> but he has not carefully determined the categories. I am inclined to believe, but it remains to be proved, that the *minores* and *mediocres* were different degrees of the lower ranks of the noblesse whose feudal aids were fractioned in this wise. But the subject is one of obscurity and ought to be cleared up.

The whole question of the development of modern out of feudal taxation is obscure. Why should French and German scholars be left to study it? That origin is intimately associated in France with the history of the origin of the States-General, which itself is one of obscurity, and in England with the history of the formation of Parliament. Luchaire's opinion that the States-General emanated from the Curia Regis seems as unacceptable as that of Callery, who thinks that the estates were summoned solely to vote extraordinary sums for the king.<sup>27</sup>

Passing from France to Spain, as Spain was the California of the Roman Empire, so to-day it is the Eldorado of the medievalist—the country whose history is everywhere open to research. Professor Merriman has done a service for American medievalists by his article on "The Cortes of the Spanish Kingdom" in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, April, 1911, which draws "the attention of historical students in this country to a field entirely unexplored and of the richest possibilities".

d'étudier séparément de même qu'on n'arrive à connaître l'ensemble d'une région qu'après avoir visité, décrit et mesuré chacun des cantons qui la composent", Langlois, *Le Règne de Philippe le Hardi*, p. 11.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 190-191, 210-213, 224.

<sup>27</sup> See Luchaire, "Une Théorie récente sur l'Origine des États-Généraux" in *Annales de la Faculté de Bordeaux*, IV. 50, a review of Callery's article in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, XXIX. 61-119 (1881). At page 224 is Callery's rejoinder to M. Luchaire and at page 234 is the latter's reply to that rejoinder. For a discussion of the relative merits of these views and the indication of a line of valuable research as to the origin of modern taxation see Pfister, "La France sous les Valois", in *Revue des Cours et des Conférences*, XIX. 465-479, 597-604, 684-694, especially pp. 598-599 and 684-685.

In the commercial history of Europe in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, the wine-trade of France and Spain is little less important than the wool-trade. Yet the literature of the wool-trade is large; that pertaining to the wine-trade relatively small.<sup>28</sup> The same observation holds good of the fisheries.<sup>29</sup> When one realizes how enormous was the consumption of fish in the Middle Ages, not only because of the frequent fasts of the Church, but because it was the poor man's food and could be easily secured and conveniently shipped, the absence of any adequate work on medieval fisheries, especially those of the North Sea, is remarkable. Together with the wool-trade, the wine-trade of Guienne and the question of the North Sea, Channel, and Biscay fisheries were the three economic causes of the Hundred Years' War. Yet we know only the history of the wool-trade with any fullness.

The answer to these economic questions would do much to clear up other phases of the history of the time, as for example the question of the commercial factor in England's parliamentary advance in the fourteenth century, and conversely, how far the failure of the French States-General may be ascribed to the destruction of French commerce in the Hundred Years' War and the consequent levelling of the bourgeoisie.

The history of the *douanes* is yet imperfectly known, though there are some good monographs on particular localities. There is abundant material for the study, and the results ought to be valuable. Germany is better off in this particular, where Lamprecht opened the way. In the history of agriculture the same kind of a blank exists with regard to *métayage*. In origin the practice goes back well beyond the eleventh century, and a study of the subject would do much to enlarge our understanding of the manorial régime. Lamprecht has done it for Germany, but France has yet to find her Lamprecht. A work upon the banking activities of the Bardi family of Florence is highly desirable. Unfortunately, the family archives are valueless; so perhaps the completeness of Signor Peruzzi's work upon his illustrious ancestors cannot be obtained. But Yver discovered so much in the Neapolitan archives about the Bardi bankers in

<sup>28</sup> There is abundant material in the sources for this subject and much information is to be found in works like Fréville, *Mémoire sur le Commerce maritime de Rouen*; Michel, *Histoire du Commerce de Bordeaux*; Finot, *Relations Commerciales de la France*. But a synthetic treatment of the subject is lacking. The best is Simon, *History of the Wine Trade of England* (London, 1906), vol. I.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Engels, *Die Seefischereien des Baltisch-Scandinavischen Meeres* (Munich, 1900). An old but good work is Zörgdrager (trans. Resté), *Histoire des Pêches, des Découvertes et des Établissements des Hollandais dans les Mers du Nord* (1791).

the kingdom of Naples, and Davidsohn so much in the Florentine archives, that one may believe that, with the addition of the archive material in London, Paris, and elsewhere, the history of this famous Tuscan banking house can be adequately written.

Medieval industrial history fairly bristles with questions. Professor Cheyney has pointed out that "no thorough and scholarly description of the craft gilds [of medieval England] exists. On the other hand, a considerable body of original materials is easily accessible."<sup>30</sup> Even in Germany, to say nothing of France and England, there is need of a work upon the conflict between the craft gilds and the monastery shops.<sup>31</sup> One economic cause of the Reformation lies in that competition. The French statute of laborers contains 252 articles and fills 28 folio pages in the second volume of the *Ordonnances*. But it has been indifferently examined, not nearly to the same degree as the English statute, and would repay the investigator quite as fully.

In closing let me say that there is a subject of later medieval history to be cleared up which may prove to have an important bearing on colonial American history. It is well known that many of the medieval gilds, especially in the later Middle Ages, were quasi-religious in character.<sup>32</sup> These "pious" gilds were very common in Norfolk. Now the Brownist Separatist movement began in Norfolk and was strongest there. The first Separatist church was established in Norwich. The problem is how far early English Congregationalism was influenced by these religious fraternities. If this influence can be historically established the genesis of New England history will have been pushed back a stage farther into the later Middle Ages. Borgeaud<sup>33</sup> says that "among a hundred statutes of the ancient Gilds of England, which have been collected and published by Toulmin Smith, forty-six are the statutes of pious foundations in the county of Norfolk, and twelve of these belong to the single town of Norwich, the cradle of Congregationalism."

Kindred to this problem is the relation of the merchant gild to the chartered company. If behind the chartered company stood the merchant gild and articulation between the two be found, then a new chapter will have been added to the origins of American institutional history.

<sup>30</sup> Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, p. 73.

<sup>31</sup> The only things upon this subject of which I know are: Kaser, *Politische und Soziale Bewegungen zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1899); Becker, *Die Wirtschaftsverhältnisse des Westfälischen Benediktinerklosters Liesborn am Ende des Mittelalters* (Munster, 1909).

<sup>32</sup> Ashley, *English Economic History*, pp. 139-141.

<sup>33</sup> Borgeaud, *Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England* (London, 1894), p. 87, note 1.

I must apologize for overloading this paper with examples drawn chiefly from economic and social history. My excuse is that for the past three years my study has been largely along this line. May I add one more word? Perhaps the most striking characteristic of historical writing during the past forty years has been the fact that the bearing of economic and social phenomena has been so largely recognized. But signs are not wanting that a change is at hand. The writing of history goes through cycles. It may be that the economic interpretation of history will ere long be succeeded by the psychological interpretation. It is in the sphere of medieval history, in particular, that psychological interpretation will find its field of study, and it is to the young scholar that this work will chiefly fall.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

## COLUMBUS A SPANIARD AND A JEW<sup>1</sup>

SOME twelve or fifteen years ago, a Spanish scholar, Don Garcia de la Riega, a principal citizen of Pontevedra in Galicia, whose name has been given to one of the streets of that town, discovered from the local archives that in the fifteenth century a family was established there of the name of Colon, several members of which bore the same forenames as are to be found among the Colombos of Genoa, the kinsmen of Christopher Columbus. In 1434 and in 1437, there was at Pontevedra a Domingo Colon; in 1438 a Bartolomé Colon; in 1496 a Cristobo Colon; in 1434 a Blanca Colon. Now, Domenico was the name of the father of the discoverer of America, who had a younger brother called Bartolomeo, and a sister called Bianchinetta. Furthermore, Señor de la Riega found out that during the same period there was at Pontevedra a Fonterossa family who had relations with the Colons, and who were Jews, if we are to judge by their Biblical forenames.

Struck by these interesting coincidences, he asked himself if this Domingo Colon of Pontevedra might not possibly be the father of Christopher Columbus, and if Christopher himself, about whose birthplace there has been so much discussion, might not have been born in Galicia, instead of in Genoa, as everyone has come to suppose; and might it not also be that the Discoverer's mother, whose name of Susanna is Jewish and whose family name of Fontenarossa closely resembles that of the Jewish family of Fonterossa of Pontevedra, was herself of that same family?

Clearly the documents which have been brought to light establish nothing of the kind; but, in the absence of explicit deeds to that effect, one may always fall back on hypothesis, which has precisely for its object the supplying of absent proofs. Let us suppose, for instance, that the Domingo Colon of Pontevedra married the daughter

<sup>1</sup> *Cristóbal Colon Español!* Conferencia por Celso Garcia de la Riega en sesión publica celebrada por la Sociedad Geografica de Madrid. (Madrid, tipografico de Fortenet, 1898, pp. 43).

*La Verdadera Patria de Cristóbal Colon.* Por Fernando de Antón del Olmet. (*La España Moderna*, Junio, 1910. Madrid).

*The Secret of Columbus.* By Hyland C. Kirk. (Washington, Hayworth, 1912, pp. 62).

*La Verdadera Cuna de Cristóbal Colon.* Por el Dr. Constantino de Horta y Pardo. (New York, John B. Jonathan, 1912, pp. 96).

of a Fonterossa; that this girl was called Susanna, which was the name of Columbus's mother; that from this marriage came several children, the elder two of whom were Christopher and Bartholomew; and, finally, let us suppose that between the years 1444 and 1450, a period when troubles broke out in Galicia, Domingo, his wife Susanna, and their sons Christopher and Bartholomew left their native land and took refuge in Genoa, there changing their Spanish name of Colon into its Italian form of Colombo.

Accept as facts all these suppositions and at once no further uncertainty remains; matters being thus arranged, assume the form it is desired to give them, and Columbus becomes a Spaniard from the place of his birth and a Jew by blood as well on his mother's as on his father's side, for it is the custom of Israelites to intermarry among themselves.

Señor de la Riega next proceeds to study the question, and, as we are told, after long and minute researches he becomes convinced that things had happened just as he had supposed, and that the Colombos of Genoa, the father, mother, and brother of Christopher, as also Christopher himself, were no other than the Colons of Spain, and Jews of Pontevedra.

It was to set forth this thesis that he gave a lecture, several times repeated and always welcomed with applause, before the Geographical Society of Madrid; it was in order to make it more widely known that Señor Anton del Olmet made it the subject of a literary article in *La España Moderna*; it was with a view to propagating it that Professor Hyland C. Kirk, of Washington, wrote *The Secret of Columbus*, and it was with the same motive that a learned gentleman of Cuba, Dr. Constantino Horta y Pardo, had 25,000 copies of his pamphlet *La Verdadera Cuna de Cristóbal Colon* printed and sent to all the governments, learned societies, and distinguished personalities, with a circular in four languages in which the recipients are entreated to move heaven and earth—*Que Removiendo Cielo y Tierra*—in order to spread the tidings that Columbus was born in Spain, in the province of Galicia!

What is even more extraordinary than this noisy propaganda is the complacency with which was welcomed a thesis absolutely at variance with historic data accepted by all the world. In fact, apart from a few Italian publications, it was nearly everywhere received as an interesting revelation which would change history on a point which had been considered as definitely settled.

It is time to restore things to their places, and we proceed to do so as briefly as possible.

Without pausing at what is improbable in the suppositions to which Señor de la Riega is driven in order to set his thesis on its feet, we shall confine ourselves to pointing out two weighty objections which forcibly tell against its acceptance. The first is the existence of authentic documents which reveal to us the family of Columbus established in the territory of Genoa from 1429 until the end of the century and even beyond it. The second is the testimony of Columbus himself, of his son Ferdinand, and of the greater part of his contemporaries, that he was a Genoese.

These documents and evidences are so numerous and explicit that there is but one way to set them aside, and that is to deny that the first relate to our Columbus, and to misrepresent the second. Señor de la Riega and his followers have not hesitated to adopt this method. As it is proved that there existed in all the Latin countries numerous families bearing the names of Colon, Coulon, and Colombo, three variants of the same word, they assure us, that the Genoa Colombos, looked upon as the kinsfolk of Columbus, had really nothing to do with him, that the Domenico Colombo, weaver of Genoa and Savona, mentioned in these documents was not his father, and the Cristoforo, son of Domenico and weaver whom they likewise mention, refers to some other person than the Discoverer. Such an assertion signifies that conscientious scholars like Staglieno, Belgrano, Desimoni, Salvagnini, Lollis, Harris, and others, who for years have examined, studied, and expounded these documents, have committed the grave error of attributing to Columbus a father, mother, brothers, a sister, an uncle, and cousins who were strangers to him. This appears so extraordinary that one waits with curiosity the proofs of so downright a condemnation of so many learned works carried on for many years, and justly esteemed. Let us see in what their proofs consist.

Among the Italian documents referring to Cristoforo Colombo, son of Domenico, one of the most important bears the date of 1470, and therein he is represented as being nineteen years of age, therefore placing his birth in the year 1451, that is to say at a period later than the one in which he is supposed to have left Pontevedra with his father, mother, and brother. This document, we are airily told, does not relate to the Discoverer. Why? Because, according to Bernaldez who knew him personally, he was born in 1436 and was therefore thirty-three or thirty-four years old in 1470. But the evidence of Bernaldez is not to be accepted here, for among other reasons which prove him to be mistaken, there is one that is decisive; this is the existence of a document, discovered some years and coming from Columbus himself, wherein he declares, in 1479, that he

was then over twenty-seven years of age, which confirms the first date.<sup>2</sup>

The Colombo who made this declaration, we are again told, is not our Christopher, who in 1479 was much older than twenty-seven. Señor de la Riega and those who adopt his views might have said to themselves that if Columbus was born in 1436 there was an interval of twenty-five years between his birth and that of his brother, a fact which would be quite abnormal. We possess as a matter of fact a deposition by Bartholomew, dated 1512, in which he states that he was then over fifty years of age.<sup>3</sup> Bartholomew was therefore born in 1461 or 1462, and consequently could not have left Pontevedra between 1444 and 1450 with his brother Christopher who was not himself then born.

These reasons are not the only ones we are given in order to deny that the Colombos of Genoa were of the family of Columbus. Here are some others. If the Colombos had been of kin to the Discoverer, they would not have failed, so we are informed, to put in their claims when he had become a great personage, which they do not appear to have done. What then signify the legal documents whereby the creditors of Domenico, who had died intestate, *sub-poena* as responsible his sons Christopher and Bartholomew and Diego, all of whom, according to the said documents, were then in Spain?<sup>4</sup> We are answered that these documents are apocryphal. Well, then, is that also a forged document wherein Giannetto, Matteo, and Amighetto Colombo, sons of Antonio Colombo, Domenico's brother, agree to send one of themselves to their cousin Christopher, admiral in Spain—"amiratum regis Ispanie"—to solicit his protection?<sup>5</sup>

The deeds of 1472 mentioning Cristoforo Colombo, son of Domenico, and wool-stapler at Genoa—"lanerio de Janua"—also do not refer to the Discoverer they say, because he was then in Portugal and was about to marry. But, since the discovery of the deeds produced by Salvagnini, it is demonstrated that Columbus landed for the first time in Portugal in 1476, and that it was not until after February, 1477, that he was able to establish himself in Lisbon, where his marriage must have taken place about 1479 or 1480, because on his arrival in Spain in 1484-1485 with his son Diego, the latter was still a little boy.

These are the proofs given by our authors in order to show that

<sup>2</sup> See this document in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XII. 277-279 (January, 1907).

<sup>3</sup> *Los Pleitos de Colon* (Madrid, 1892), I. 182.

<sup>4</sup> *Raccolta Colombiana, Documenti*, nos. 89 and 90.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 83.



the Colombos of Genoa were not of the Discoverer's family. The method they employ for the purpose of establishing as a fact that the contemporaries and friends of Columbus did not look on him as a Genoese is even more astonishing. We run rapidly through what they say on this point.

On two separate occasions Columbus has himself written that he was born in Genoa, "*yo nacido en Genova*", and, "*en ella nací*".<sup>6</sup> This, we are told, is of no value because it suited Columbus to give himself out as being a Genoese, for had it been known that he was a Jew from Pontevedra he would have been persecuted by the Inquisition. Moreover, it is added, his statement is contradicted by the testimony of a great many people.

Let us run through this testimony. In the first place the son of Columbus is himself called as a witness, because in the life he wrote of his father he feigns not to know his birthplace. This is incorrect. In a particular passage of his book, the only one quoted by our authors, he speaks, it is true, of doubts which have been thrown on this point. But for him these doubts do not exist, for further on he states that at Lisbon his father found several of his Genoese countrymen, "*della sua nazione Genovese*",<sup>7</sup> and in his will he thus describes himself: "*Don Fernando Colon, hijo de D. Cristóbal Colon Ginovés*".<sup>8</sup>

Let us turn to the younger brother of Columbus, to Bartholomew. One of these learned gentlemen informs us that he was born in Portugal, and this, he adds, justifies the belief that Christopher was also a native of that place; and, as proof of the fact, he quotes Gallo, a distinguished Genoese, who had intercourse with the Colombo family, and who wrote: "*sed Bartolomeus minor natus in Lusitania*". Gallo did in fact write these words, but he added: "*demum Ulisipone constiterat*", the full rendering being: Bartholomew, the younger in birth—"minor natus"—at length settled at Lisbon in Portugal.<sup>9</sup> Anyone may see that this is not quite the same thing. But our authors are tenacious, and having once scheduled an error, they stick to it. Not only, they further assure us, has Gallo said that Bartholomew was born in Portugal, but he makes the same statement about Christopher, and Bishop Giustiniani confirms his testimony. Indeed! Gallo has written, "*Christoforus et Bartolomeus fratres natione ligures ac Genuæ*",<sup>10</sup> and Giustiniani says,

<sup>6</sup> Deed establishing the entailed estate, Navarrete, II. 228, 232.

<sup>7</sup> *Historie*, ch. v.

<sup>8</sup> *Col. Doc. Ined.*, XVI. (Madrid, 1859), 455.

<sup>9</sup> Gallo, in *Raccolta, Fonti*, II. 188.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

"Christofori Colum Genuensis".<sup>11</sup> If that be not sufficiently clear, so far as the younger brother of Columbus is concerned, we have his own declaration that he was a Genoese in verses he wrote upon a map he had made for King Henry VII., "Genua cui patria est."<sup>12</sup>

Among other contemporary writers who do not appear to have said that Columbus was a Genoese our authors boldly enlist the following:

Peter Martyr, who in one passage states that Columbus was a Ligurian, and further on makes this precise by writing he was "Genuensis";<sup>13</sup> Las Casas, who records that Columbus was "Genovés de nación";<sup>14</sup> Oviedo, who wrote, "fue natural de la provincia de Liguria, que es en Italia, en la qual cae la cibdad é señoría de Génova";<sup>15</sup> and Geraldini, who was a patron of Columbus, and who describes him as an Italian by nationality and a Genoese of Liguria, "Genua Liguria".<sup>16</sup>

These are not the only witnesses. It may be said that the greater part if not all of the writers of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, who mention Columbus, consider him as being a Ligurian and Genoese. It is the same with modern authors whose opinions carry weight in this matter, and, as our authors are pleased to include Harrisse and myself among them, I beg to state that I never wrote that Columbus "no habia nacido en Genova". In full agreement with Harrisse, I have said exactly the opposite.

The quaint manner of quoting the written opinions of authors is not the only strange thing characterizing these publications to which our attention is called with so great a din. For example, one ascertains with astonishment that critics who are anxious to correct the history of Columbus on an essential point are but ill informed upon a number of particulars in his life which are now thoroughly elucidated. Thus, they still believe that he was born in 1436, that he first went to sea when fourteen years old, that he sailed on every sea for a quarter of a century, that he commanded a galley for King René, that he appeared before the University of Salamanca, and other similar legends which modern research and criticism have long swept from the pages of history. On the other hand, they know nothing of facts established by the testimony of documents now at the command of every reader.

They tell us that Diego, Columbus's eldest son, could not have been born in Portugal inasmuch as he knew not where was buried

<sup>11</sup> *Raccolta, Fonti*, II. 345.

<sup>12</sup> Las Casas, I. 225.

<sup>13</sup> Second decade, book VII.

<sup>14</sup> I. 42.

<sup>15</sup> Book II., ch. II.

<sup>16</sup> *Itinerarium*, p. 302.

his mother, whom neither he nor his father has anywhere mentioned.<sup>17</sup> Now Columbus has twice spoken of his wife: in a letter written at the end of 1500 and in his will.<sup>18</sup> As to Diego, he states in his will that his mother is buried in the Carmelite Convent of Lisbon, and he expresses the wish that her remains be translated to Hispaniola.<sup>19</sup>

Their interpretation of a number of very simple facts is no less astonishing. All that they say about the *Santa Maria*, which Columbus calls the *Galega*, because she was built in Galicia, and about the names of Porto Santo, San Salvador, and Trinidad as coming from places so called in Pontevedra, lacks even common sense. The same may be said for their reasons why the name Hispaniola was conferred upon Haiti. According to them, Columbus chose this name because he was a Spaniard, otherwise, had he been an Italian or Genoese, he would have christened that isle *Italiana* or *Genovesa*!

Need we further quote among the proofs they adduce as to the Galician origin of Columbus that his real name was Colon, which is Spanish, and not Colombo, which is Italian; that in Portugal he passed himself off as being a Portuguese, and that finally those who say he was a Ligurian thereby admit he was a Spaniard, for Liguria is a synonym of Spanish origin!

One might criticize very many other remarkable statements in these publications wherein may be found at every page, so to speak, counterfeit assertions, false quotations, illogical deductions, and queer conjectures. But we have said enough to satisfy the reader that of all these authors who have written to establish that Columbus was a Galician of Hebrew origin, it is only necessary to retain the simple facts of the existence at Pontevedra in the fifteenth century of a Colon family of which several individuals bore the same forenames as did those of the Colombo family of Genoa, and of a Fonterosa family whose name recalls the family of the Discoverer's mother, which Fonterosa family was probably Jewish.

There is in reality nothing at all extraordinary about these facts. The Colons swarmed throughout the Latin countries. Among families of this name appear several Domenicos, several Bartolomeos, who were not of Genoa. Nor were Jewish Colons wanting in Spain. Three were burned in Taragona in 1489, that is in Columbus's own day, and it was possible for him to have witnessed their suffering. The Colons of Pontevedra were probably Israelites; but in order to see in them the Colons of Genoa it is necessary to distort well-known facts and falsify the evidence of contemporaries. It is the same

<sup>17</sup> Horta y Pardo, pp. 45-46.

<sup>18</sup> Navarrete, II, 255, 314.

<sup>19</sup> His testament, in Harris, *Christophe Colomb*, II, 487.

with regard to the Fonterossa of Pontevedra in Galicia. Because several of them bore Biblical names and because the mother of Columbus was called Susanna Fontenarossa we are not entitled to conclude as to the identity of the two families, and consequently as to the Hebrew origin of our Columbus. The name Fontenarossa is purely Italian and we know whence it comes; it derives from the valley of Fontenarossa to the northeast of Genoa where still exists a considerable market town of the name, and from it came the mother of Columbus. As to her name of Susanna, many Christian women have borne it and many bear it still.

Doubtless, in any case, it will be thought these were very poor reasons for making a Jew of Columbus; but our authors give others. Thus, this great man wrote in a Biblical style; he was fond of quoting the prophets; by choice he preferred to read books that were either Biblical or of Jewish origin; he himself wrote a book of prophecies; his mystical signature seems to recall some Jewish doctrine; Giustiniani says he was born of plebeian parents, which signifies they were miserable and low! Columbus left a legacy to a Jew; Jews protected him; he was avaricious; he thought himself the messenger of Jehovah; finally, he had a fresh colored complexion, fair hair, and aquiline nose, characteristics, as all the world knows, of the Israelite type, and particularly of the southern Jews.

We have dwelt at some length on this singular thesis because it has taken so considerable a development that it was to be feared it might, from the force of bold repetition under different forms and in various languages, end in obtaining credit among those who were not well acquainted with the subject. We have thought it our duty to restore things to their places; but in doing so we have regretted to see a man of letters like Señor de la Riega compromise his fair literary reputation by such an excursion which he could have had no interest to undertake, for it is really difficult to understand the object of so noisy a campaign.

Is not the glory of Columbus exclusively Spanish? Was it not to Spain he carried his great designs? Was it not in Spain they were entertained, and was it not there that he was put into a position to carry them out? Was it not in Spain he founded a family, and had he not become so thoroughly Spanish as to lose the use of his own mother-tongue? What matter then whether he were born in Pontevedra or Genoa? Columbus, in whatever city he first saw the light of day, belongs to Spain and can be claimed by none but her. To her he owes what he was, and it is to him she is indebted for that New World whose existence he had divined, and in whose quest he went until he found and gave her to his adopted country.

HENRY VIGNAUD.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1812, 6:30 P. M.: THE BIRTH  
OF A WORLD POWER<sup>1</sup>

OF the short poems of Browning, one of the most inspiring is that entitled "Echetlos", published in the *Dramatic Idyls* of 1880—a lyric, by the way, with the existence of which, curiously enough, I have rarely found any Browningite acquainted. The first stanza of "Echetlos" I take for the text or legend of the paper I am about to submit. My paper it is true does not relate to the American Marathon, which, presumably, was Bunker Hill; but it does relate to another episode, not less dramatic and momentous, and more germane to the present occasion; for it occurred, startling the whole civilized world, in August 1812, just a century ago. Browning's invocation in "Echetlos" runs as follows:

"Here is a story, shall stir you! Stand up, Greeks dead and gone,  
Who breasted, beat Barbarians, stemmed Persia rolling on,  
Did the deed and saved the world, for the day was Marathon!"

The papers ordinarily read at the meetings of this Association, generally edifying and often instructive, sometimes even interesting, are rarely calculated to "stir". In this respect, what I am now about to submit will be exceptional. It is hardly less stirring than Browning's description of the

"tiller of the soil, with a clown's limbs broad and bare",  
who at Marathon went "ploughing on and on".

"Did the steady phalanx falter? To the rescue, at the need,  
The clown was ploughing Persia, clearing Greek earth of weed,  
As he routed through the Sakian and rooted up the Mede."

But, poetry aside, coming to my theme, much has of late been said and written of the United States as a "world power"; and four years ago (1908) our associate, Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge, published a most interesting and instructive volume with this as its title as well as thesis—a work of permanent historical value, which at the time attracted unusual attention and led to some controversy. I now go back of Professor Coolidge, and, so to speak, particularize. Indulging in some necessary but none the less interesting detail, I

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association held in Boston, December 31, 1912.

propose to specify the exact day of the year and month and week, the hour and almost the minute at which the United States blazed as an indisputable world power on the astonished, and, for some time yet, incredulous nations. To be specific, it was at thirty minutes after six o'clock of the afternoon of Wednesday, August 19, 1812. On that day and at that hour, just twenty weeks over a hundred years ago, this country, I confidently submit, became a nationality to be reckoned with; and such it has ever since been.

When the year 1812 came in, this country of ours, rated as a power of the third class—less considered, for instance, than Portugal, and more nearly on the level of Algiers—had for a score of years been the unresenting football of antagonists as overbearing as they were powerful. Long before, Shakespeare had caused Hamlet to observe:

“ 'Tis dangerous when the baser nature comes  
Between the pass and fell-incensed points  
Of mighty opposites ”;

and of this the United States had long afforded mortifying illustration. With Napoleon and the country of Nelson and Wellington locked in a long death-grapple, the young American nation had thought to traffic on their fields of battle. Regardless of buffets and insults, it had done this systematically and as matter of policy. A people, no more than an individual, can pursue such a course in a pure spirit of gain, accepting kicks and cuffs as incident thereto, still preserving its manhood; and it must be admitted as historical truth that between 1801 and 1812 the people of the United States in general, and those of New England more especially, had lost all adequate sense of national pride.

This was during the two administrations of Jefferson and the first administration of Madison. Of that period and of what in it occurred, I personally, and those of my family, always speak under a certain sense of restraint. As Mr. Henry Adams found in writing his *History*, whatever of criticism he might feel compelled to make, however gently advanced, on the incidents and results of Jefferson's foreign policy, was attributed to an hereditary bias: and so dismissed from consideration. More than once such has been the case with me; and whenever I have in the course of inquiry felt forced, as a result of the best consideration I could give to what transpired during the presidential terms of either Thomas Jefferson or Andrew Jackson, to utter any criticism thereon, my remarks have been received with something closely resembling a look of amused understanding, and a perceptible but significant shrug. It was apparently deemed

quite impossible that one of my descent could weigh the incidents and significance of the periods in question in an unprejudiced and judicial spirit. It would doubtless prove so here and now. Without, therefore, myself expressing any conclusion upon the influence on American national character and bearing of the foreign policy pursued by the United States between 1801 and 1812, I shall content myself with quoting on that head the recently uttered judgment of a distinguished naval commander. In a paper read only two months ago before the Massachusetts Historical Society, Rear-Admiral French Ensor Chadwick thus spoke:<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding the evident necessity of at least protecting our merchantmen from seizure by corsairs and the saving of their crews from slavery, a navy was anathema to President Jefferson. In 1802 he proposed in his annual message "to add to our navy yard here [Washington] a dock within which our vessels may be laid up dry and under cover from the sun." In 1807 he could write to Paine, several months after the outrage of the firing by the *Leopard* upon the *Chesapeake*, that a navy was "a ruinous folly." . . . It was, except with reference to the Barbary Powers, an era of base submission to insult; our ships were being seized at the rate, for a long time, of three a day. All this would have been saved; and we should have escaped, too . . . the impressment from their ships of our seamen, at the rate of 1000 a year, the seizure of the ships themselves, and the brutal insult of the *Chesapeake* incident, if we had but followed the advice of Gallatin and Gouverneur Morris and built a fleet of battle-ships. And above all we should have saved our honor and self-respect. . . . I, for one, cannot read the story of the Jefferson and Madison administration without wrath in my heart and contempt in my mind for their so-called statesmanship . . . the twelve years of ignoble policy in the Jeffersonian period toward French spoliation and British arrogance.

Not without a secret consciousness at the time that all this was true, Americans during the period in question were accustomed to read of themselves in the columns of the English press as "spaniel-like in character", a people who "the more they were chastised the more obsequious they became"; and one, moreover, which "could not be kicked into a war". The frigates they had built under previous administrations were rotting at their moorings, being timorously regarded as mere incentives to an increased but ever more contemptuous spirit of foreign arrogance and aggression. They were scornfully referred to in the journals of the mother-country as "bundles of pine boards sailing under a bit of striped bunting". Submitting to it all, the confidence of the people in themselves was gone. They questioned their own man-to-man fighting capacity. By sufferance, they continued to exist.

Recalled through the century vista, the situation in 1812 was,

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLVI. 205-206.

withal, in every respect spectacular. Trafalgar was then seven years passed, and England during the period which followed Trafalgar was fairly drunk with consciousness of maritime power. Britannia did indeed then rule the wave. On the ocean, none questioned her supremacy; for, almost immemorially, hers had been a record of unbroken naval victory—victory on a scale both large and small. During twenty years of incessant conflict, numbering in them more than two hundred ship-to-ship encounters of approximately equal force, the cross of St. George had averaged but one defeat in every forty fights. Contemptuously ignoring all international rules of courtesy or conduct, she had made the United States gulp down the very dregs in the cup of humiliation; for, on June 22, 1807, in sight of the capes of Virginia, the unlucky *Chesapeake*, disgraced and degraded, had been compelled to drag her way, a battered, helpless hulk, back to the port from which she had the day before sailed with officers and crew smarting under a humiliation never either forgotten or forgiven. Unresistingly pounded into abject submission, her company had been mustered on her own deck by a British subaltern, and those whom he saw fit to designate had been taken forcibly from her.

That such an event could have occurred seems now incredible. The mere recollection of it a century later suffices to bring hot blood to the American face. It was as if an individual recalled, not a brutal blow once received but having been contemptuously dismissed with a kick or a cut from a horsewhip. And the curious and most ignominious feature of it, is to recall that at the time, in the places where men met in Boston, party spirit ran so strong and national pride had fallen so low that the outrage was excused and defended as within the right of the British admiral to order and a British captain to execute. An historic fact, such a statement challenges proof.<sup>3</sup>

The affair of the *Chesapeake* occurred in 1807. It was subsequently settled diplomatically after a fashion, and in a way little conducive to a restored American self-respect; and things then went on from bad to worse. The last dregs in the cup of humiliation remained to be swallowed. We gulped them down. Then, four years later, in 1811, occurred the affair of the frigate *President* and the corvette *Little Belt*. Numerically the armed ships of the United States were to those of Great Britain as one to a hundred; morally, they were as nothing. As was said at the time: "No one act of the little navy of the United States had been at all calculated to gain the respect of the British. First was seen the *Chesapeake* allowing herself to be beaten with impunity by a British ship only nominally superior to her. Then the huge frigate *President* attacks

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLV. 355.



and fights for nearly three quarters of an hour the British sloop *Little Belt*", of only eighteen guns, and, it was claimed, had been beaten off by her. It was asserted also that those in command of the *President* had mistaken the sloop *Little Belt* for the frigate *Guerriere*; and because thereof, Captain Dacres of the *Guerriere* and his crew "felt the full passion and duty of revenge". In future there was to be no possibility of mistake; and so the *Guerriere* wore her name writ large on her fore-topsail. She hungered for a meeting with the *President*.<sup>4</sup>

And the day came when the frigate *Constitution* took upon herself the quarrel of her sister ship, and in her turn hungered for a meeting with the *Guerriere*. On August 19, 1812—fifteen months after the affair of the *Little Belt*—that hunger was appeased. The story of what then occurred, and where it occurred, is familiar; but it will bear repetition. Suffice it to say that on the 18th of June preceding war had at last been declared with Great Britain. Then followed an unbroken series of military disasters, culminating, in August, with the disgraceful surrender of Detroit and the destruction of Fort Dearborn, where Chicago now stands. Our entire Northwest was either in possession of the enemy or at his mercy. The cup of American humiliation, already it might have been thought drained, seemed inexhaustible—veritably another widow's cruse. The collapse was complete: and, where open panic did not prevail, utter discouragement was felt. In the midst of it all the *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull in command, on July 12 passed out of Chesapeake Bay, and into the midst of a British squadron. She eluded and outfooted them, her escape a marvel of maritime skill and sustained physical endurance; but during a part of that three-day ordeal the *Guerriere* was at the front, and pitted against her; nor did that fact pass unnoticed by watchful eyes on the escaping frigate. They would not then have dared to hope it, but a day of reckoning was at hand. July 26 Hull reached Boston. He then had reason to believe he was about to be called upon to turn his command over to another; but, first, he was in search of a fight. He knew his ship; he had tested his crew; he craved the square issue of battle. So, reporting his arrival, he did not linger, awaiting orders; but on August 2, turned the *Constitution's* prow seaward. The very next day the anticipated order came. Hull was relieved of his command; but, with that command, he was out of the way, headed for mid-Atlantic, hunting for an opponent. His ship's company shared his eagerness; from the youngest powder-monkey to the executive

<sup>4</sup> Henry Adams, *United States*, VI. 36-37, 373; Paullin, *Commodore John Rodgers*, pp. 209-242.

officer they were in the hunt; and when, at last, on the afternoon of Wednesday, August 19, the drums beat to quarters and the grim order came to clear decks for action, it was met with a ringing cheer. This was at 4 P. M. Two hours and a half later the *Guerriere* was rolling in the trough of the summer sea, a battered, sparless, foundering hulk. The next day she sank. She is there in mid-ocean now; not far from the spot where, a century later, the *Titanic* foundered.

The action occurred on Wednesday, the 19th; twelve days later, the morning of Monday, August 31, the Boston papers announced the bitter Detroit humiliation sustained under another Hull two weeks before; but in a different column of the same issue announcement was also made of that naval action which "however small the affair might appear on the general scale of the world's battles, raised the United States in one half hour to the rank of a first-class power in the world". The jealousy of the navy which had until then characterized the more recent national policy vanished forever "in the flash of Hull's first broadside". The victory, moreover, was most dramatic—a naval duel. The adversaries—not only commanders, but ship's companies to a man—had sought each other out for a test of seamanship, discipline, and gunnery—arrogance and the confidence of prestige on the one side, a passionate sense of wrong on the other. They had met in mid-Atlantic—frigate to frigate. On that August afternoon the wind was blowing fresh; a summer sea was running. For about an hour the antagonists manoeuvred for position, the British ship wearing from time to time to fire a broadside; and the American yawing to avoid being raked, and discharging an occasional shot from her bow guns. Finding that nothing was accomplished in this way, Hull wore around, set the main-topgallantsail, and headed directly for his enemy, who bore up with the wind, to meet him at close quarters. Both wanted to have the affair out.

Up to this time the greater part of the American crew had remained stationed at their quarters, impassive spectators; and even while they were running up alongside of the *Guerriere* the gunners stood with locked strings in their hands in silence awaiting the order to fire. To the men, both those handling the sails and those idle at the guns, the situation was trying; for they had been thus brought under a repeated fire without the excitement of striking back. There were of them those who were then killed beside their guns; and his executive officer importuned the American commander to begin the fighting. Hull restrained him; but the order came at last. The *Constitution* had then been worked into the exact position in which her commander wanted to get her. This was a few minutes before

six o'clock; and the historian, writing since, has recorded that now the two opponents "came together side by side, within pistol-shot, the wind almost astern, and running before it they pounded each other with all their strength. As rapidly as the guns could be worked, the *Constitution* poured in broadside after broadside, double-shotted with round and grape,—and, without exaggeration, the echo of those guns startled the world."<sup>5</sup> Of her first broadside in that action, the master of an American brig, then a captive on board the British frigate, afterward wrote: "About six o'clock . . . I heard a tremendous explosion from the opposing frigate. The effect of her shot seemed to make the *Guerriere* reel, and tremble as though she had received the shock of an earthquake."<sup>6</sup> That one retained broadside settled the business of the *Guerriere*. "In less than thirty minutes from the time we got alongside of the enemy", Captain Hull afterward reported to the Secretary of the Navy, "she was left without a spar standing, and the hull cut to pieces in such a manner as to make it difficult to keep her above water."

The historian has truly said of that conflict: "Isaac Hull was nephew to the unhappy General [who, three days before the *Constitution* overcame the *Guerriere*, had capitulated at Detroit], and perhaps the shattered hulk of the *Guerriere*, which the nephew left at the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean eight hundred miles east of Boston, was worth for the moment the whole province which the uncle had lost, eight hundred miles to the westward. . . . No experience of history ever went to the heart of New England more directly than this victory, so peculiarly its own; but the delight was not confined to New England, and extreme though it seemed it was still not extravagant."<sup>7</sup>

The details of that memorable conflict are in every American history, and there is neither occasion nor time here to recount them. One incident is, however, less well known, and in these days of race feeling and negro burnings at the stake may well be recalled. The African race is, fortunately, not as a rule resentful; but it so chanced that of the four men forcibly taken by the *Leopard* from the *Chesapeake* in June, 1807, two were negroes, and of these one at least had subsequently, by sentence of a court-martial held at Halifax, been flogged well nigh to death. Shipped at Annapolis, the *Constitution* numbered in its crew others of the blood—black men, with woolly hair. Referring afterward to this fact and the conduct of those men, Hull, a rough, seafaring sailor of the period remarked: "I never

<sup>5</sup> Henry Adams, *United States*, VI. 373.

<sup>6</sup> Hollis, *The Frigate Constitution*, p. 169.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Adams, *United States*, VI. 375, 376.

had any better fighters than those niggers,—they stripped to the waist, and fought like devils, sir, seeming to be utterly insensible to danger, and to be possessed with a determination to outfight the white sailors.”<sup>8</sup> The cry that day was—“Remember the Chesapeake!” and, perhaps, those Maryland negroes, “stripped to the waist”, had it on their lips as well as in their hearts, as they worked the *Constitution's* guns.

The action had occurred eight hundred miles east of Boston, about south of Cape Race, on the present steamship course to Southampton. Ten days later the anchor of the *Constitution* gripped bottom off Rainsford's Island, at the entrance to Boston harbor. It was a David returning from combat with another Goliath. Probably in their day the astonished and delighted compatriots of the son of Jesse cheered to the echo their champion. The Bostonians certainly did so now; for, yesterday cowering, to-day they stood with heads erect. A deathly spell was dispelled. They, too, could fight! The 30th of August was the awakening day.

And yet on the morning of that August 30th the *Constitution* had occasion, in the famous figure of speech of George Canning, to “assume the likeness of an animated thing, instinct with life and motion”; to ruffle its swelling plumage; to put forth its beauty and its bravery; and, collecting its scattered elements of strength, to prepare again to “awaken its dormant thunder”. Fatigued beyond endurance by the strain and anxiety of the last fourteen days, believing himself and his ship at last in safety, Captain Isaac Hull had been suddenly roused from a deep sleep by the startling report that an armed squadron was at the harbor's mouth, and bearing in upon him. Simultaneously weighing anchor and clearing decks for action, he boldly moved out to meet the danger; but, as the *Constitution* approached the leader of the advancing squadron, signals instead of shots were exchanged, and to Hull's great relief he saluted the broad pennon of Commodore Rodgers, unexpectedly making port from a fruitless cruise.<sup>9</sup>

Not until Tuesday, September 1, did the *Constitution* find her way up above the Castle, as what was subsequently named Fort Independence was still called, to an anchorage in the inner harbor. Captain Hull then landed, and as he made a progress up State Street to the Exchange Coffee House—then Boston's leading hostelry—the town went wild. Innumerable flags waved, a procession was formed, salutes were exchanged between the shore and the ships of

<sup>8</sup> Quincy, *Life of Josiah Quincy*, p. 264.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 262–263; Paullin, *Commodore John Rodgers*, p. 257.

war, and the intense feeling found utterance in every form of shouting and tumult. There was, too, sufficing occasion for it all. Its sense of self-respect had suddenly been restored to a people.

One word more and I am done. It relates to a family incident curiously and even pathetically illustrative of the depth of feeling and intense sense of relief which the twice-told tale I have here re-told, excited generally at the time. John Adams, retired from the presidency in 1801, was then passing the closing years of life at Quincy. To no one did the victory of the *Constitution* appeal more directly and for better reason, than to him. Under his guiding impulse the United States Navy—"Continental" it was then called—had thirty-seven years before come into existence.<sup>10</sup> By his hand were drawn up the first rules for its government adopted by the Congress, November 28, 1775. The frigate *Constitution* itself was one of the small armament somewhat derisively referred to in those days as "John Adams's frigates", probably to distinguish them from his successor's armament of coast-defense gunboats. The *Constitution* had taken the water during the administration of the second President, and Isaac Hull's commission bore his signature. In John Adams's family in 1812 was a granddaughter, born in 1808, a little over four years before, and so still an infant.<sup>11</sup> More than ninety years later, one serene June afternoon in 1903, it devolved on me to sit by that granddaughter's parting bedside. A woman of four-score and fifteen, the lamp of life was flickering out. As she lay there in Quincy, dying in the house in which she had lived for nearly eighty years, I do not think she was conscious of my presence or of anything going on about her in that chamber of death, for as that day's sun went down she passed away. In those closing hours, however, one memory and only one seemed uppermost in her mind. In extremest old age her thoughts reverted to the first and deepest impression of her early childhood, and, over and over again, in a voice clear and distinct yet tremulous with emotion, she kept repeating these words: "Thank God for Hull's victory!"

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

<sup>10</sup> See paper entitled "The American Navy and the Opinions of One of its Founders, John Adams, 1735-1825", by Capt. C. G. Calkins, U. S. N., *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol. 37, no. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Elizabeth Coombs Adams, a daughter of Thomas Boylston Adams, born February 9, 1808, died, June 13, 1903. Further indicative of the intensity of family feeling at the time aroused by the *Constitution-Guerriere* incident, a younger brother of Elizabeth C. Adams, born nine months later, May 26, 1813, was named Isaac Hull. He died at Quincy, October 5, 1910.

## PROFITABLE FIELDS OF INVESTIGATION IN AMERICAN HISTORY, 1815-1860<sup>1</sup>

THE principal subject which the student of this period of American history must appreciate is the development of a dominant interest, of a distinct civilization with definite ideals which was, like all other group evolutions, nationalist only in so far as the general government offered a guarantee of its existence and prosperity. This interest was the plantation system, based on negro slavery. Secured in their monopoly by the federal Constitution, the planters gradually conquered the lower South and the Mississippi Valley and set the standards for the progressive and accessible parts of the country. The planter was the perfect gentleman of his time and the plantation was the accepted economic and social model, not only for the South, but for most of the remainder of the United States.

The group which in any country produces the largest annual surplus is apt to draw to it other interests and thus determine the common policy. The plantation owners increased their exports alone from \$25,000,000 in 1815 to \$250,000,000 in 1860, which gave them almost twice as great an income as all other exporters combined. It was natural, therefore, that the commercial classes, which had played such an important rôle at the close of the French and Indian War and again during the Federalist supremacy, and was now a relatively decadent group, should ally itself with the planters both in economics and in politics.

On the other hand the interest which opposed the planters and which under the aegis of the corporation was to dominate the country after 1861 was engaged in manufacturing. The surplus of the manufacturers was not exported but was sold, in the main, to the planters. The manufacturers drew to themselves the owners of the surplus capital in the great towns and cities not engaged in commerce, particularly the banking interest, and the nature of their business made them the masters of many densely populated communities. This gave them a power in Congress next to that of the planters.

But the great majority of the people, not less than two-thirds of the total number, "the peasant proprietors", as they have been

<sup>1</sup> A paper read in a conference of students of American history at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Boston, December 30, 1912.

called, were not attached to either party. They occupied the remote areas and had no markets and hence no surplus crops or products of any kind. Their votes were sought by both of the powerful rival groups, though most blunderingly by the planters until about 1850.

Along the numerous river valleys of the West little communities of farmers became planters during the early years of our period and thus new forms and allies of the plantation came rapidly into existence; this applies to the region north of the Ohio as well as to that further south. The process gave assurance to the planter that he would control the coming nation and accordingly he and his allies were strongly nationalist. But the manufacturers held out to the inaccessible up-country the vision of home markets to be obtained through extensive internal improvements which the federal government was to construct. The money for this was to be collected from the planters by means of a high tariff, the indirect effect of which would be to give the manufacturers control of the rich and growing domestic market. The result of these proposals was a fierce conflict in Congress between the planters, who already enjoyed a monopoly by reason of the three-fifths rule of representation and the nature of their business, and the manufacturers, who were bent on obtaining one. The tariff was the bone of contention and the war continued from 1820 to 1846, when the planters won through the shrewd manoeuvres of Robert J. Walker in his famous revenue bill of the latter year. In this fight both contestants proclaimed the sacrosanct character of the federal Constitution, while neither cared anything for its provisions unless they could be made to cover the desired privilege.

Winning in the closely contested election of 1844, the planters went vigorously to work to conciliate the farmers of the upper West and the mountain regions and by a wise bargaining they secured that support which gave the history of the late forties and early fifties its strongly Southern stamp. The Polk administration thus appears to have been a much more important one than it has been thought. Under Polk and Robert Walker the Northwesterners were allowed the hotly desired expansion to the Pacific, the plantation masters extended their system to the Rio Grande, the commercial interests of the East were promised an ever-expanding market and the manufacturers were convinced that a moderate tariff to which all parties gave their approval would be better than an everlasting economic war.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A most important pamphlet bearing on these arrangements is that of Robert J. Walker, published January 8, 1844. It had a wide circulation and was the basis of the Baltimore Democratic platform and the most influential campaign document of the year.

Meanwhile the masses of the up-country people coming slowly into touch, through improved roadways, with the civilization of the time were giving up their repugnance to slavery and the aristocratic régime of which it was the basis; for wherever canals and railways went slavery, or at least sympathy with the South, followed; and where schools and newspapers were set up, save in a small section of the country, opposition to the "favorite institution" ceased.

Since the Polk administration proved to be a great clearing-house for the warring interests of all sections, it may be time for historical students to cease ridiculing its head as a "do-nothing" and unworthy President. Polk may have been gifted with talent in the arts of deception, as has been so frequently asserted, but other occupants of that high office have not been wholly destitute of abilities in this respect. While a good deal of work has been done of late years on the Tyler and Polk period, there remains yet much more that ought to be undertaken. Some of the attention which has gone to Jackson, "the boisterous", might well have been given to Polk, "the mendacious", for when it comes to measuring administrations few have accomplished so much that was of vital importance.

If one reviews the period from 1816 to 1846 it will be seen that the tariff, internal improvements, and a strong federal financial system composed the trio of nationalist policies which were always in mind and urged or resisted by the leading groups. The Jackson and Van Buren administrations only arrested progress along these lines, while Tyler marked time for nearly four years. Walker and Polk succeeded in committing the majority of the country, that is the South and West, to a new programme, that of radical territorial expansion in all possible directions, and this superseded definitely the older methods and purposes. There was no real break in the policy of succeeding administrations until 1861. Thus the régime of the despised Tennessee slave-owner assumes an importance which, though most if not all American historians have denied or overlooked the fact, must be recognized in the future. It is not the character of the President which interests the student but the schemes which he carries into effect.

There was, to be sure, a small segment of the country which was not satisfied in 1848, but that was not the reason why Taylor and the Whigs were returned to power. The great majority of the people were being "worked into shape" by the dominant Southern group, the anti-slavery agitation to the contrary notwithstanding. American society, following the universal rule, was reconciling itself to the view that all men are not equal. A most significant illustration of this is to be seen in the fact that free negroes in every South-



ern state were the owners of slaves and quite content with the system. As Mr. Rhodes says, the decade preceding the war showed in its earlier years every sign of a long course of development along the lines already marked out by the leaders. Business and transportation interests were in closer alliance with the South than had ever before been the case. Large corporations in the North were hiring and even owning slaves; and they defended slavery everywhere. It does not require a violent stretch of the historical imagination to foresee what would have been the course of corporation politics in the succeeding years if there had been no interruption in 1860.

This rapid crystallization of American life around the plantation and manor house—the realization of our first form of feudalism—was brought to a sudden halt, not so much by the Republican platform, or “human programme”, as by the will and ambition of a single man, Stephen A. Douglas, whom von Holst insisted upon calling Stephen “Arnold” Douglas. Just as Hamilton put Jefferson into the presidency by undermining the foundations of the Federalist party, so the “little giant” broke to pieces, both purposely and unintentionally, the settled programme of the time. If this be true a new study of the years preceding the first election of Lincoln might not be without its reward and it may yet be possible to add a life of Douglas to the famous *Statesmen* series.

But the majority of the people of the country were still rural and “small farmer” in character and they believed, perhaps not so great a proportion of them as in 1800, in the Declaration of Independence. Douglas’s break with his party in 1857 was an appeal to this powerful sentiment and Lincoln’s whole purpose was to rekindle the democratic flame; Lincoln and Douglas were too strong for the old order and it crumbled in spite of the popular acquiescence.

If this diagnosis be even “largely correct”, the student who desires to understand the epoch must place himself in another attitude from what has been customary and seek sources of information in other localities than the North and East. It will likewise be necessary to abandon the habit of determining who were saints or sinners, for all important leaders will appear so frequently in both rôles that discrimination will be more than difficult. The real historian, however, does not care a great deal whether a public man was right or wrong, nor does he turn readily to the use of epithets or strong adjectives.

After so long an introduction, it may be proper to come to the main purpose of the paper, which is to venture some suggestions as to certain lines of study that may not have been followed up by the

writers of American history. Beginning with the economic side of the subject, two of the most important studies that yet remain to be made are those of the tobacco and cotton planting industries, though it would be very difficult to gather the necessary information. The building of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, in which Washington was so much interested, was a far-reaching undertaking which, notwithstanding it was never completed, ought to be studied. A good beginning might be made in a life of Charles Fenton Mercer, one of the ablest of the secondary leaders of the South. The James River and Kanawha Canal was equally important and its records, in the main unexplored, would tell a good deal of Virginia history. And while on the Old Dominion it may be well to call attention to William B. Giles, Thomas Ritchie,<sup>3</sup> Littleton Tazewell, John Taylor, William C. Rives, John B. Floyd, sr., and Edmund Ruffin, as good opportunities for biographical studies.

The western parts of the Carolinas, like upper Virginia, were gradually drawn to the support of the low-country, or the cotton and tobacco belts, and consequently of slavery, through state systems of internal improvements, promised or executed, or through the steady encroachments of the cotton and tobacco planters upon the poorer, idealistic up-country. Of none of these have we adequate accounts, save in Professor Phillips's *Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt*. I know of no better way to clear up these subjects than through "lives" of such leaders as Archibald Murphey, Willie P. Mangum, and Thomas L. Clingman of North Carolina, and Thomas Cooper, Langdon Cheves, George McDuffie, and Robert Barnwell Rhett of South Carolina. In the development of these undertakings and in the careers of these men one sees the "missionary" process of history as tier after tier of counties, at one time hostile to slavery and supposedly nationalist in character, join the standards of particularism.

In Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi the same evolution was taking place—the "black belt" expanding northward and southward, not westward in the same sense as in Virginia—and with the same results. Again one is tempted into the field of biography. George M. Troup, John Forsyth, George Poindexter, Howell Cobb, Joseph E. Brown, William L. Yancey, and Robert J. Walker offer the same kind of opportunities as have been suggested in the leaders of the older South. The railway problem in this region was that of connecting the upper cotton counties with the Tennessee and Mississippi

<sup>3</sup> Professor D. R. Anderson, of Richmond College, has finished a life of Giles; and Professor C. H. Ambler, of Randolph-Macon, has likewise completed his life of Ritchie, both of which will probably be published during the coming year.

rivers in such a way as to bring the small farmers of the up-country to market and make of them great planters who would at once understand slavery and its aristocratic flower and attach themselves to the "black belt". The story of the railway and transportation schemes of Alabama and Mississippi, of the Memphis convention of 1845, at which Calhoun announced his second change of heart on the policy of internal improvements, would aid in the understanding of the lower South at its most important stage.

Closely associated with these economic and political developments is the subject of sectionalism in Louisiana and Mississippi. In the former the conflict of New Orleans and its commercial affairs with the cotton planters of the middle and upper parts of the state gives occasion for another such work as that of Schaper on South Carolina or Ambler on Virginia. And in Mississippi there is the most promising opportunity for a study of conflicting groups and rival sections in the working out of a large community life. The parallels here on the lower Mississippi to the conditions of Virginia and South Carolina are varied mainly because of the hastening effect of an insatiable demand for cotton.

Texas and the Mexican War are already under the historical microscope of Professor Justin H. Smith and it will suffice if this paper merely calls attention to the importance of studying the Polk administration on the domestic side and especially of viewing its acts as concrete performances and not as occasions for the manifestation of one's moral indignation. In Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Missouri, however, there are many openings, not as yet peered into, for the pens of those who will go into the local libraries and private collections. Perhaps western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee, an isolated region holding fast to the ideals of the Southern up-country of Jefferson's day even as late as 1860, would make an excellent beginning; but since the annals of the poor are both short and simple, it might be very difficult to find materials adequate to the telling of the story. Parson Brownlow and Andrew Johnson<sup>4</sup> were the principal men of this section who were important and active during the period of 1844 to 1860. The antebellum career of Johnson would serve to illustrate the growth and ideals of this part of the older West.

Middle Tennessee and the Blue Grass counties of Kentucky ran similar courses, and their history is fairly well known through the "lives" of Jackson and Clay; but so much attention has been devoted to personalities and to the things which had no existence in connec-

<sup>4</sup> Professor St. George L. Sioussat has in preparation a life of Andrew Johnson which, it is understood, Messrs. Jacobs will bring out next year.

tion with these knight-errants of opposite camps, that it would profit us much to seek out the careers of the more prosaic statesmen of the older Southwest: Hugh Lawson White, Felix Grundy, John Bell, John J. Crittenden, John C. Breckinridge, and the picturesque Richard M. Johnson. This area of Jackson and Clay was the connecting link between the Ohio Valley and the lower South and consequently the building and the influence of what is now the Louisville and Nashville railway might properly be made the subject of a special monograph. Members of more than one cabinet, there is reason to believe, were the spokesmen of this interest in public life and most of the leaders of the region were its allies.

The western strip of Kentucky and Tennessee came into full economic relations with Memphis, the Gulf ports, St. Louis and Chicago through Stephen A. Douglas's Mobile and Ohio, and Illinois Central systems which were the greatest "log-rolling and pork-barrel" schemes of the time. Mobile, Chicago, and eastern capitalists and promoters as well as the cotton planters of the lower South and the grain and cattle farmers of the Northwest were directly concerned, and the possession of Cuba and the building of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama were integral parts of the undertaking.

Arkansas was a fairly simple social and economic unit during our period, but Missouri developed under the aegis of Thomas H. Benton two distinct groups, which fact seems to have been known to Calhoun even before it was understood by "Old Bullion" himself. The outcome of the long contest begun there in 1847 has been regarded as of the utmost importance in the maintenance of the nationality of the United States. Enough has been brought to light in the *Polk Diary* to suggest that the accepted view of the matter may be untenable and that a new study of Benton, of the Missouri industrial and railroad interests, and especially of Benton's Greek gift to the young Republicans in the Frémont candidacy might yield surprising results.

In the old Northwest the most promising "lead" would seem to offer in the slavery problem, for despite the sacred ordinance of 1787 negro slavery was long a practical if not important fact in every state of that section and "the institution" itself was not so unpopular there in 1860 as has been supposed. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa were slow indeed to give up the idea that well-to-do men of their region should not be allowed to own their servants like real gentlemen, and it was not Southerners or men of Southern descent who were alone responsible for this persistent notion. All these communities, but especially Indiana and Illinois, present sec-

tional problems very much like those of Virginia and South Carolina. Without an acknowledged slavery system and without any great staple crops, before the late fifties, these states developed the more prosperous and the less prosperous groups, separated geographically very much as had been the case in the South. It was always the prosperous who favored the fixed order including slavery; and the unprosperous, or rather the less prosperous, who, calling themselves "progressives", but considered "radicals" by their opponents, cried out against the iniquities of "human slavery". Illinois above all other communities in the Northwest requires to be studied "sectionally".

Professor Allen Johnson has given us a masterly and sharply analytical *Life of Douglas* which renders superfluous another political study of the "little giant"; but there is still room for a close scrutiny of that versatile statesman as an industrial leader, perhaps along lines recently suggested by Professor Hodder in a paper read before the Wisconsin Historical Society. It is not at all improbable that we shall soon see that a good deal of the pure villainy of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was only a piece of "big business" for which Chicago capitalists were as much responsible as the ambitious senator himself. And in the same connection it ought to be remembered that the history of the Illinois Central railroad has never yet been attempted. There are rich files of papers and collections of manuscripts in Chicago awaiting the right man. Such a work would certainly change some "fixed opinions" of American history for the years just preceding the war.

The Pierce and Buchanan régime was but a continuation of the Polk administration and a renewal of the understanding of the South and the West, that is, of the policy of national development and expansion, both territorial and commercial; and a good part of the thought and planning of the so-called Southern Congresses of 1853 to 1859 were directed at the realization of these purposes. Possibly these assemblies might, if investigated closely, shed some light upon a number of questions bearing upon the events of this decade. The planter class spoke in these bodies and the social ideals as well as the social statecraft of the masterful "old Southerner" came to full view. Railway building, textile industries, the expansion of slavery and the reduction of the cost of negroes, an efficiency programme, a possible protective system for Southern enterprises and education, common school and collegiate education, all received serious and even prophetic attention. A "sociology for the South" and commissions for the study of the relations of the community to the dependent classes were products of these gatherings which re-

ceived thoughtful consideration from Thomas Carlyle and even from the greater New England colleges.

A still more enticing, if somewhat more difficult, field is that of absentee landlordism in the South, a sort of parallel to the present-day bondholder class; and not a few men who lived in the cities of the North were absentee landlords of the South. County records, especially wills, marriage agreements, and inventories, as well as the family and local histories, would be the principal sources. The interstate slave-trade, amounting to many millions annually, has not received serious treatment; for this the material lies ready to hand in the advertisements and the news columns of the papers of the day, though the census returns could not be overlooked. In this connection I may revert once more to the interesting fact that 18,000 slaves were the property of negro masters who had won their freedom and then invested in the best paying property of the time.<sup>5</sup> William Lloyd Garrison is said to have been greatly surprised when, on the occasion of a visit to South Carolina at the close of the war, he felicitated a negro acquaintance in Charleston upon the happy effects of universal emancipation and received the reply: "What, me happy at de freein' o' my niggers!"

One sees here, as in much else that has been said, a close parallel to the feudalism of Europe, which grew in, out, up, and down all at the same time; and one might be led from the fact of negroes owning negro slaves to an examination of Southern society in the narrower sense—society much talked about and much be-written, but certainly not as yet made to live again either in novel or sober history. It has more than once been suggested that the fall of the Confederacy was due in considerable measure to the hostility of certain great, aristocratic clans whose leaders held high places in the army and in Congress.

In religious and social history not much work of a strictly scientific character has, I believe, been done. It has been the custom to assume that the churches of the East and North, not to mention the South, contributed substantially to the success of the cause which we are prone to call nationalist in the period of 1815 to 1860. It may be risky to lay down any thesis in a paper like this, but a somewhat thorough study of some of the leading Protestant churches compels the view that this was not the fact. Religious people are apt to be of the conservative party at any given crisis; and it is everywhere acknowledged that the abolitionists were at a disadvantage in their long fight against slavery because they were without the pale of the

<sup>5</sup> *The Popular Science Monthly* of November, 1912, contains a most enlightening study of this subject by Mr. Calvin Dill Wilson.

orthodox churches. They were gradually driven by the attitude of the religious and the social elements of the North into a position of hostility toward the churches and even toward nationalism itself.

In the colonial period the established church of the Southern communities and the official denominations of the Middle and Eastern colonies were troubled with the question of whether "the gospel made men free", especially negro men. Wise legal authorities in England decreed, somewhat after the manner of Taney at a later period, that baptism could not change the status of people before the law.<sup>6</sup> Henceforth the clergy were free to preach the gospel to slaves. The older churches came, therefore, to justify and defend slavery and in many instances local churches owned and "hired out" negroes for the support of their pastors and school teachers. From 1750 to 1860 the Episcopalians, the successors of the established church, found nothing amiss in the plantation system. The history of this denomination is, therefore, of less interest to our epoch because there was no internal struggle, though the "lives" of certain of their clergymen, like Bishops Madison, Johns, Manning, and Green would undoubtedly aid in the understanding of the social order in which they were important factors.

But the younger or "new side" Presbyterians who established the College of New Jersey, about the year 1745, thought that the gospel did make men free; and before the Revolution their clergy—missionaries of a new faith—mobilized the Southern up-country in the cause of freedom and equal opportunity for all men, especially poor men. A decided change came, about 1800 to 1810, when the Presbyterian clergy, and a little later Princeton College, became bulwarks of conservatism and sturdy defenders of the plantation civilization. Before 1860, the victory was absolute and great divines of this denomination, North as well as South, were the most ardent protagonists of slavery, of the feudal system which had grown so rapidly during the half-century under consideration.<sup>7</sup> The student of local religious sources almost sees the process, as community after community changes from anti-slavery and "idealistic" to pro-slavery and "practical", the cause of the change being in every case the growth of wealth and the introduction of new comforts. A poor church in 1800 was anti-slavery and very simple in its service; the same church was composed of well-to-do members in 1850 and it was naturally pro-slavery and formal in its order of worship.

<sup>6</sup> Yorke, attorney-general, and Talbot, solicitor-general of England; see Hurd, *The Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I. 185, and note, pp. 185-186.

<sup>7</sup> One is reminded of Professor Charles Hodge of Princeton, Henry Van Dyke of Brooklyn, and Nathan L. Rice of Chicago, and still others whose names need not here be listed.

This subject might be worked out from the records of the churches, from the discussions of the national gatherings and particularly in the "lives" of certain preachers, more powerful in many ways than political leaders of whom we already know more than it is necessary to know. Moses Hoge, of Virginia, John H. Thornwell, of South Carolina, B. M. Palmer, of New Orleans, Robert J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and Nathan L. Rice, of Chicago, come readily to mind as offering the best of opportunities for doctoral dissertations, provided the student is required to give due setting and background to his subject in each case.

The Baptists and Methodists were at the beginning of our epoch still poor, "small farmer" in their sympathies, and of course hostile to the easy-going, wealthy, and educated plantation masters. But they were not averse to winning converts among slaveholders, particularly the smaller ones to whom their preachers had access. As these became great planters under the stimulus of cotton and tobacco growing they became the more powerful element in the churches, and everybody was influenced by their opinions. What the planter's daughter wore at the service was almost as important a matter as what the preacher said in the pulpit and it sometimes had more influence in shaping the character of the local membership. The preacher ceased to denounce as idolaters those who wore "fine raiment and costly jewels" or at most his successor ceased thus to offend. Under the stimulus of such influences the leadership of the Baptists and Methodists followed inevitably the course already marked out by the economic conditions, the course which the Presbyterians had already taken. The penetration of the remote Baptist and Methodist neighborhoods by turnpikes and railways, the building of new churches and better schools, brought these simple people, or at least their children, into touch with the better manners and the higher culture of the planters and they surrendered. Before the middle of the century both of these denominations in the Southern up-country and the West, except the Connecticut Reserve, a part of Michigan, and a group of counties in northern Illinois and southeastern Wisconsin, already firmly attached by long custom and older ideals to New England, were in full sympathy with the plantation system. It is true that a break in the ranks of these churches had come in 1844-1845 and the northern wings had gone their own way; but there immediately followed a mild reaction and as the years wore on the extreme anti-slavery element lost ground. Under the "good times" of the late forties and early fifties so many men became well-to-do or were carried into the railway and industrial movements of the Northwest that even the most democratic of the relig-



ious denominations ceased to think of slavery as a very great evil and the preachers and religious newspapers found good Bible authority for the "favorite institution" of the South.

The history of this evolution would be worth tracing through the many sources "tucked away" in the libraries of denominational colleges, in the files of religious journals, and in the diaries of the leading ministers. Some of the more important biographies of the religious leaders which might be of real service to general American history would be those of J. B. Jeter, James B. Taylor, and William A. Smith, of Virginia, Richard Fuller, James P. Boyce, and Bishop Capers, of South Carolina, Bishop Pierce, of Georgia, John M. Manly, of Alabama, Bishop Greene, of Tennessee, Bishop Bascom, of Kentucky, John M. Peck and Peter Cartwright, of Illinois, Bishop Soule, of Ohio, the redoubtable Henry Clay Dean, of Iowa, and, perhaps most important of all, Bishop Asbury, of no particular locality.

In the careers of these men and in the various denominational movements, such as the building of colleges, first by the Presbyterians and later by the other churches, the sending of missionaries to foreign lands and to the "destitute" portions of the United States, the separation of Church and State and the relations of masters and servants, the student will find much that is important, much that will tend to change some "settled convictions". And in the "revivals" there was often not a little that is of historic significance, while in the steady growth of the idea of regularity and orthodoxy one has the evidence of the crystallization of society around certain notions as fundamental. This can nowhere be studied to better advantage than in South Carolina and in the life of Thomas Cooper, John Adams's "learned mad-cap", who was long the president of South Carolina College and who was removed from office because of his exercise of the so-called right of freedom of speech. In fact one can hardly enter this field at any point without coming face to face with important social and cultural changes which challenge interest and attention.

Professor Jameson in his presidential address before this Association at its Madison meeting showed how rich and how promising is this subject and so I have only to reiterate his statement and add whatever emphasis I can to his suggestions. The best collections of material that come readily to mind are those of the Episcopalians at Alexandria, Virginia, of the Presbyterians at Philadelphia and Columbia, South Carolina, of the Baptists, at Brown University, in New York City, and at the Louisville Theological Seminary, and of the Methodists at Wesleyan, Northwestern, and Vanderbilt uni-

versities. Doubtless there are other places where the necessary data might be found by the diligent worker.

It was the irony of history that the Quakers, who emigrated from the South in order to free themselves from the taint of slavery, should fall into sharp conflict as to their attitude on the subject in their new northwestern homes. But such is the fact and the proceedings of the Indiana Yearly Meeting are a good illustration of the point. The problem was with them the same social one it had been to the Baptists and others. When their leading members became wealthy, or relatively so, the older intense moral conviction weakened gradually and the majority grew "weary of well-doing" and refused to receive runaway negroes into their homes and they too voted the conservative ticket in the last decade of our period. Of the Catholics and other lesser denominations it is hardly necessary to speak in a cursory examination like this. Suffice it to say, a close and scientific study of the religious development of the United States for the period of 1815 to 1860 would probably change some of the important pages of history.

To conclude this rather tedious paper, it may not be improper to suggest that if the field were clear and a new history of the epoch of 1815 to 1860 were to be written, it would scarcely be sufficient to base the account of the Jefferson régime, as Henry Adams has done, mainly upon the diplomatic sources; for from this particular angle the Virginia Dynasty appears to greatest disadvantage. By this it is not meant that Henry Adams is not fair or that his work is merely a history of American diplomacy; but that the sources upon which he has drawn and relied almost exclusively do not cover the field. Virginia and the up-country were then in power, yet Adams shows no sympathy for nor familiarity with the life of the people of those regions save as it was illustrated in a few leaders who lived in Washington. Richmond was, I believe, in 1800 the second publishing centre in the country, but little of this literature seems to have been consulted. It does not appear from the pages of this greatest of our historians that the party which supported Jefferson was anything but a majority of the Southern gentry who had by some means overthrown the Federalist gentry. The fact was that the wealthy classes of the South felt as contemptuously toward the "demagogue" who led the "rabble" to victory in that year as did the representatives of the Essex junto. The student who kept this in mind could not misunderstand the ready resort of the administration to the Northern democracy for support in 1805 and 1806. The life-work of the faithful democrat of the "little mountain" was always with and for the common man, the small farmer

and the smaller artisan, and their life and testimony must enter into any adequate narrative of the career of their hero or of the history of the time.

Nor would the "new historian", if one may safely use the term, recount the events of 1815 to 1860, as Professor McMaster has done, in the language of Middle State sources and the Congressional debates. In McMaster we have a great mass of testimony and a good deal of clever paraphrase for all sections of the country, but the emphasis is placed on industrial events and industrial conditions. Nor is there a real analysis of the parties and programmes, such for example as that embraced in the so-called American system of Henry Clay. A work which portrays the life of the American people must devote more space and more intelligent and more sympathetic attention to the needs and conditions of the debtor regions of the country—the West and the South. Perhaps it will not be regarded as a near approach to a counsel of perfection to say that the historian must visit many localities and know all classes of people in order to understand the social strata and changes which it is his duty to describe; for instance, no one can appreciate Stephen A. Douglas or Henry Clay as great forces in American public life without first knowing the people of Illinois and Kentucky and the antagonistic interests contending in those states for supremacy during our period.

Neither McMaster nor Schouler, the next of our important historians, makes any serious effort to portray the changes in social ideals as shown forth in the religious evolution of the country. They accept certain things as categorical and then proceed to describe the perverse and stubborn generation which bound itself fast to the dead body of negro slavery and then plunged into an ocean of revolution and civil war carrying the rest of the nation with it. Lincoln, the politician, was more of a philosopher and he manifested more of the mind of the historian when he declared in the address at Peoria in 1854: "They [the Southerners] are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself".<sup>8</sup> If our best historians had travelled widely and had consulted local source-materials and especially had they looked somewhat into the religious history of the people in the great sections of the country their narratives would have been far more satisfying and their judgments, expressed or implied, would have been more likely to stand the test of the years.

The abolitionists filled a large space in the records of the time,

<sup>8</sup> Miss Ida M. Tarbell, *Life of Lincoln*, I. 283.

but their actual influence was as that of a single "righteous man" in a world of wickedness, and in the "new history" which would treat of actual forces, social, economic, and political, they could not loom so large as Schouler and von Holst, whose history of the United States is still further from the realities of American life, thought they did when they wrote. The prominence and the activity of the abolitionists were great and the effect of their work was far-reaching; but they were in no sense one of the great forces which shaped the national destiny. Their existence showed that the religious teachers and organized Christianity had failed of their mission. The abolitionists were anti-nationalist and their spokesmen would have brought about a Northern secession but for the stronger economic and social influences which opposed them.

To come back to the point whence we started, the period from 1815 to 1860 was an era in which two or three powerful economic groups fought out a bitter struggle for the mastery, and the plantation owners won between 1844 and 1852, and it seemed that their slow-developing feudalism was to continue, drawing to itself the "big business" of the East and the transportation interests of the West, for an indefinite time. But over-confidence and abuse of their position and power drove men who had believed in a simpler democratic life away from their standards and gave opportunity for the industrial interests, never quite reconciled to a free-trade policy, and the ever-hostile New England group to bring about a political revolution like that which Jefferson led in 1800. The history of the Civil War and the period immediately following is proof enough that the successors of the opponents of Calhoun and Hayne, and not idealistic reformers, had come to power as protagonists of nationalism, but a nationalism which first of all "took care" of their economic interests.

It may be the merest commonplace to say so in this presence, but I risk the statement that one might expect from such a history as ought to be written, one in which all the people of the country, all the groups of the self-seeking classes, all the important official acts of responsible leaders would have their due place, a broad and catholic spirit which condemns no great community as hopelessly bad and which would see in all important groups some large social and political causes. Such a history would award as high honors to Calhoun as to Webster, to Jefferson Davis as to Charles Sumner, and on its pages public men might learn lessons which it might be well for them to heed if they value the verdicts of the future.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

## DOCUMENTS

### *Correspondence of the Russian Ministers in Washington, 1818-1825, II.*

THE papers in the present installment are of less interest than those in the first, partly because of the transfer to St. Petersburg of the negotiations respecting our northwest coast, partly because two of the most interesting of the despatches of Tuyll to Nesselrode, and one of the most interesting of Nesselrode to Tuyll, are already in print (and are not here repeated), indeed are not in the collection of transcripts received from St. Petersburg, and seem not to be in the archives of the Russian embassy at Washington.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Tuyll's despatches in some cases have a heightened interest on account of the gaps which just at this period are found in the *Memoirs* of John Quincy Adams.

#### XVII. ELLISEN<sup>2</sup> TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON, ce 1/13 Décembre 1822.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

*Monsieur le Comte,*

Immédiatement après la réception des ordres, renfermés dans les dépêches de Votre Excellence du 24 Avril et du 1/13 Juillet dernier,<sup>3</sup> que Mr. le Général Baron de Tuyll m'a fait parvenir par la voie de New York avec le double acte de ratification de la convention conclue à St.-Petersbourg le 30 Juin/12 Juillet cette année,<sup>4</sup> je me suis empressé de m'acquitter auprès du Gouvernement des Etats Unis d'Amérique des communications, dont je me trouvais chargé par suite des circonstances, qui ont empêché le Ministre de Sa Majesté L'Empereur de continuer son voyage en Amérique.

Ayant informé Mr. Adams que le Ministre Imperial m'avait prescrit de procéder à l'échange des deux instruments de ratification, revêtus de

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 549, 550, notes 28, 31, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Chargé d'affaires between the departure of Polética and the arrival of Tuyll, April 24, 1822-April 19, 1823.

<sup>3</sup> No. XV., pp. 335-344, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> The convention between the United States and Great Britain for indemnity for slaves carried away at the end of the War of 1812; see p. 343, *supra*. It was concluded at St. Petersburg July 12, 1822, under the mediation of the Emperor Alexander I.; ratifications were exchanged January 10, 1823. Malloy, *Treaties, Conventions, etc.*, I. 634-638. Article VIII., referred to below, concerned the method of ratification. The dates in these foot-notes, when not given in the double form, are new-style dates.

la signature de Sa Majesté L'Empereur contre les ratifications du Gouvernement Américain et contre celle de la Grande Bretagne, d'après la teneur de l'article VIII de la dite convention, le Secrétaire d'Etat Américain a répondu à cette communication par la note, que j'ai l'honneur de transmettre ci-joint à Votre Excellence.

Dans un entretien que j'ai eu depuis avec Mr. Adams, ce Ministre m'a répété, que la convention de St.-Petersbourg ne tarderait pas à être discutée au Sénat des Etats Unis pour en obtenir la sanction constitutionnelle et pour être soumise subséquemment à la ratification du Président. Il ajouta, que le Ministre d'Angleterre à Washington n'avait point encore reçu de son Gouvernement les ratifications de cette convention.

On suppose que Mr. Addington,<sup>6</sup> nommé Secrétaire de la Légation d'Angleterre aux Etats Unis d'Amérique, est chargé de porter à Washington les dites ratifications.

D'après nos nouvelles dernières d'Europe cet employé devait partir de Falmouth par le paquebot anglais du 16 Octobre n. st. qui jusqu'à présent n'est point encore arrivé à New-York.

Je ne saurais terminer ce rapport sans rendre compte à Votre Excellence de la satisfaction générale, que l'arbitrage émis à cette occasion par Sa Majesté L'Empereur a produite aux Etas Unis, et j'ai pu me persuader de la reconnaissance avec laquelle le peuple américain apprécie cette nouvelle preuve de la justice Imperiale, qui caractérise toutes les décisions de notre Auguste Souverain.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la plus grande considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

GEORGE ELLISEN.

#### XVIII. NESSELRODE TO TUYLL.<sup>6</sup>

*Monsieur le Baron,*

Je me suis empressé de mettre sous les yeux de L'Empereur, les dépêches que Vous avez confiées à Mr. Wallenstein, mais les travaux du Congrès<sup>7</sup> ne m'ont pas permis de Vous faire connoître plutôt les intentions de Sa Majesté Impériale.

Sans contester une apparence de plausibilité aux motifs, pour lesquels Vous avez résolu d'attendre à Liverpool des instructions supplémentaires relativement à la négociation que Vous étiez chargé d'ouvrir avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, je ne saurois Vous dissimuler, Monsieur le Baron, qu'en poursuivant Votre voyage et en Vous bornant à l'exécution littérale des ordres antérieurs de Sa Majesté, Vous auriez mieux rempli Ses désirs et plus complètement justifié Son attente.

Les instructions qui Vous ont été données sous la date du 13 juillet<sup>8</sup> devoient Vous placer, dès Votre arrivée à Washington, dans une posi-

<sup>6</sup> Henry Unwin Addington, nephew of Lord Sidmouth, had been secretary of legation to Stratford Canning during the latter's diplomatic service in Switzerland, 1814-1819, and was now coming out to be his secretary at Washington, and, as it proved, to be chargé d'affaires after Canning's departure in the summer of 1823.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently still at Liverpool.

<sup>7</sup> The Congress of Verona, October-December 14, 1822. The czar and Nesselrode both attended it.

<sup>8</sup> No. XV.

tion simple, facile, honorable et avantageuse. Il s'étoit élevé un différend entre les Etats-Unis et la Russie. Vous deviez déclarer en remettant Vos lettres de créance, que Votre mission étoit de l'applanir. Nous craignons, et les Etats-Unis partageoient sans doute nos inquiétudes, que des voyes de fait entre les vaisseaux des deux Puissances ne vissent compliquer ces fâcheuses discussions. Vous étiez chargé d'annoncer, qu'au moyen des ordres provisoires donnés par Sa Majesté Impériale, de telles appréhensions ne pouvoient plus subsister. Enfin les Etats-Unis nous avoient témoigné, il y a six ans, le désir de fixer par une négociation amicale, des limites précises entre leurs possessions et les nôtres sur la côte N. O. de l'Amérique; Vous deviez informer le Gouvernement Américain, que nous étions prêts à négocier avec lui sur la base des convenances réciproques, et que même les mesures de douane et de surveillance qui seroient adoptées dans nos Colonies, perdroient beaucoup de la rigueur dont on s'étoit plaint, si des entreprises hautement condamnées par le droit des gens, ne nous obligeoient de revenir au système des précautions sévères et des défenses absolues.

Ce n'étoit pas peu de chose que d'acquérir aux yeux du Gouvernement Américain le mérite d'avoir fait une pareille déclaration. Vos relations futures avec le Cabinet de Washington devoient nécessairement y gagner, et le préjugé favorable qui se seroit attaché dès lors à toute proposition venant de Votre part Vous eût peut-être facilité plus d'un succès.

Sans doute la négociation de limites que Vous aviez à conduire, ne regardoit pas seulement le Gouvernement Américain, puisque, d'après des notions récentes et dignes de foi, nos établissemens sur la côte N. O. de l'Amérique sont très rapprochés d'établissmens Anglois, et qu'aux termes d'une Convention conclue en 1818, des Territoires qui touchent probablement aux nôtres, doivent appartenir en commun, pendant dix ans, à l'Angleterre et aux Etats Unis. J'avouerai encore que dans toutes les hypothèses, Vous n'auriez pas obtenu sans peine du Cabinet de Washington les garanties que nous désirions contre les entreprises des aventuriers qui troublent la paix des contrées où la Russie exerce les droits les plus incontestables; mais Vos instructions, Monsieur le Baron, loin de Vous fixer un terme pour stipuler un arrangement, soit définitif soit provisoire, avec les Etats-Unis, Vous laissoient sous ce rapport une grande latitude et Vous invitoient même à ne rien conclure avant d'avoir reçu des informations complémentaires. Ainsi, Votre première déclaration faite, Vous pouviez tranquillement attendre que le Gouvernement d'Amérique donnât suite à Vos ouvertures. S'il tarδοit à Vous adresser des propositions relatives aux limites territoriales, ou à la navigation des mers qui baignent la côte N. O. du Continent Américain, Vous n'auriez compromis aucun intérêt en laissant subsister un *status quo de fait*, que les derniers ordres envoyés à ceux des vaisseaux de Sa Majesté Impériale qui croisent dans les parages de la côte N. O. ne permettoient plus de regarder comme pouvant faire naître des conflits et des discussions nouvelles. Si au contraire, le Cabinet de Washington Vous avoit proposé sans délai, des arrangemens définitifs, si les négociations s'étoient ouvertes, il Vous eût été facile d'employer les judicieuses remarques que Vous exposez dans Votre dépêche principale, pour établir nos droits au moins jusqu'au 55.dégré, facile même d'avouer franchement, s'il le falloit, avant de convenir d'une limite quelconque, qu'il Vous seroit envoyé à cet égard des instructions ultérieures. Ce témoignage de loyauté aurait achevé de convaincre les Etats-Unis, que

L'Empereur veut ajuster tous Ses différends avec eux par des stipulations tellement claires et tellement positives qu'aucun doute ne puisse occasionner le retour des explications précédentes.

D'ailleurs, Monsieur le Baron, deux autres objets réclamoient Vos soins et toute Votre attention.

Je vous avois transmis l'instrument de la ratification d'un Traité qui peut Vous placer dans le cas d'interposer Votre arbitrage entre le Commissaire Anglais et le Commissaire Américain que leurs gouvernemens respectifs chargeront de fixer la valeur moyenne des esclaves à l'époque de la conclusion du Traité de Gand. Ce Traité est probablement déjà ratifié par la Grande-Bretagne et par les Etats Unis.<sup>\*</sup> L'intervention du Représentant de Sa Majesté Impériale peut donc être demandée d'un moment à l'autre. Votre prudence et Vos lumières offriroient en pareille occasion des garanties auxquelles on est en droit d'attacher une juste importance, tandis qu'en accordant à Mr. d'Elisen beaucoup de qualités recommandables, on peut néanmoins craindre qu'à son âge, et vû la nature des fonctions qu'il a remplies jusqu'à ce jour, il ne possède point encore la maturité de jugement et l'expérience que requiert l'office difficile et délicat d'arbitre.

Une autre question d'un intérêt bien plus grave, et dont Vous parloient mes dépêches du 13 Juillet, étoit celle de l'indépendance reconnue par le Congrès Américain, des anciennes colonies Espagnoles. Vous étiez invité, Monsieur le Baron, à représenter au Cabinet de Washington, que sans prétendre juger des motifs qui l'avoient porté à cette détermination, L'Empereur désirait, par un sentiment naturel de justice et de bienveillance, qu'elle ne servit point à aggraver les malheurs déjà trop réels de l'Espagne, et que dans le cas où cette Puissance essayeroit de tirer de ses droits sur une grande partie du Sud de l'Amérique quelques avantages politiques et commerciaux que semblent lui promettre un foible reste d'autorité et le besoin d'une sanction solennelle que de pareils événemens laissent toujours après eux, même lorsqu'ils sont couronnés de succès, les Etats-Unis ne prissent aucune mesure pour empêcher l'Espagne d'obtenir ces dernières compensations de la perte d'un monde tout entier.

Plus l'Espagne est malheureuse aujourd'hui, plus L'Empereur, d'après les principes qui ne cesseront de Le diriger, sent de respect pour les droits qu'elle a possédés pendant des siècles. Une animadversion Européenne frappe les factieux qui l'oppriment, mais ses anciens titres à la Souveraineté du midi de l'autre hémisphère, ces titres que l'Europe reconnoît depuis trois cents ans, doivent dans l'opinion de Sa Majesté Impériale participer aussi longtems que possible aux garanties dont le nouveau droit public environne toutes les légitimités. Nous ne prétendons pas arrêter la marche de l'avenir; l'affranchissement de l'Amérique Méridionale est probable, il est imminent peut-être, mais, je le répète, c'étoit une raison de plus aux yeux de L'Empereur, pour souhaiter que Son Ministre engageât le gouvernement des Etats-Unis à suivre un système inoffensif à l'égard de l'Espagne, et comme dans une occasion toute semblable l'intervention de Mr. de Polética avoit produit les plus heureux effets, nous étions autorisés à fonder sur la vôtre les mêmes espérances.

Je n'ajouterai point à ces considérations, qu'il eût été préférable que la déclaration relative à notre règlement du 4/16 Septembre fût verbale et qu'un document de cette importance, et un autre qui est muni de la

<sup>\*</sup> Ratifications were not exchanged till January 10, 1823. Adams, *Memoirs*, VI. 123, 124.



signature de Notre Auguste Maître, ne fussent pas confiés au Capitaine inconnu d'un vaisseau étranger; mais je me hâte de Vous prévenir, qu'à fin de rendre à Sa Majesté Impériale les services qu'Elle attend de Votre zèle, il importe, Monsieur le Baron, que Vous saisissiez la première occasion favorable de remettre à la voile.

Pour ce qui est des négociations que Vous deviez entrainer à Washington, j'ai déjà observé, que, d'après les derniers renseignements qui nous sont parvenus et comme Vous le remarquez avec infiniment de justesse, nous serions dans la nécessité de poursuivre tout ensemble ces négociations avec les Etats Unis et avec la Grande-Bretagne. Nous avons eû à ce sujet quelques explications préalables avec le Duc de Wellington.<sup>10</sup> Il paraît que ce plénipotentiaire n'étoit point autorisé à conclure un arrangement formel concernant les possessions respectives des deux Puissances sur la côte N. O. de l'Amérique; mais nous sommes convenus qu'au moyen d'une note que le C<sup>te</sup> de Lieven présenteroit au Cabinet de St. James, Sir Charles Bagot recevrait l'autorisation de traiter de cette affaire à St. Petersbourg sur le principe des convenances mutuelles. La question des loix relatives aux mesures de surveillance que nous serons toujours obligés de prendre, pour nous mettre à l'abri de la contrebande et de toute entreprise hostile, seroit décidée en même tems par Sa Majesté Impériale.

Comme nos négociations avec l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre auroient nécessairement grande influence sur celles que Vous deviez ouvrir avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, et qu'à la distance qui va nous séparer, il Vous seroit absolument impossible de recevoir à tems les notions dont Vous auriez besoin pour faire concorder Vos propositions avec celles que nous aurions adressées à Sir Charles Bagot, et pour obtenir des résultats analogues, l'intérêt du service public exige impérieusement, que la négociation qui devoit avoir lieu à Washington puisse se transporter aussi à St. Petersbourg.

En conséquence, Monsieur le Baron, Vous voudrez bien dès Votre arrivée aux Etats-Unis témoigner à Mr. Adams, qu'afin de compléter la déclaration que Vous avez chargé Mr. d'Ellisen de lui faire, Vous y joignez au nom de Notre Auguste Maître et comme nouvelle preuve des sentimens qui l'animent envers le Gouvernement Américain, l'expression du désir, que Mr. Middleton soit muni sans délai des pouvoirs nécessaires *pour terminer avec le Cabinet Impérial par un arrangement fondé sur le principe des convenances mutuelles, toutes les discussions qui se sont élevées entre la Russie et les Etats-Unis, à la suite du règlement publié le 4/16 Septembre 1821.* Vous ajouterez que nous avons déjà fait la même proposition au Gouv<sup>nt</sup> Britannique et que nous avons tout lieu de croire qu'elle sera accueillie.

Il nous semble permis d'espérer également que le Cabinet de Washington y souscrira sans aucune difficulté. Si les négociations s'établissent à St. Petersbourg, nous aurons soin de Vous communiquer tout ce qu'elles pourront offrir d'intéressant pour Vous.

Recevez, Monsieur le Baron, l'assurance de ma considération très distinguée.

NESSELRODE.

VÉRONE, le 2/14 Décembre 1822.

à Mr. le Baron de Tüyll.

<sup>10</sup> Then representing Great Britain at the Congress of Verona. A memorandum on the ukase of 1821, presented by him to Nesselrode on October 17, 1822, is in his *Despatches*, second series, I. 372-373. See also Nesselrode to Wellington, November 11/23, 1822, *ibid.*, 576-578; Wellington to Lieven, November 28, *ibid.*, 606-607; Wellington to George Canning, November 29, *ibid.*, 615-616.

## XIX. ELLISEN TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON 13/25 Décembre 1822.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

*Monsieur le Comte,*

Don José Manuel de Zozaya, nommé par le prétendu Empereur Iturbide au poste d'Envoyé extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire pour les Etats Unis d'Amérique, est arrivé au siège du Gouvernement fédéral et vient d'obtenir sa première audience en cette qualité auprès du Président des Etats Unis.<sup>11</sup>

L'arrivée de cet agent d'un Gouvernement dont l'indépendance n'a point été reconnue par les Puissances Européennes, le met dans une position fort singulière vis-à-vis des Ministres et Chargés d'affaires des dites Puissances résidant à Washington, position, dont il serait superflu de vouloir détailler les embarras et qui a engagé l'Envoyé de Sa Majesté Britannique<sup>12</sup> à se dispenser d'assister à un dîner par lequel le Président a paru vouloir célébrer l'arrivée du Ministre Mexicain.

Le Secrétaire d'Etat Mr. Adams m'avait prévenu quelques jours d'avance, que Mr. de Zozaya avec sa suite était invité à ce dîner, en ajoutant qu'il trouverait fort simple, que je ne profitasse point de l'invitation, que j'avais reçue pour m'y rendre. Il fit la même observation au Comte de Ménou, chargé d'affaires de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne.<sup>13</sup>

Une indisposition assez grave me retenant chez moi pendant plusieurs jours, je n'ai pris aucune part aux délibérations qui eurent lieu entre les membres du Corps Diplomatique relativement à cette invitation, et je me suis permis de profiter d'un avis qui ressemblait si fort à un conseil.

On suppose que la présence de l'agent Mexicain à Washington est un des motifs qui ont engagé le Ministre de sa Majesté Catholique<sup>14</sup> à prolonger son séjour à New-York.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la plus haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très-humble et obéissant serviteur

GEORGE ELLISEN.

## XX. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

à Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

WASHINGTON, 28 Avril  
10 Mai 1823.*Monsieur le Comte,*

Aussitôt que les formalités de ma présentation au Président des Etats Unis ont été terminées,<sup>15</sup> je me suis empressé de remplir les ordres

<sup>11</sup> Iturbide had proclaimed himself emperor of Mexico May 18, 1822. Don José Manuel de Zozaya, accredited by him as envoy to the United States, presented his credentials December 10, 1822.

<sup>12</sup> Stratford Canning.

<sup>13</sup> Chargé d'affaires of France from June 29, 1822, to August 3, 1824.

<sup>14</sup> Señor Don Joaquin de Anduaga.

<sup>15</sup> Tuyll seems to have arrived in March; Adams, *Memoirs*, VI. 137. He presented his credentials on April 19. Adams's diary, fragmentary at this point, contains no record of conversations with him till June.

renfermées dans les instructions de Votre Excellence. Ayant demandé à Mr. le Secrétaire d'Etat Adams une conférence, ce Ministre la fixa au 12/24 Avril.

Après lui avoir renouvelé l'assurance des dispositions de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, notre Auguste Maître, envers le Gouvernement Américain, je manifestai au Secrétaire d'Etat le désir de Sa Majesté Impériale de voir terminer au moyen d'une négociation amicale et par un arrangement fondé sur les convenances mutuelles les discussions, qui se sont élevées entre les deux cabinets au sujet de quelques unes des dispositions comprises dans l'Oukaze du 4/16 Septembre 1821 et relativement auxquelles une correspondance entre Mr. Adams et Mr. de Poletica avait eu lieu. Je dis ensuite que le Gouvernement des Etats Unis avait déjà été informé par Mr. Middleton, son Ministre en Russie, du désir de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de prévenir des voies de fait entre les vaisseaux de la Marine Impériale, stationnés dans les parages de la côte Nord-Ouest d'Amérique, et les vaisseaux des Etats Unis; que j'étais maintenant autorisé à déclarer à Mr. Adams en le priant de porter cette déclaration à la connaissance du Président, que Sa Majesté Impériale, en vue de prévenir les inconvénients de cette nature, qui pourraient naître durant ladite négociation, avait fait adresser aux commandants des croiseurs russes sur la côte Nord-Ouest, des instructions provisoires, qu'éloignaient toute appréhension à ce sujet.<sup>16</sup> J'ajoutai que j'étais également chargé de proposer au nom de Sa Majesté l'Empereur au Gouvernement des Etats Unis de transférer à St. Pétersbourg la négociation relative aux discussions susmentionnées, en munissant Mr. Middleton des instructions nécessaires à cet effet, prévenant Mr. Adams que notre Cour avait de même engagé le Ministre Britannique à transmettre à l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté le Roi d'Angleterre à St. Pétersbourg, Sir Charles Bagot, les pleins-pouvoirs requis pour aplanir les difficultés nées entre les deux cours par rapport à la même question; invitation, à laquelle le Ministre Anglais s'était empressé d'acquiescer.

Cette dernière circonstance m'était connue par une dépêche que Mr. l'Ambassadeur, Comte de Lieven, avait eu la très grande attention de m'adresser le 2/14 Février et qui m'est parvenue à Baltimore précisément le veille de mon arrivée à Washington.

Mr. le Secrétaire d'Etat me répondit que son Gouvernement savait justement apprécier les dispositions de Sa Majesté l'Empereur à l'égard de ce pays, dispositions dont lui, Mr. Adams, avait eu de fréquentes occasions de se convaincre personnellement durant sa mission en Russie; que le Gouvernement des Etats Unis était animé des mêmes sentiments envers notre Auguste Maître; qu'il porterait à la connaissance du Président tout ce que je venais de lui communiquer, que ce dernier apprendrait avec beaucoup de satisfaction la déclaration relative aux croiseurs de S. M. I. sur la côte Nord-Ouest et qu'il ne doutait pas que le Président n'accueillît volontiers la proposition de transférer la négociation à St. Pétersbourg. Mr. Adams fit l'observation, que comme la Grande Bretagne a jugé avoir des intérêts qui se rattachent à cette question et qu'elle la traite à St. Pétersbourg, il serait en effet plus naturel que le Gouvernement Américain adoptât également cette marche.

Mr. Adams prit alors lecture des deux pièces non officielles, ci-jointes,<sup>17</sup> que j'avais pensé nécessaire de préparer, tant pour donner la précision, désirable à ce que j'avais à énoncer au sujet des croiseurs, que pour

<sup>16</sup> See p. 338, *supra*, note 57. ' 1

<sup>17</sup> One of these is no. XXI., which follows.

indiquer d'une manière plus exacte les vues de S. M. l'Empereur, particulièrement pour ce qui concerne la fausse direction, imprimée dans ce pays ci à l'opinion publique par les assertions malveillantes et mensongères, fréquemment insérées dans les journaux américains. J'exprimai à Mr. Adams le désir que le Gouvernement fédéral pu[t] rouver le moyen, s'il le jugeait de sa convenance, de rectifier par une voie indirecte les notions erronnées, qui se sont propagées de cette manière, et tout récemment encore sur les intentions très faussement attribuées à la Russie, touchant la question dont il s'agit.

Mr. Adams me pria de lui laisser les deux pièces déjà citées, afin de les communiquer au Président d'une manière purement confidentielle, demande à laquelle j'ai immédiatement déféré. Nous convinmes que j'adresserai au Secrétaire d'Etat une note officielle, renfermant la proposition relative au renvoi de la négociation à St. Pétersbourg, office, que je lui ai passé le même jour et dont j'ai l'honneur de transmettre à Votre Excellence une copie.<sup>18</sup>

Mr. Adams me témoigna ensuite partager avec moi l'espoir que les deux cabinets parviendront à s'entendre sur les points en discussion. Ce Ministre m'a adressé le 7 Mai une note officielle,<sup>19</sup> dont Votre Excellence trouvera ici la copie, annonçant que le Président accède à la proposition, qui m'avait été prescrit de faire au Gouvernement Américain. En conséquence ce dernier transfère à St. Pétersbourg la négociation relative à la côte NO et Mr. Middleton recevra les pouvoirs nécessaires.

Votre Excellence me permettra de lui témoigner combien je m'estime heureux de voir cet objet réglé conformément aux intentions de notre Auguste Maître et d'une manière qui, même sous le rapport des formes, me semble répondre à tout ce que l'on aurait pu désirer.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte,

de Votre Excellence

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

2 annexes.

TUILL.

## XXI. MEMORANDUM ACCOMPANYING NO. XX.

### *Mémoire.*

L'Empereur désirant terminer à l'amiable et d'après le principe des convenances mutuelles la discussion qui s'est élevée entre son Cabinet et celui de Washington, relativement à quelques unes des dispositions du Règlement du 4/16 Septembre 1824, Sa Majesté Impériale a fait adresser aux commandants de ses croisières sur la côte Nord-Ouest d'Amérique de nouvelles instructions provisoires, au moyen desquels il ne saurait plus subsister d'appréhension, que des voies de fait puissent avoir lieu entre les vaisseaux des deux Puissances et occasionner ainsi des complications, que l'une et l'autre désirent également prévenir.

Les vaisseaux de la Marine Impériale exerçant [exerceront?] leur surveillance aussi près des côtes, que le permettent d'une part la nécessité d'inspecter le commerce interlope, les provocations à la révolte et les fournitures d'armes et de munitions, qui seraient faites aux naturels du pays, de l'autre l'obligation d'écarter les chasseurs et pêcheurs étrangers des parages, que fréquentent ceux de notre Compagnie ou qu'ils gardent après les avoir exploités.

<sup>18</sup> It is printed in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 434-435.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 435-436.

Nos croisières ont l'ordre de s'éloigner des côtes le moins possible; du reste il leur est prescrit de se conformer aux dispositions du règlement du 4/16 Septembre 1821, en tout ce qui concerne les vaisseaux égarés, battus par la tempête ou contrariés par les courants. C'est aussi d'après les principes de ce règlement, que continueront à être jugées les prises, que les vaisseaux de la Marine Imperiale seraient encore dans les cas de faire nonobstant les nouvelles instructions provisoires, qu'ils ont reçues.

Monsieur Middleton a reçu du Ministère Imperiale l'assurance du désir constant qui anime l'Empereur de maintenir dans toute leur intégrité les relations amicales subsistantes entre la Cour de Russie et le Gouvernement des États Unis.

Désirant ainsi que ces derniers de prévenir toute voie de fait et ayant envoyé dans cette vue aux commandants de ses croisières, des instructions, qui ne permettent plus de regarder l'état des choses existant comme pouvant faire naître des conflits, et des discussions nouvelles, Sa Majesté Imperiale, comme Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode l'a temoigné à Monsieur Middleton, s'attend aussi à un juste retour de la part du Gouvernement des États Unis.

La Cour de Russie aime à espérer, que le Cabinet de Washington ne négligera aucun moyen en son pouvoir pour ne plus laisser subsister les opinions erronées, que la malveillance s'est efforcée d'accréditer en Amérique sur la nature de la présente discussion.

Rien ne prouve mieux la pureté de nos intentions que la déclaration, qui va être faite au Gouvernement des États Unis. Mais à son tour, il pourrait aussi nous donner le gage des dispositions, qui l'animent sous ce rapport, en dictant aux journaux que dirige son influence le langage de la vérité. Plus le Gouvernement Américain tachera de convaincre son commerce et sa marine qu'il est intentionné de s'expliquer et de s'entendre à l'amiable avec le Cabinet Imperial, sur les difficultés relatives au règlement du 4/16 Septembre 1821, plus il rassurera les ressortissants des dispositions amicales, dans lesquelles il a trouvé la Cour de Russie à cet égard et moins les inconvénients, que l'on a pu appréhender, seront à craindre dorénavant.

## XXII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON  $\frac{28 \text{ Avril}}{10 \text{ Mai}}$  1823

A Son Excellence Monsieur  
le Comte de Nesselrode.

Secrète.

*Monsieur le Comte*

Durant le cours de la conférence que j'eus avec Monsieur Adams, le 12/24 Avril, ce ministre fit allusions à certains articles récents des feuilles américaines (l'une desquelles se trouve ci annexée), où il est fait mention de la conduite tenue par la frégate russe l'Apollon, à l'égard du vaisseau marchand des États Unis, le Pearl.<sup>20</sup> Je lui fis remarquer qu'aucune date ne se trouvant alléguée, l'on pouvait considérer comme certain, que ce fait devait avoir eu lieu avant l'arrivée des nouveaux ordres provisoires, adressés par la Cour aux Commandants de nos vaisseaux dans la mer Sud.

<sup>20</sup> This relates to a claim of the Boston firm of Bryant and Sturgis, for damage to a ship, the *Pearl*, on the northwest coast. It was settled in 1825. Adams, *Memoirs*, VI. 529-530.

Je pris occasion de cet incident pour rappeler encore une fois le voeu, que ce Gouvernement adoptât quelques mesures propres à rectifier l'opinion publique, sur les vues de la Russie, ajoutant que, bien que l'on ne dût pas attacher une trop grande importance à des articles de journaux, notamment dans un pays qui admet une liberté de presse indéfinie, on ne pouvait pas cependant non plus les négliger entièrement.

Quand il fut question des complications qui pouvaient naître, et que les deux Etats désirent également prévenir, Monsieur Adams me dit, que le Gouvernement des Etats Unis tient, à la vérité, une escadre dans la Mer Pacifique, mais qu'elle est stationnée dans les parages méridionaux de cette Mer, et qu'il ne croit pas que ces bâtiments quitteront leur station actuelle. Une lettre que j'ai reçue récemment de Philadelphie et qui fait mention des clameurs élevées au sujet de la frégate l'Apollon, coïncide entièrement avec l'opinion exprimée par Monsieur Adams. Cette lettre renferme l'avis que l'administration va, sous peu, envoyer une frégate dans la Mer du Pacifique, en rappelant le "Franklin" qui s'y trouve stationné.<sup>21</sup>

Monsieur le Secrétaire d'Etat eut encore l'occasion de m'observer, lorsqu'il fut question du commerce de contrebande, que le Gouvernement de ce pays n'exerce qu'une action limitée sur la marine marchande, et que les habitants des Etats Unis sont habitués, sous ce rapport, à une très grande latitude: observation qui coïncide parfaitement avec les notions que l'on avait déjà été à même de se procurer à cet égard.

J'avais obtenu de Monsieur Adams la permission de lui remettre les dépêches que j'allais avoir l'honneur de vous adresser, Monsieur le Comte, dans l'espoir que Monsieur Pinkney pourrait les emporter avec lui. Ayant diné chez Monsieur le Secrétaire d'Etat, le 30 Avril, et me trouvant encore, à cette époque, dans l'attente d'une réponse positive, sur la proposition qu'il m'avait été prescrit de faire, je lui demandai une nouvelle conférence qui fut fixée au jour suivant.

Monsieur Adams commença par me dire que le Président l'avait chargé de m'annoncer, qu'il accédait à la proposition de transférer la négociation à Pétersbourg et que je recevrais incessamment une réponse officielle rédigée dans ce sens. Elle m'a été en effet remise, le 7 Mai, et la copie se trouve annexée à la dépêche sub No. 4.<sup>22</sup>

Il me donna ensuite à entendre que le Gouvernement se proposait de faire insérer dans une feuille publique (comme il est quelquefois dans le cas d'en user), un article officiel, destiné à calmer les inquiétudes que l'on a conçues relativement aux intentions de la Cour de Russie pour ce qui concerne la côte Nord-Ouest:<sup>23</sup> inquiétudes qui, d'après ce que me

<sup>21</sup> The *Franklin*, Captain Stewart, and the schooner *Dolphin*, constituted the Pacific squadron, stationed off the coasts of Chile and Peru. It was now planned to send out instead the *United States*, Captain Hull, and the *Peacock*.

<sup>22</sup> *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 435.

<sup>23</sup> This was done through the publication in the semi-official *National Intelligencer* for June 30, 1823, of an editorial stating that while the ukase of September 4/16, 1821, had not been revoked, yet at the proposal of the Russian government the minister of the United States was to receive powers to confer with the Russian cabinet respecting an adjustment of the claims on the northwest coast. The well-known moderation of Alexander and his friendly disposition toward the United States gave reason to expect that this adjustment would be "consistent with all the rights of this nation". It was believed that Russian commanders on the northwest coast had received orders "which will obviate any further immediate collision with the commerce and navigation of the United States in the Pacific Ocean".

dit le Secrétaire d'Etat, ont été réveillés encore tout dernièrement par l'incident mentionné plus haut, lequel a donné lieu à des réclamations adressées au Gouvernement par le capitaine de vaisseau américain, et que Monsieur Middleton recevra l'ordre de porter à la connaissance du Ministère Impérial. J'ai exprimé alors le désir que cet objet put être traité séparément, et qu'il ne se trouvât point compris dans les pièces relatives à la négociation qui va s'établir; ayant jugé que ce mode était plus conforme aux vues conciliantes qui dirigent les deux Cabinets, et qu'il serait préférable d'écarter de la négociation proprement dite tout ce qui pourrait y attacher un caractère contentieux. Monsieur Adams m'a semblé entrer dans cette façon de voir, et me répondit qu'il prenait à cet égard les directions du Président, et qu'il tâcherait de faire adopter la forme que je venais de lui suggérer.

Il me restitua les deux pièces non officielles annexées à mon Rapport sub No. 4, qu'il avait portées à la connaissance du Président d'une manière purement confidentielle; et comme il m'apprit que le départ de Monsieur Pinkney avait déjà eu lieu, je le priai de renfermer la présente expédition que je transmets sous cachet volant à Monsieur l'Ambassadeur Comte de Lieven, dans son paquet à Monsieur Rush, Ministre des Etats Unis près de son Ministère [sa Majesté] Britannique, lequel parviendra à ce dernier par une voie parfaitement sûre.

Monsieur Adams a bien voulu me confier, dans ce dernier entretien, qu'il avait reçu la participation confidentielle d'une déclaration de Monsieur Canning, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la Grande Bretagne, désavouant les projets, que l'on avait dans le public attribués à l'Angleterre, sur quelques unes des possessions espagnoles dans les Indes Occidentales et notamment sur l'île de Cuba. Ce n'est point de la part du Gouvernement Anglais que cette confiance a été faite au cabinet de Washington.<sup>24</sup>

Le ministre Américain ajouta aux communications, dont je viens de rendre compte à Votre Excellence, les plus fortes assurances des dispositions sincères du Président des Etats Unis, de se conformer, autant que cela dépendra de lui, à ce qui pourra être agréable à Sa Majesté l'Empereur, Notre Auguste Maître.

J'ai eu, de même, la satisfaction de remarquer en Monsieur Adams, durant le cours de cette affaire, les intentions les plus conciliantes accompagnées de formes pleines d'obligeance.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obeissant serviteur

TUYLL.

XXIII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON, <sup>31 Mai</sup>  
12 Juin 1823.

à Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

*Monsieur le Comte,*

Mr. Canning, Ministre de S. M. Britannique, près des Etats Unis, qui se prépare à faire sous peu un voyage en Angleterre, a été dans ces

<sup>24</sup> George Canning wrote to Stratford Canning, December 7, 1822, instructing him to make an express disavowal to the United States of any British designs on Cuba. See Mr. Temperley's article in this journal, XI. 789-791.

derniers temps, engagé dans une correspondance très active avec Mr. Adams.<sup>25</sup> Des difficultés se sont élevées entre les deux gouvernements sur quelques points relatifs aux droits, auxquels sont assujétis les vaisseaux américains, employés au commerce des Indes occidentales anglaises. J'ai lieu de penser que si les objets en discussion peuvent être considérés comme importants en eux mêmes, ils ne sont nullement de nature à déranger, en rien, la bonne intelligence qui règne entre ces deux puissances. J'ai eu plus d'une fois l'occasion de me convaincre que les rapports entre Mr. Adams et Mr. Canning sont de la nature la plus satisfaisante; l'Envoyé a, en effet, réussi à se concilier ici l'estime et la bienveillance générale, et elles me semblent parfaitement méritées. La négociation dont je viens de parler, et l'occupation qu'a donnée au Secrétaire d'Etat l'expédition récente de plusieurs ministres de ce pays aux lieux de leur destination, ont été cause que jusqu'au moment actuel il n'a point encore transmis à Mr. Middleton les instructions et les pouvoirs relatifs à notre négociation. Mr. Adams m'a dit hier, qu'il s'occuperait incessamment de cet objet. Ce retard me fait juger que bien que le Gouvernement des Etats Unis attache un assez grand intérêt à l'affaire en question, il n'éprouve, sous ce rapport, aucune sorte d'empressement inquiet; ayant placé une juste et pleine confiance dans les communications qui lui ont été faites encore dernièrement au nom de Sa Majesté l'Empereur notre August Maître.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte,

de Votre Excellence,

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL.

#### XXIV. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON,  $\frac{23 \text{ Juillet}}{4 \text{ Août}}$  1823.

à Son Excellence

Mr. le Comte de Nesselrode.

*Monsieur le Comte,*

Votre Excellence trouvera ci-inclus un article de la "National Gazette" de Philadelphie, du 23 Juillet,<sup>26</sup> où il est fait mention de la Russie, à l'occasion du Secrétaire d'Etat Mr. Adams, et qui sous ce double rapport m'a paru n'être pas dénuée d'intérêt pour le Ministère Imperial.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte,

de Votre Excellence,

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

TUYLL.

<sup>25</sup> *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 520-522.

<sup>26</sup> This was a communication signed "Marcus" entitled "Importance of Personal Character". The writer stated that the suggestion of mediation by the Emperor Alexander between Great Britain and the United States originated with Count Romanzoff, and was due to his high appreciation of the qualities of John Quincy Adams, then minister at St. Petersburg. Adams is referred to as an "enlightened statesman—profound scholar, skilful diplomatist—modest, unassuming patriot." *National Gazette*, Philadelphia, July 23, 1823. This paper was edited by Robert Walsh, a strong supporter of Adams.



XXV. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON, le <sup>29</sup> Sept.  
11 Oct. 1823.

à Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

*Monsieur le Comte,*

J'ai l'honneur d'envoyer à Votre Excellence une brochure, qui a paru dernièrement et laquelle produit ici une assez grande sensation.

Elle contient une correspondance politique de la nature la plus confidentielle entre Mr. Adams, ci-devant Président des Etats Unis, père du Secrétaire d'Etat actuel, et un Mr. Cunningham, un de ses parents. Ce dernier étant mort, son fils, oubliant ce qu'il se devait à lui même et à la mémoire de son père, a fait imprimer cette correspondance.<sup>27</sup>

Les lettres de Mr. Adams déplairont à beaucoup d'individus, elles peuvent sous ce rapport accroître l'animosité de ceux qui se sont opposées à l'élection de son fils au poste de Président, et tel a été sans doute l'unique but de cette publication. Il me paraît par contre, qu'aux yeux des hommes sensés et impartiaux, ces lettres feront honneur à l'esprit et aux vues de leur auteur. Elles renferment des choses intéressantes relativement à l'histoire et aux factions de ce pays et des aveux bien remarquables sur les vices inhérents à la constitution américaine, très propres, ce me semble, à refroidir l'enthousiasme aveugle, que cette forme de gouvernement inspire à un si grand nombre de personnes.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération, Monsieur le Comte,

de Votre Excellence,

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

TUYLL.

XXVI. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON, le 8/20 Nov. 1823.

à Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

*Monsieur le Comte,*

Les dépêches que Votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date du 14, 18 et 20 Août me sont parvenues récemment.<sup>28</sup> Je m'estime heureux, Monsieur le Comte, d'apprendre, que mes démarches aient obtenu l'approbation de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, notre Auguste

<sup>27</sup> *Correspondence between the Hon. John Adams . . . and the late Wm. Cunningham, esq.* (Boston, 1823), published by Ephraim M. Cunningham.

<sup>28</sup> These despatches seem not to be in the archives of the Russian embassy at Washington. But the second one is no doubt the very important communication of August 18/30, 1823, which, from a copy in the Adams Papers, Mr. Ford has printed in his article on "The Genesis of the Monroe Doctrine", in this journal, VIII. 30-32, and *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XXXV. 402-405. In this despatch Nesselrode sets forth in high terms the emperor's policy regarding Spain and Portugal and their American colonies. It was communicated to Adams in an interview with Tuyl on November 17. The history of the communications between the two, in this period, is best followed in the memorandum concerning them which Adams prepared for Monroe, and which Mr. Ford prints, *Proceedings*, XXXV. 394-399. See also *Memoirs*, VI. 178-222, *passim*. The despatch of August 20 (September 1, n. s.) related to the northwest coast.

Maitre, et celle de Votre Excellence. Elle sera, je me flatte, persuadée que mes efforts ne cesseront de tendre à en mériter la continuation.

Je me suis empressé de communiquer à Mr. le Secrétaire d'Etat Adams le principal contenu des susdites dépêches. Ce Ministre avait reçu de Mr. Middleton l'annonce de la destination qu'il a plu à Sa Majesté Impériale de donner à Mr. de Poletica,<sup>29</sup> et il me fit part de la note que Votre Excellence avait adressée à ce sujet au Ministre des Etats Unis. Mr. Adams me témoigna de nouveau, à cette occasion, augurer favorablement de l'issue de la négociation relative à la côte Nord-Ouest.

J'ai l'honneur, Monsieur le Comte, de Vous transmettre le note que Mr. Adams m'a passée en réponse à la lettre officielle que je lui avais remise le 4/16 du mois dernier.<sup>30</sup>

Je me félicite qu'elle soit conçue de manière à n'exiger aucune réplique de ma part et de me voir ainsi dispensé pour le présent de toute discussion ultérieure sur un objet aussi délicat à traiter. J'avais reçu cette note quelques heures avant le dernier entretien dont je viens de rendre compte à Votre Excellence.<sup>31</sup> Je ne cachai point à Mr. le Secrétaire d'Etat la satisfaction qu'elle me causait.

Ayant eu quelques raisons de supposer durant nos dernières conférences sur l'objet en question, que ce Ministre pouvait attacher à mes observations une tendance qui s'écarterait de mes intentions, je lui confiai dès lors et je lui réitérai dernièrement l'assurance que ce n'était point en vertu d'instructions récentes que j'étais entré dans ces détails, mais que j'avais jugé qu'il pouvait être convenable de saisir l'occasion que m'offrait ma communication officielle (communication que je n'avais pu faire à moins que de lui adresser et que j'eusse adressée de même au Ministre des affaires étrangères de tout gouvernement auprès duquel je me serais trouvé accrédité), pour lui présenter ces éclaircissements.

J'ai remarqué avec une vive satisfaction que Mr. Adams a rendu pleinement justice, non seulement dans nos entretiens, mais encore dans la note ci-annexée, au ton aussi franc qu'affectueux dont a été accompagné la communication que je me suis vu dans le cas de lui faire sur un objet important en lui-même et à l'égard duquel les opinions de notre Cour ne coïncident pas avec celles de son Gouvernement.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération, Monsieur le Comte,

de Votre Excellence,

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

TUYLL.

<sup>29</sup> Nesselrode having to accompany the emperor on a journey, Polética had been charged with the negotiations with Middleton at St. Petersburg respecting the northwest and the ukase. Nesselrode to Middleton, August 22, 1823, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 448; Middleton to Adams, September 19, *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Tuyll's note is printed in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XXXV. 400; the draft and final text of Adams's reply of November 15, *ibid.*, 378-380, and *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VII. 692-693.

<sup>31</sup> This was the interview of November 17, at which Tuyll communicated Nesselrode's despatch of August 30. Tuyll's despatch, giving an account of the interview, is not among the papers received from St. Petersburg, nor are those which he sent on October 27 and November 11, describing previous interviews; but the latter two are printed by Mr. Ford, from copies among the Adams manuscripts, in *Proceedings*, XXXV. 400-402.

XXVII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON le 8/20 Novembre 1823

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

*Monsieur le Comte,*

Dans mon dernier entretien avec Monsieur Adams,<sup>32</sup> ce Ministre, en me témoignant ne concevoir guère d'inquiétude sur le succès de la négociation pour la côte Nord-Ouest, me dit qu'il désirerait pouvoir être aussi tranquille sur d'autres points. Je m'aperçus sans peine, que les soucis, aujourd'hui que la guerre d'Espagne est si heureusement terminée, portaient sur la possibilité d'un concours des Alliés, en vue du rétablissement de l'autorité de Sa Majesté Catholique dans les Colonies Espagnoles.

Je répondis d'une manière vague appuyant sur les dispositions amicales qui subsistent réciproquement, et sur mon désir sincère d'être assez heureux pour contribuer à les consolider toujours d'avantage, par devoir, tel étant l'intention de l'Empereur, et par inclination personnelle. Il m'assura dans les termes les plus forts, qu'il en était pleinement persuadé.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

XXVIII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON  $\frac{31 \text{ Decembre } 1823.}{12 \text{ Janvier } 1824.}$

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

*Monsieur le Comte*

J'ai fait part à Monsieur Adams du passage de la dépêche que Votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser de Lemberg le 7/19 Octobre dernier, qui concernait le Gouvernement de États Unis et plus particulièrement Monsieur le Secrétaire d'Etat lui même.<sup>33</sup> Il s'y est montré très sensible et m'a répondu dans des termes attestant le prix qu'il attache à cette manifestation flatteuse de l'opinion de Sa Majesté Impériale à son sujet. J'ai parlé aussi, mais très succinctement, à ce Ministre des nouvelles renfermées dans la dépêche de la même date se rapportant aux affaires de Turquie.

J'ai l'honneur d'informer dès à présent Votre Excellence: que Monsieur Adams m'a prevenu, qu'il me remettrait sous peu un nouvel acte du Congrès relatif à l'égalité du droit de tonnage établi dans ce pays-ci à l'égard de ceux où elle est admise.<sup>34</sup> En conséquence nos vaisseaux marchands vont jouir de la réciprocité que le Gouvernement Imperial était en droit de demander. Je me flattais d'obtenir également, que cet arrangement eut un effet rétroactif, en remontant jusqu'à l'époque, où l'égalité des droits de tonnage a été introduite en Russie. Monsieur

<sup>32</sup> *Memoirs*, VI. 189-190.

<sup>33</sup> Interview of January 8. Despatch expressing gratification at the explanatory paragraph in the *National Intelligencer*; see note 23, *supra*. *Memoirs*, VI. 229.

<sup>34</sup> Act of January 7, 1824.

Adams m'a dit: que suivant les termes de la loi une telle demande ne pouvait être accueillie et il m'a témoigné son regret de n'avoir pu remplir les vœux que je lui avais exprimés à cet égard, en ajoutant une phrase honnête annonçant la disposition où il est, de faire ce qui peut nous être agréable.

Je ne manquerai pas Monsieur le Comte de vous transmettre, aussitôt que je l'aurai reçue, la réponse officielle de Monsieur Adams, ainsi que tout ce qui se rapporte à cette question.

Dans la séance du Sénat du 8 Janvier on a fait, pour la prendre en considération, une seconde lecture de la motion faite la veille par Monsieur Barbour (Président du Comité diplomatique du Sénate) "de prier le Président des Etats Unis de porter, si dans son opinion cela peut se faire sans inconvénient pour le bien public, à la connaissance du Sénat des informations propres à exposer l'état des relations entre l'Espagne et les Etats Unis, depuis la ratification du traité des Florides jusqu'au temps actuel; ainsi que l'effet qui a produit sur ces relations, l'établissement par les Etats Unis des rapports diplomatiques avec les Gouvernements de l'Amérique méridionale et septentrionale."<sup>35</sup>

Le Général Cortès<sup>36</sup> est arrivé dernièrement à Washington, chargé d'une mission du Gouvernement du Mexique auprès de celui des Etats Unis.

Je viens de trouver dans la gazette de ce matin l'acte du Congrès, dont j'ai l'honneur de joindre ici un exemplaire.

La présente dépêche termine la série de mes rapports en Cour durant l'année 1823.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

#### XXIX. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON, 15/27 Mai 1824.

à Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

*Monsieur le Comte,*

Je dinai il y a une quinzaine de jours chez Mr. le Secrétaire d'Etat Adams, avec les autres membres du Corps Diplomatique. Parmi les convives se trouvait le Colonel Torrens, Chargé d'Affaires du Gouvernement Mexicain, et Mr. Rebello, Envoyé par le Prince Royal du Brésil auprès du Gouvernement des Etats Unis.<sup>37</sup> Comme ce dernier m'avait apporté des lettres de Rio Janeiro, je trouvai convenable de lui adresser la parole après le dîner. Lui ayant parlé de quelques personnes de ma connaissance, je lui demandai des nouvelles de la santé du Prince et de la Princesse. Mr. Rebello m'observa qu'au Brésil on ne con-

<sup>35</sup> Resolution offered January 7 and passed January 8.

<sup>36</sup> Torrens ?

<sup>37</sup> Colonel José A. Torrens: José Selvestre Rebello, chargé d'affaires, presented his credentials May 26, 1824. Tuyll, as Russian minister to the Portuguese court, would have at first attended King John VI. in Rio Janeiro. The rebellion by which, after the king's return to Lisbon, Brazil had been declared independent, had occurred in 1822, and his son Dom Pedro was proclaimed emperor on October 12 of that year.

naissait plus ces titres et que ceux d'Empereur et d'Impératrice les avaient remplacés. Trouvant l'observation tout à fait déplacée, je rompis immédiatement l'entretien, en me tournant au même instant vers le fils de Mr. Adams, qui n'était pas loin de moi, et entrant en conversation avec lui. Je ne parlai plus à Mr. Rebello.

Nous nous sommes rencontrés quelques jours après à une soirée de Mme Adams. Mr. Rebello est venu me saluer, je lui ai répondu par une révérence.

Ayant eu l'honneur d'être présenté à Rio Janeiro au Prince et à la Princesse du Brésil et de les voir souvent à la Cour de S. M. Très Fidèle, il y aurait eu ce me semble l'affectation de ma part à ne point demander de leurs nouvelles.

J'ai trouvé parfaitement superflu d'entrer avec Mr. Rebello dans aucune sorte d'explication sur les motifs qui me portent à ne point donner à Leurs Altesses Royales d'autre titre que celui, qui est reconnu par Sa Majesté l'Empereur notre Auguste Maître.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération, Monsieur le Comte,

de Votre Excellence,

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

TUYLL.

XXX. NESSELRODE TO TUYLL<sup>38</sup>

ST. PÉTERSBOURG, 20 Mai 1824.

Dépêche au Général Baron de Tuyll à Washington.

Je suis en possession de vos dépêches jusqu'à celle qui porte le No. 16 et il m'est agréable de pouvoir vous annoncer que l'Empereur a lu avec intérêt les observations qu'elles renferment tant sur les événements qui se passent aux Etats Unis, que sur la situation des choses dans le continent limitrophe.

C'est avec une égale satisfaction que Sa Majesté a retrouvé dans le compte que Vous nous rendez de vos rapports avec le Gouvernement Américain, des preuves de la sagacité avec laquelle Vous remplissez les intentions de l'Empereur dans un poste où l'application de nos principes politiques exige souvent beaucoup de prudence et de discernement.

C'est ainsi que le contenu de Votre dépêche sub No. 63 de l'année dernière a mérité plus particulièrement l'attention et le suffrage de Sa Majesté Impériale. Le memorandum confidentiel que Mr. Adams Vous a renvoyé à la suite de nos communications sur les affaires de la Monarchie Espagnole à cette époque,<sup>39</sup> est à la vérité basé sur des principes opposés à ceux que professe l'alliance européenne. Néanmoins l'Empereur n'a pu qu'apprécier le ton modéré qui règne dans l'énoncé de ces principes et les nouveaux témoignages du prix qu'attachent les Etats Unis à leurs rapports intimes avec la Russie.

L'Empereur a de même remarqué avec plaisir que Vous ayez saisi entre les deux alternatives que Vous a proposées Mr. Adams,<sup>40</sup> celle qui a empêché que ces communications réciproques ne fussent portées à la connaissance du Congrès, car la notoriété qu'elles auraient acquises ne

<sup>38</sup> The original manuscript (at St. Petersburg not Washington) bears an inscription expressing the emperor's approval.

<sup>39</sup> Note of November 15, 1823; see note 30, *supra*.

<sup>40</sup> To make the various communications public by allowing them to be transmitted to Congress, or not to do so. *Memoirs*, VI. 212-215.

pouvait manquer d'y amener des discussions violentes, ou des controverses aussi peu désirables dans le public. Ce double résultat aurait été également contraire à nos vues et Sa Majesté Vous sait gré de l'avoir prévenu.

Recevez, Monsieur le Baron, etc.

(signé) NESSELRODE.

XXXI. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON  $\frac{31 \text{ Juillet}}{12 \text{ Août}}$  1824.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

*Monsieur le Comte,*

Monsieur Adams ayant diné chez moi le 28 Juillet, me parla de la Convention du 5/17 Avril,<sup>41</sup> et m'annonça, que je recevrai cet acte, l'échange des ratifications devant se faire ici. Il parut envisager celle de ce côté, comme ne devant pas rencontrer de difficultés.

Ce qu'il y a de positif c'est que Monsieur Adams, surtout à l'époque actuelle où va se faire l'élection du Président, est personnellement et fortement intéressé à terminer cette affaire selon les désirs de l'Empereur, c'est à dire sans aucune modification à la teneur du traité; qu'il ne négligera rien pour obtenir l'approbation du Sénat, que suivra immédiatement la ratification du Président. Le Congrès s'assemble en Décembre, et le tout pourra être terminé vers la fin de ce même mois.

Si les partisans de Monsieur Crawford suscitent des obstacles au Sénat, comme cela me paraît extrêmement possible, pour ne pas dire vraisemblable, le Secrétaire d'Etat mettra tout en oeuvre pour les applanir.

Il doit désirer le succès de la chose autant, ou peut être plus, que nous; son crédit et ses espérances en dépendent en partie. Il observa en souriant avec un air de complaisance, que notre Convention avait précédé celle de l'Angleterre et m'explique les difficultés existantes encore sous ce dernier rapport.

Il ne m'offrit point de me donner connaissance de la Convention, mais la gazette du Gouvernement ne tardera point à y suppléer. A l'inconvenance d'une pareille publicité se joint encore celle non moins forte du raisonnement accompagnant l'exposé de cet acte.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

XXXII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON  $\frac{14}{26}$  Août 1824.

A Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

Dans une Conférence que j'ai eue le 23 Août avec Monsieur Adams,<sup>42</sup> il m'a répété, que d'après lui, la ratification de ce côté ci ne rencontrerait

<sup>41</sup> Convention respecting boundary, navigation, and fishing on the northwest coast. Malloy, II. 1512-1514. For the history of its negotiation by Middleton, see *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 457-462.

<sup>42</sup> Reported also in *Memoirs*, VI. 409-411.

point d'obstacle. Il ne m'a fait aucune observation quelconque, ni sur les articles ni sur le protocole, de façon que nous sommes, je pense, sûrs du Gouvernement et c'est un point essentiel. Il pensait que l'affaire n'éprouverait point de difficultés au Sénat, en ajoutant néanmoins que, comme je devais le savoir, il était positivement sûr qu'il n'y aurait pas d'opposition de la part de ce Corps, la quelle, dans un tel cas, ne porterait nullement sur le Gouvernement étranger, mais sur des intérêts particulières. Je lui observai et il convint, qu'une pareille consolation n'était pas d'un grand poids. Je remarquai au Secrétaire d'Etat, que l'esprit de conciliation et les concessions ayant été poussés de notre côté aussi loin que possible, toute difficulté pour la ratification produirait infailliblement à Petersbourg une sensation très peu désirable. Il s'en montra pleinement convaincu. Monsieur Adams parut attacher un juste prix à ce que je lui communiquai touchant la manière dont l'Empereur avait envisagé le memorandum confidentiel du 27 Novembre dernier, et m'assura que cela serait également agréable au Président, lequel a appris avec beaucoup de satisfaction la conclusion de notre Convention. J'ai eu généralement tout bien de me louer du ton qui a régné dans cet entretien et Votre Excellence peut être assurée que je ne négligerai rien de ce qui sera en mon pouvoir pour remplir les intentions de Sa Majesté Impériale. Il est permis de se flatter que tout ceci sera terminé vers la fin de la présente année.

TUYLL

XXXIII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON    23 Août  
                          4 Septembre    1824

A Monsieur le Comte  
de Nesselrode

*Monsieur le Comte,*<sup>43</sup> . . .

La commission Anglo-Américaine établie par la convention de St-Petersbourg pour la fixation des indemnités relatives à la dernière guerre,<sup>44</sup> a repris ses travaux le 24 Août. Il paraît, Monsieur le Comte, que jusqu'à cette heure les Commissaires respectifs n'ont pu réussir à s'entendre sur la valeur moyenne des esclaves. Il faut néanmoins espérer, qu'ils finiront par en venir à un accommodement.

Le vaisseau de ligne Américain le Franklin, commandé par le Comodore Stéwart, est arrivé dernièrement à New-york, après une croisière de près de trois ans dans la Mer Pacifique.

Le Secrétaire d'Etat Mr. Adams a quitté Washington le premier Septembre. Il sera de retour au commencement du mois prochain. J'ai été prendre congé de ce Ministre la veille de son départ.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

<sup>43</sup> The omitted paragraphs consist of second-hand news from Mexico and South America.

<sup>44</sup> See p. 343, *supra*, and note 65.

## XXXIV. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON 30 Septembre  
12 Octobre 1824

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

*Monsieur le Comte,*

Monsieur Parish, attaché à la Légation Britannique à Washington, et qui se rend en Angleterre pour aller rejoindre Monsieur Stratford Canning à St. Pétersbourg, a eu la complaisance de se charger de remettre la présente expédition à Monsieur l'Ambassadeur Comte de Lieven. Monsieur Parish est un jeune homme très estimable et qui joint à beaucoup de modestie des connaissances et des talents distingués.<sup>45</sup>

Le Président des Etats Unis et Monsieur Adams sont à Washington depuis quelques jours. Je n'ai encore fait qu'entrevoir le dernier.

Monsieur de la Fayette arrive ici aujourd'hui. Il a été faire dernièrement une visite à Joseph Bonaparte en sa maison de campagne entre Trenton et Philadelphie. Celui-ci s'est excusé envers le Général Français, au dire des gazettes, de ne l'avoir pas prévenu, sur ce que cela l'aurait entraîné à des réunions publiques, qu'il était de son devoir d'éviter. Il dit de plus qu'il se trouvait dans l'adversité et l'infortune, tandis que le Général la Fayette était comblé d'honneurs et de gloire bien mérités.

J'ai l'honneur, Monsieur le Comte, d'envoyer à Votre Excellence un extrait du "National Journal", feuille qui est considérée comme un des organes du Secrétaire d'Etat, se rapportant à une invitation adressée aux officiers de la Marine Française pour assister à une fête donnée en l'honneur de Monsieur de la Fayette, laquelle ils ont déclinée.<sup>46</sup>

Madame Adams m'avait envoyé hier une carte d'invitation pour passer cette soirée chez elle, afin de m'y trouver avec Monsieur de la Fayette. J'ai exprimé mes regrets de ne pas pouvoir me rendre à cette invitation. La même chose a eu lieu pour Monsieur le Baron de Maltitz et Monsieur le Comte de Medem,<sup>47</sup> qui ont réglé leur conduite sur la mienne.

La fièvre jaune a fait et continue à faire de grands ravages à la Nouvelle Orléans. Charlestown a de même beaucoup souffert de ce fléau, et l'on n'a pas de nouvelles positives que la maladie ait diminué d'une manière sensible dans cette dernière ville.

Monsieur Levett Harris est arrivé depuis peu à Washington.<sup>48</sup> Il a commencé par me parler de son affaire et j'ai cru m'apercevoir qu'il aurait désiré que je me misse à cet égard plus en avant que ma situation ne me semble le comporter. Je lui ai fait sentir que je ne pouvais que me renfermer dans les bornes, qui me sont tracées. Je pense, en effet, qu'il faut éviter soigneusement de se constituer une espèce de témoin à décharge devant les tribunaux de ce pays, pour devenir ensuite l'objet des invectives des journalistes qui écriront dans un sens opposé, et qu'un tel rôle n'est aucunement de ma compétence. Il a diné chez moi.

<sup>45</sup> Henry Parish had been Canning's private secretary in Washington.

<sup>46</sup> *National Journal*, October 12, 1824. Invitation to "the French officers of the squadron now in Hampton Roads, to attend the celebration at New York on the 19th inst. They have declined—they cannot come—the squadron must sail between the 15th and 20th instant. Such is the amount of the answer which has been received to the invitation from the *Admiral*, as we have been informed."

<sup>47</sup> Attachés of the legation.

<sup>48</sup> Leavitt Harris had been American consul at St. Petersburg. His suit for slander, against W. D. Lewis, has no public importance.



On m'a dit qu'Achille Murat a fait une acquisition en terres dans la Floride aux environs de St. Augustin.<sup>49</sup>

J'ai présenté hier Monsieur le Comte de Medem à Monsieur le Président des Etats Unis, qui l'a reçu avec la politesse et la bienveillance qui lui sont propres.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

XXXV. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON  $\frac{30 \text{ Janvier}}{12 \text{ Février}}$  1825

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

*Monsieur le Comte*

Monsieur le Secrétaire d'Etat Adams a été élu par la Chambre des Représentants, le 9 Février, Président des Etats-Unis, et il entrera dans l'exercice de cette charge le 4 Mars prochain.

Comme il n'y avait point eu de majorité absolue des suffrages électoraux en faveur d'aucun des prétendants, Messieurs Adams, le général Jackson et Crawford, qui en avaient réuni le plus grand nombre, furent les trois Candidats entre lesquels la Chambre des Représentants, votant en cette occasion par Etats et non par têtes, était appelée par la Constitution à faire un choix.

Une séance unique, celle du 9 Février, décida la question, Monsieur Adams ayant obtenu les votes de treize Etats, ce qui formait la majorité requise, fut déclaré Président. De ses compétiteurs le Général Jackson avait réuni sept votes, et Monsieur Crawford quatre.

Un témoin oculaire m'a dit que cette opération intéressante s'est effectuée avec le plus grand calme. Les tribunes ayant donné au moment de la nomination de Monsieur Adams quelques témoignages de satisfaction suivie d'une expression en sens contraire, l'Orateur de la Chambre ordonna que les tribunes fussent évacuées, ce qui s'exécuta immédiatement.

Ce même jour Monsieur Calhoun, secrétaire du Département de la guerre, fut déclaré élu, en suite d'une majorité absolue des suffrages des électeurs, Vice Président des Etats Unis.

Monsieur Appleton, secrétaire de la légation Américain à Madrid,<sup>50</sup> est arrivé ici, chargé de dépêches pour le Gouvernement.

D'après une lettre que j'ai reçue de New-York, Monsieur le Gentilhomme de la chambre Comte de Medem a reçu l'ordre de s'embarquer dans ce port le 8 Février n. s. pour Liverpool.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

<sup>49</sup> Prince Achille Murat, eldest son of the general and of Caroline Bonaparte, settled in fact near Tallahassee.

<sup>50</sup> John J. Appleton of Massachusetts.

P. S. C'est sur le paquebot *Corinthian*, Capitaine Davis, que le Comte Medem devait prendre son passage.

Ut in litteris

TUYLL.

XXXVII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON  $\frac{28 \text{ Février}}{12 \text{ Mars}}$  1825

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte  
de Nesselrode

J'ose, en vue du bien du service, soumettre à Votre Excellence l'idée qu'une assurance de la satisfaction, qu'a causé à Sa Majesté l'Impériale l'élection de Monsieur Adams, et une expression de sentiments de bienveillance de la part de notre Auguste Maître à son égard, produiraient le meilleur effet possible sur l'esprit du nouveau Président. Ma dépêche sub No. 27 ne renferme aucune exagération et je considère comme utile tout ce qui peut contribuer au maintien des rapports satisfaisants subsistant entre les deux Gouvernements. Je suis d'ailleurs d'opinion que le choix de Monsieur Adams est ce qui nous convenait le mieux, les autres compétiteurs auraient été gouvernés par les relations étrangères et l'on ne sait ni par qui, ni comment.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération

Monsieur le Comte  
de Votre Excellence

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL.

XXXVI. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON  $\frac{28 \text{ Février}}{12 \text{ Mars}}$  1825

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

*Monsieur le Comte,*

Ayant demandé et obtenu une audience particulière de Monsieur le Président des Etats Unis, récemment élu, je me rendis chez lui aujourd'hui, le 9 Mars, accompagné de Monsieur [Messieurs] les employés de la Légation Impériale.

Je dis à Monsieur Adams que j'étais venu pour avoir l'honneur de lui offrir mes félicitations et mes hommages respectueux à l'occasion de sa nomination. Que j'étais d'avance persuadé que l'Empereur mon Maître apprendrait cet événement avec une satisfaction sincère, et qu'il y verrait un présage de très bonne augure de la continuation des rapports de bienveillance et d'amitié mutuelle qui subsistent heureusement entre les deux Gouvernements. J'ajoutai que je serais toujours infiniment flatté d'être l'organe de ces sentiments de Sa Majesté Impériale, et je finis par me recommander à la bienveillance de Monsieur le Président en l'assurant que je m'efforcerai toujours de la mériter.

Monsieur Adams répondit à ce que j'avais eu l'honneur de lui dire, d'une manière particulièrement satisfaisante, et je reconnus dans sa réponse et dans le ton dont il la prononça, l'expression d'un sentiment profond et de la plus grande sincérité.

Je joins ici cette réponse, telle que le Baron de Maltitz s'est attaché à la consigner fidèlement peu de moments après que nous eûmes quitté Monsieur Adams.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

*(Speech de Monsieur Adams.)*

C'est avec beaucoup de satisfaction, Monsieur le Baron de Tuyll, que je reçois en vous le Représentant de l'Empereur Votre Souverain, et je Vous remercie des félicitations que vous voulez bien m'adresser au sujet de mon élection par mes concitoyens.

J'apprécie hautement les sentiments pour ce pays que vous m'avez exprimés au nom de Sa Majesté Impériale, et j'espère que les relations d'amitié, qui jusqu'à présent ont subsisté entre les deux nations, seront non seulement maintenues, mais qu'elles prendront de l'accroissement. Nous désirons bien vivement de cultiver ces relations avec un Souverain, qui depuis son avènement au Trône, a donné tant de preuves de bienveillance au Peuple des Etats Unis. Je vous prie de lui faire connaître ces sentiments et de l'assurer que les vœux que je forme à cet égard, sont d'autant plus chers à mon cœur, que j'ai eu autrefois le bonheur de me trouver placé en son Auguste présence.

XXXVIII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON le 14<sup>th</sup> Mai 1825

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

*Monsieur le Comte*

Des journaux de Colombia du 7 Avril mandent que le 1<sup>re</sup> du même mois le Colonel Campbell, commissaire de Sa Majesté Britanique, était arrivé à Bogota. Ces feuilles ajoutent qu'elles sont autorisées à annoncer, que les Colonels Campbelle et Hamilton sont investés de plein pouvoirs pour conclure avec le Gouvernement de Colombia un traité de commerce et de navigation.<sup>51</sup>

Le projet de former dans la Colombia une société biblique, avait pleinement réussi, après avoir rencontré d'abord quelque opposition.

D'après le *Colombiano* du 6 Avril, Bolivar avait pour la troisième fois envoyé sa démission de la place de Président, mais les deux chambres du Congrès, dans leur séance du 8 Février, s'étaient refusées à l'accepter.

Bolivar a convoqué pour le 10 Février le Congrès *Souverain constituant* du Perou.

Les forteresses de Callao dans ce dernier pays, et de St Jean d'Ullua au Mexique, continua[ie]nt d'être au pouvoir de Sa Majesté Catholique. Il paraîtrait que le Général Olonetta, qui commande un corps dans le Haut Perou, n'a point capitulé avec Bolivar, et qu'il compte au contraire se maintenir dans sa position.

Il avait été grand bruit dernièrement d'une expédition, qui devait sortir de Campêche, sous les ordres de Général Santa-Anna, et était

<sup>51</sup> See Paxson, *The Independence of the South American Republics*, pp. 207-211.

destinée à envahir l'île de Cuba. Les feuilles Américaines contenaient même une proclamation, que ce Général avait adressée à cette occasion à ses troupes. Mais cette nouvelle est aujourd'hui contredité et l'on prétend que ce plan a été abandonné.

Voici une peinture de la Colombia, puisée dans une lettre de Porto Cabillo du 20 Avril et adoptée dans le *Daily National Journal* du 24 Mai.

"Tout est militaire ici, et la loi martiale y est en vigueur. Le Gouvernement est pauvre, et absorbé dans la recherche des moyens nécessaires pour l'état de dépenses et la solde des troupes. Le pouvoir est entre les mains de gens, dont beaucoup ne sont pas propres à s'acquitter de leur tâche. Les habitants sont de vrais *Espagnols*, avec tous leurs goûts et leurs préjugés, employant une grande partie de leur temps à chômer les fêtes de leurs Saints. Nombre de leurs officiers supérieurs, tant de l'armée que de la marine, sont des nègres qui étaient esclaves avant la révolution. Les natifs de l'intérieur, dont se composent les troupes, ressemblent beaucoup aux Malais. Ce lieu est le dépôt naval. Il s'y trouve en ce moment deux flottes de guerre, leurs officiers sont principalement des Américains et des Anglais, et la plupart ne faisaient pas une grande figure dans leurs propres pays".

Le *Daily National Journal*, qu'on peut considérer comme une sorte d'organe du Gouvernement, a annoncé que les Ministres étrangers, résidents à Washington, avaient été offrir leurs félicitations à Monsieur Adams à l'occasion de son élection présidentielle; et que Monsieur Addington, chargé d'affaires de la Grande Bretagne, s'était de même rendu chez le Président pour lui adresser les félicitations de son Gouvernement. Le "*National Intelligencer*" a donné simultanément le même article. Les gazettes, opposées à l'administration, n'ont pas manqué de faire des remarques, aussi amères qu'injustes, envers Monsieur Adams, sur un témoignage aussi simple des égards, qui sont dûs à sa place et à sa personne.

Le Général Américain Atkinson et le Major O'Fallon se rendent comme agents du Gouvernement des Etats Unis auprès des nations Indiennes, établies sur le Haut Missouri, pour conclure avec elles des traités de paix.<sup>52</sup> La feuille qui contient cette nouvelle ajoute, que d'après ce qu'on apprend, une force militaire respectable accompagnera cette mission et donnera ainsi aux Indiens une idée de pouvoir du Gouvernement Fédéral et des moyens qu'il possède de les châtier. Ce traité, dit encore la même Gazette, les placera vis-à-vis de nous dans de nouveaux rapports dont on leur expliquera sans doute l'étendue, leur faisant connaître les obligations qui en résultent et ils seront prevenus des conséquences qu'entraîneraient pour eux la violation d'un traité. Notre commerce de pelleteries est important et ces arrangements ont pour but de le protéger contre un esprit généralement hostile que les Indiens de ces contrées ont manifesté à notre égard depuis plus de deux ans.

Les Indiens Creecks, de Géorgie, ont assassiné en Avril dernier l'un de leurs premiers chefs, nommé Mac-Intoché,<sup>53</sup> qui avait pris une part principal à l'arrangement conclu avec le Gouvernement des Etats Unis, en vertu duquel ils doivent quitter cet état pour aller s'établir sur les rives du Mississipi. Le Gouverneur de la Géorgie, a donné aux commandants des troupes l'ordre de les tenir prêts à marcher où le besoin l'exigera.

<sup>52</sup> General Henry Atkinson and Major Benjamin O'Fallon; their expedition went up to the mouth of the Yellowstone.

<sup>53</sup> William McIntosh, half-breed chieftain; see Miss Abel's "Removal of the Indians", *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1906, I. 346.

Les journaux marquent que le Lieutenant Washington,<sup>64</sup> de l'armée des Etats Unis, a fait récemment voile de Boston pour l'île de Malte, de l'intention de se joindre aux Grecs. Un Sieur Allen, citoyen de ce pays, qui se trouvait avec eux, avait été passer quelque temps à Smyrne, où il avait logé chez Mr Offley, le Consul des Etats Unis, sa santé étant dérangée. Il se disposait à retourner en Grèce, son compatriote et son compagnon de voyage le Sieur Ruddock était par contre d'intention de se rendre de nouveau en Amérique.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération, Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

PS. La frégate colombienne "Venezuela" est entrée dans le port de New York. Il s'est trouvé à son bord Don Francisco Lopez, porteur d'un traité de commerce et d'un arrangement pour la suppression de la traite des noirs, avec ce Gouvernement.

Le Daily National Journal d'aujourd'hui renferme un ordre du jour du Général Paëz, commandant en chef le Département la Venezuela, par lequel il révoque la loi martiale qui avait été mise en vigueur par lui le 29 Novembre dernier.

Ut in litteris

TUYLL

XXXIX. NESSELRODE TO TUYLL.

ST. PÉTERSBOURG, le 4. 7bre 1825.

Rec. 28 Novembre  
10 Décembre

Monsieur le Baron,

Il est essentiel que Vous ayez connaissance d'une démarche, qui vient d'être faite auprès du Ministère Impérial par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis.

Dans la dépêche, dont copie ci-jointe, que Mr. Middleton a eu ordre de nous communiquer, Mr. Clay, en développant les opinions du Cabinet de Washington sur la situation du midi de l'Amérique à l'égard de sa métropole, et sur les dangers que courent les îles de Cuba et de Puerto-Rico, a émis l'idée que la Russie intervint dans ce différend, et que ses bons offices fussent employés à terminer la lutte des colonies Américaines, à conserver au Gouvernement de S. M. Catholique celles qu'il possède, et à l'indemniser de la perte des autres.<sup>65</sup>

Nous avons fait à Mr. Middleton, d'ordre de l'Empereur, la réponse dont j'ai l'honneur de Vous transmettre ci-près une copie. Elle n'a pas besoin de commentaire;<sup>66</sup> mais l'Empereur désire que Vous y puisiez des arguments pour démontrer d'une part à Mr. Clay qu'il nous était impossible de faire un autre accueil à ses propositions, et pour lui prouver combien Sa Majesté Impériale se plaît à reconnaître la confiance et

<sup>64</sup> Presumably Lieutenant William Thornton Washington of Virginia.

<sup>65</sup> This celebrated despatch, Clay to Middleton, May 10, 1825, had already been communicated to Tuyl by Adams, May 19, 1825. *Memoirs*, VII. 8. For its text, see *British and Foreign State Papers*, XIII. 403-409; it is not in the *American State Papers*.

<sup>66</sup> Nesselrode to Middleton, August 20, 1825; *ibid.*, XIII. 410-412.

l'amitié, que Lui témoignent les Etats Unis; combien Elle souhaite que ces sentimens président toujours aux relations existantes entre les deux Puissances.

Recevez, Monsieur le Baron, l'assurance de ma considération très-distinguée.

NESSELRODE.

A Mr. le Baron de Tuyll etc. etc.

XL. NESSELRODE TO TUYLL.

Dépêche chiffrée du Comte de Nesselrode.

Rec. 28 Novembre.  
10 Décembre.

ST. PÉTERSBOURG le 4 Septembre 1825.

La dépêche par laquelle je vous communique aujourd'hui les propositions qui nous ont été faites par Mr<sup>n</sup> Middleton au sujet de la pacification des colonies Espagnoles ainsi que notre réponse préalable, venoit d'être approuvée par l'Empereur, lorsque j'ai reçu vos rapports en date du <sup>14</sup>/<sub>26</sub> Mai et du <sup>11</sup>/<sub>29</sub> Juillet jusqu'au No. 59 inclusivement. Nous ne pouvons qu'applaudir à la prévoyance qui vous a déterminé à faire part au Comte de Lieven des ouvertures du Cabinet de Washington;<sup>57</sup> et quant à la manière dont vous y avez répondu provisoirement, vous verrez qu'elle s'accorde sous tous les rapports avec la teneur de la note que nous avons adressée à l'Envoyé des Etats Unis; et qu'en conséquence elle ne peut qu'obtenir le plein suffrage de S. M. Impériale. Dans ses entrevues avec vous, Mr. Adams vous a déclaré que si les îles de Cuba et de Portorico devoient appartenir à une Puissance Américaine, les Etats Unis se verroient forcés d'y établir leur autorité. Pour vous faire apprécier cette assertion à sa juste valeur, il est bon de vous prévenir que d'après des renseignemens positifs que nous a donnés le Comte de Lieven, les Etats Unis et l'Angleterre sont tombés d'accord que, dans aucun cas, ni l'une ni l'autre de ces Puissances ne prendrait possession des îles de Cuba et de Portorico.<sup>58</sup> Nous croyons qu'il vous sera utile de connoître cette circonstance; et que sans laisser deviner les informations que vous posséderez à cet égard, vous pourriez, Mr. le B<sup>n</sup>, insister avec d'autant plus de force auprès du Gouvernement Américain, pour l'engager à user de tout son influence dans le but d'empêcher que les îles dont il s'agit, ne changent de domination.

<sup>57</sup> Adams, *Memoirs*, VII. o, 10.

<sup>58</sup> Adams was far from being willing to bind the United States not to receive a Cuba made free by its own exertions.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*Troy: a Study in Homeric Geography.* By WALTER LEAF, Litt.D., Hon.D.Litt. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1912. Pp. xvi, 406.)

A splendid book, splendidly written, printed, illustrated, and provided with maps. It speaks to us of Homeric scenery on the basis of a personal study of the Trojan ruins and the geography of the Troad, and is filled with the peculiar charm which comes only from such immediate contact with essential, out-of-door facts. Its message is the reality, not of Homer—for Mr. Leaf still has his opinion of the peaceful, restful attitude of mind, the simple faith, which "qualifies a man to swallow translations of the Phaistos disk and the authenticity of Dictys of Crete"—but of the Trojan tale; for the purpose of the book is to show that the development of the tale of Troy must have been conditioned from the beginning by the tradition of facts. The starting-point is the absence—almost complete—of "anatopisms" in the *Iliad*, in spite of its composite authorship. This points to a chronicle in verse contemporary with the war. The reality of the scenery suggests the reality of the action, and geographical conditions explain why the war was fought. A garrison at Hissarlik had, under the circumstances of early navigation, the power of closing the Hellespont and could thus force the trade of Greece and the Euxine to meet under its walls, and could fatten off their taxation, and the taxation of other trades which would be drawn to this mart. The catalogue of the Trojans shows, by its arrangement of the allies along four ancient trade-routes, a grasp of this situation which is a guarantee of its age and reliability; we have in it very old material, which has been only slightly reworked. For the Greeks the opening of the Hellespont—necessary to their eastern expansion—was the main motive for the war, though this does not exclude the probability that a point of honor was seized as the ostensible pretext. The picture of the conduct of the war—neither assault nor siege, but an effort to wear the enemy down by the stoppage of his revenue and the expense of the war—is in harmony with these conditions. Into this scheme enters properly the Great Foray of Achilles along the southern Troad, to which there are repeated allusions in the *Iliad*, and which was doubtless the subject of a separate episode or poem. Wherever we can test the story by confronting it with fixed conditions, we find indications that its basis is a tradition of fact, not a fiction.

In the main the argument of the book appeals to me strongly, and I am prepared to accept its conclusions. To be sure, I think that we must see more anapisms than Mr. Leaf admits, though not to an extent which would imperil the validity of his argument. In part this comes from the fact that, even after studying his fourth chapter, I must agree with Robert's identification of the Skaian with the east gate, which Mr. Leaf calls an "ingenious but hopeless attempt". The claim of great antiquity for the Trojan catalogue should not occasion now the surprise which it would have caused a few years ago. The most serious difficulty raised by the book is how the original presence of the Lykians in the story is to be reconciled with the late date of all the episodes in which they figure. However that is a question for the future.

Two subsidiary questions—the Pelasgian Name, Sestos and Abydos—are the subject of the final chapters. Etymologically the connection of Πελασγοί and πῆλας is impossible. We must start with \*πελαγο-κοι, "the people of the plain" (*cf.* Kretschmer, *Glotta*, I. 16 ff.), an etymology which could be combined with Mr. Leaf's main idea of the shifting meaning of the name.

Finally, it is well to call attention in the REVIEW to the third chapter, which Mr. Leaf modestly describes as little more than a précis of Doerpfeld's great work. It is the only satisfactory account of the remains at Hissarlik which we possess in English, and will undoubtedly prove, as the author hopes, sufficient for any but the specialist. Indeed, on account of its clearness and its power of grasping the essential points, it is a valuable approach to the question for anyone.

G. M. BOLLING.

*La Bretagne Romaine.* Par FRANÇOIS SAGOT, Docteur en Droit et ès-Lettres. (Paris: Fontemoing et Cie. 1911. Pp. xviii, 417.)

THIS book is the first comprehensive treatment of Roman Britain from the standpoints of both history and archaeology. While not definitive, the prospects of excavation considered, it constitutes a basis for any future work in the Romano-British field. Almost every phase of the subject is covered, the only noticeable omission being a statement of the scanty information forthcoming on British Christianity.

The work, which is provided with one good map, consists of four parts: I. The conquest, Caesar to Agricola; II. The second and third centuries, chronicle of events, provincial administration, military organization, and municipal traces; III. The fourth century, chronicle, new régime, period of highest prosperity probably 250-350, decline after Julian, and the evacuation; IV. The economic and social life.

The conclusion is a neat recapitulation, reproducing however, occasionally in an unqualified form, views advanced more guardedly in the course of the book. There is an index of proper names, but no general index.



The subject offers great temptations to building much on little. M. Sagot is cautious, but yields sometimes, as in his defense of the imperial policy in occupying Britain. In default of one good reason for Claudius's action, he advances half a dozen poor ones.

Resting on poets' fancies, he follows Mommsen's view that Augustus considered Britain's subjugation necessary. Von Ranke regarded Claudius's move as "contrary to the principles of Augustus and Tiberius", and M. Sagot himself is half minded to prefer Strabo's authority to that of Horace (p. 25).

Of the Trinovantes he says (p. 32): "*Leurs souverains étaient à même d'exercer en Gaule une influence sérieuse*", but offers no proof. "*La Bretagne constituait un foyer d'influence celtique*", etc. (p. 32). M. Sagot goes on to express his faith in a Druidism centred in Britain. On the point of a Celtic race in Britain Tacitus was less clear than Mommsen or Sagot. Of British Druidism, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Layamon do not seem to have heard. The divergent theories of the Druidists are all so weakly based that the historian may disregard Druidism as a cause of the invasion of 43.

Economically and strategically the conquest was a mistake; its apologists must make much of racial and religious notions that did not occur to the ancient historians of the event. M. Sagot admits (p. 75) that Domitian and his successors were influenced by the opinion which Appian expresses, that Britain was an unprofitable possession. He is also somewhat impressed with the obvious fact that the occupation of Britain spoilt Augustus's plan of the Elbe frontier (pp. 31, 38, 368). It weakened the empire without compensation. As various writers, *c. g.*, Furneaux and Jung, have indicated, Gaul was pacified long before 43 A. D. and was then in full tide of Romanization; no ancient writer says that Britain was conquered in order to secure Gaul.

While not going so far as Mr. Haverfield in his general conclusions on the degree of Romanization effected in Britain (pp. 232, 276, 374), M. Sagot occasionally in following his monographs drops exaggerated observations on this head. Really the "Romani" were always a people apart in Britain, as Gildas and Bede indicate. Some Celts spoke Latin as some Hindus speak English; but not a Latin inscription found post-dates 408 A. D. (p. 381).

A vast industry has been put into the book. Some remarks on Irish invasions of western Britain are interesting. The account of the military organization and economic life is surprisingly full and marked by accurate and finished scholarship. It is a great book, comparable to Cagnat's work on Roman Africa.

W. F. TAMBLYN.

## BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Histoire de la Politique Extérieure de la France.* Par PIERRE CORBIN, Licencié ès-Lettres et en Droit. Tome I. *Les Origines et la Période Anglaise* (jusqu'en 1483). (Paris: Picard et Fils. 1912. Pp. 457.)

So far as this first volume of his work is concerned, M. Corbin has construed the words *politique extérieure* in a broad sense. Rightly conceiving that in a feudal state the policy of the king toward his greater vassals is strictly a foreign policy, M. Corbin has brought that field within the scope of his study. After tracing the history of Gaul and the Franks in brief outline, he begins his real task with the advent of the Capetians, and seeks to trace the broad outlines of their policy both in their dealings with the feudal states of France and with foreign powers. In this policy he discovers two main objects—to reconstitute the unity of France within, and to recover for her the national frontiers of the Alps and the Rhine. To judge from his introduction and conclusion, M. Corbin considers the question of the natural frontiers to be the dominating one of French foreign policy; but, as he repeats frequently in the course of this volume, in the period here treated the struggle with England is the factor of supreme importance. The bulk of the volume is therefore devoted to that topic. He has however endeavored to show clearly that, in the intervals of their work of internal reconstruction and of the struggle with England, the Capetian kings sought with considerable success to extend their frontiers both in the direction of Lorraine and in that of the old kingdom of Burgundy.

According to the plan which he has followed, M. Corbin takes up in order each phase of the Capetian foreign policy and treats it as an independent unit, tracing the Capetian policy in that field from the beginning to the end of the period chosen. Thus he passes in review successively the reconstitution of France by the Capetians, and their relations with the papacy, with the Empire, with England, and with the Orient. It is this attempt to give a broad view of the whole development of first one and then another phase of French foreign policy that is the purpose and the merit of the work. This method of treatment, while it has undoubted advantages, has corresponding disadvantages. The most obvious one is that the interrelation of the different phases of the policy is not always fully felt. Another is that it exposes the writer to occasional inconsistencies. Thus in the chapter on the reconstitution of France, M. Corbin strongly condemns the policy of *apanages* adopted by the later Capetians and the Valois; but when, in the chapter on the relations with the empire, he recurs to the same subject, he seems to defend and approve them.

In so broad a survey there will naturally occur many statements to which exception might be taken, and there will be many views advanced which every reader will not share. Thus, for example, while one may

admit that the policy of Louis IX. in concluding the peace of 1259 with England was mistaken—though much might be said on the other side—yet one can scarcely admit—bearing in mind the vain efforts of the French to drive the English from Gascony—that a very slight effort on the part of Louis would have been sufficient to expel them. Nor does this seem in harmony with M. Corbin's view of the feelings of the English people. In most cases, however, M. Corbin, where his view is at variance with those usually held, brings a considerable number of facts to his support and makes out a case which, if not conclusive, is, at least, well worthy of consideration.

To judge by the bibliographies which accompany each chapter, the work is based on a wide reading of the literature upon the subject available in French and English. As the author's aim is not to investigate details but to present broad outlines, minute examination of original sources is scarcely called for. On the whole the work has been prepared with care, and is a suggestive contribution to French history. It is to be hoped that subsequent volumes will continue the history of French foreign policy down to modern times.

FRANK BURR MARSH.

*The Origin of the English Constitution.* By GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Professor of History, Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press. 1912. Pp. xii, 378.)

THIS book contains some four chapters of new material. The rest consists of reprints of various articles published at different times in the *English* and *American Historical Reviews*. There is no objection to such republications. Quite the contrary, to those who do not have access to the files of the reviews, such a collection from the published writings of a master is of inestimable value; and even for one who has either of the great *Reviews* at his elbow, it is much, not only to have such a collection in handy form and properly indexed, to consult, but also to get the last words of the author; as in this case, such reprints are really new editions.

These essays, moreover, are not mere fugitive pieces but are closely related and designed to set forth in a progressive whole, the author's theory of "the feudal origin of the English Constitution", and the function of the Great Charter in effecting "the transition of the fundamental principle of feudalism into the fundamental principle of the modern Constitution" (preface, p. vii). This thesis is restated again and again and with admirable clearness and boldness. Thus on page 167:

We now return to a more specific formulation of our original problem: from what source and at what time did there enter English history as an active influence the principle that there is a body of law above the king which he may be compelled to obey if he is unwilling to do so? And, it may be added, how did there begin a line of experimenting in the embodiment of this principle in institutional forms? It is the thesis

of this book that this principle was derived directly from feudalism, and that it was the work of the Great Charter of 1215 to transfer it from that system then falling into decline to the newer governmental system just beginning to be formed, and in so doing to give it its first institutional expression. In this fact we have, I believe, the explanation of the influence and significance of the Great Charter in English history.

Again on page 185, the author thus sums up his argument:

The origin of the English limited monarchy is to be sought not in the primitive German state, nor in the idea of an elective monarchy or a coronation oath, nor in the survival of institutions of local freedom to exert increasing influence on the central government. Though all these were contributory, combined they could not alone have produced the result. The principle which moulds and shapes all elements into the great result came from feudalism.

Stated simply and baldly, this thesis compels us in our study of the English constitution to discard what we have been so long and patiently learning about the Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic elements of the constitution and begin with the Norman Conquest. "The history of the English Constitution upon English soil begins with the Norman Conquest" (p. 16). The Anglo-Saxon institutions are valuable in the study of local institutions, but what the author calls "the central government" is feudal and Norman in its origin.

Right here, however, the critic naturally will raise his first question: Is this hard and fast differentiation between local and central government sound in any treatment of English institutions of the later eleventh century? But, granting that such a sharp distinction of powers and functions be possible, when we ask for the data to prove that this so-called central government of the Norman-Angevin kings is all Norman and all feudal in its origin, the author admits that he has no data for proof, that his contention is a matter of faith, and that this faith is born of a prepossession that has grown out of his earlier studies of Continental institutions. Here certainly, Mr. Adams opens himself to a far more serious criticism, that of method: his structure rests not upon data but upon a theory.

His argument may be briefly put: In the later twelfth century we find much in the English central government and much in the feudal institutions of England that may be paralleled in Normandy and on the Continent. Hence these institutions came from Normandy and the Continent, and must have been introduced into England by the Norman Conquerors. The weak place in this argument is of course our ignorance of Norman institutions prior to the twelfth century—an ignorance which the author frankly confesses (p. 21, note 10). Three generations after the Conquest, we begin to know something of contemporary Norman institutions, and the resemblances are striking enough, particularly in some matters of administrative machinery and in procedure. But the contrasts are even more numerous and quite as striking. Nor is the reservation of the author sufficient; these contrasts are not all of local

institutions, moreover, even of the resemblances, where positive evidence fails, it is dangerous to dogmatize. The danger of such a method has been too often exposed, to need further comment here.

But aside from the question of method, the author shuts his eyes to the continued influence of Anglo-Saxon legal ideas after the Conquest. Further he assumes that feudalism in England in the eleventh century was the same in kind and influence as feudalism in the thirteenth century. It is true that he admits that Anglo-Saxon legal ideas had their influence and that feudalism in England also had developed between the times of William I. and John, but he makes no effort to discover the influence of the one or to contrast the feudalism that was introduced by William and the feudalism that forced John to grant the charter. In other words, in his argument the author ignores his admissions and virtually proceeds upon the supposition that feudalism in its developed form had come in with William and his fighting barons.

Prepossessed by this idea, the author fails to interpret *Magna Carta* quite as signally as those writers whom he justly condemns, who used to find here the origin of the English Parliament or the trial by jury or the Habeas Corpus Act. No one, of course, will contest his statement that *Magna Carta* is a feudal document. The men who drew it up lived in a feudal age, thought feudal thoughts about feudal things, and expressed them in feudal words.

But the feudalism which they knew was a developing feudalism that had by no means reached its definitive form, and hence its customs were still subjects of dispute and of definition. It goes without saying that John was a wretched tyrant, but his tyrannies consisted quite frequently not so much in violating existing law or precedent, but like those of Charles I., in distorting law or precedent to justify what were virtually new exactions. In some cases at least, precedents were so deeply in conflict that the barons were not certain in their own minds as to the extent or the form of the demands which they should make upon the king. Hence the barons were engaged quite as much in reaching final definition as in restatement. And hence far more of the charter than the author admits is really legislative, in the modern sense.

Further, is not Mr. Adams himself quite as guilty of reading modern ideas into the Anglo-Norman constitution of the twelfth century when he speaks of "the *Curia Regis*" or "the *Magnum Concilium*", or of "the legislative power of the Common Council of the realm"? He is conscious that his language does not exactly harmonize with his data, and he tries to save himself by the terms—"the little *Curia*" and "the Great *Curia*"—in this relation, creatures of the imagination quite as much as Kemble's "*Ga*".

Now the mischief lies in this modern and English use of the definite article, implying that there were legislative or administrative institutions such as *the* modern Parliament or *the* American Congress existing by the side of the king and with him sharing particular functions of administration or legislation. Now *the* king was the only permanent and

continuous institution of the Anglo-Norman constitution. It was "of him" as Elizabeth would say, to summon a council of his grandees, a council little or big, as he needed their help in administration or their moral support in some new or arduous enterprise. But such a council was transient; its life ended with the session.

Again an objection may be raised to the narrow limits which the author sets to constitutionalism. As he develops his subject, constitutionalism, he apparently limits it to the legislative function of government and his argument may be thus stated: Until a legislative body is developed by the side of the king, with co-ordinate and checking powers, there is no constitutional government. Hence the development of the English constitution is the development of this legislative body. And since no such body existed in the Anglo-Saxon period, and did exist in the Norman-Angevin period, particularly exemplified in the commune concilium of the Great Charter, and since this body is of Norman feudal origin, therefore the English constitution did not exist in the Anglo-Saxon period and is of Norman feudal origin.

Now the military, the administrative, and the judicial functions of government are quite as important from the point of view of the constitution as the legislative function, particularly at a time when all institutions are more or less in germ, and the differentiation of function exists only in suggestion. Moreover, at such a time the recognition of new functions of government or the creation of appropriate constitutional machinery, whereby such functions may be legally and regularly exercised, is quite as frequently suggested by existing and already defined institutions. Now the long recognized authority of customary law, even over an Anglo-Saxon king, the early exemplification of the representative idea in the ordinary machinery of police and justice, the recognition of a dichotomy of the great landholding class at the Exchequer table, applied under the constant pressure of the ever increasing fiscal needs of the thirteenth-century king in an ever widening sphere of governmental activity, and reacted upon by the natural reluctance of human beings to pay, if not new taxes, at least taxes under new and unwonted conditions, certainly produced the public law of the thirteenth century. That this law is expressed in feudal language, must not confuse us nor lead us to ignore the deeper currents of legal thought and relations that have their sources far back in the twilight region of Anglo-Saxon law—currents that were still powerful in the thirteenth century and continued to flow long after feudal form and feudal expression had been discarded with the panoply of the feudal knight.

The author supports his thesis by a broad range of first-hand acquaintance with ancient texts and modern authorities, material which he uses with characteristic accuracy and discrimination. But does he mean what he says on page 115, when speaking of the Assize of Clarendon he declares that its purpose was "to find out who had committed a given crime"? Again on page 119, does not the author confuse the fore oath with the trial by compurgation?

The book is difficult of review. There are many statements in which the reader is by no means ready to accept the author's position as final; and yet the opportunities for misunderstanding and misconstruction are so many, that the reviewer before raising a question in print, would much rather sit down and have it out with the genial author. This doubt of the reviewer is due not to ambiguity or inadequate statement, but wholly to the nature of the argument which has led the author frequently into the discussion of obscure texts where the use of a word or the turn of an expression may easily lead to misunderstanding or unintentional misrepresentation on the reviewer's part. The book is of gravest import and in the future must figure conspicuously in the literature of this important subject.

BENJAMIN TERRY.

*The Holy Christian Church: from its Remote Origins to the Present Day.* By R. M. JOHNSTON. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1912. Pp. xx, 331.)

Nor for the intellectually and morally sluggish, to whom religion means "the maximum of respectability with the minimum of thought", does Professor Johnston write, but for the reflective and courageous minds, responsive to the thought of the age and seeking to bring religion into harmony with it. Nor is it to add to the "glut of critical snippets" of the specialists that he takes pen in hand, but to "seize the interrelation of a hundred factors, not to manufacture a new formula". That the studies upon which the author's reputation has been built scarcely suggest his peculiar fitness for this latest undertaking, he himself acknowledges. But "the history of the Christian Church as a whole has never been written"; it is time we had a synthesis; and Professor Johnston feels impelled to essay the task. His point of view is "that of today" (of the elect, however, not of the "ordinary" or "average", intellect), that is, "evolutionary and fluid", a point of view with which Christianity is not in harmony, because it still bears the stamp fixed upon it by inelastic decadent Hellenism and rigid Roman imperialism. The materials, for the greater part, are evidently drawn from secondary authorities, and the book abounds in misconceptions and misstatements which even a cursory reading of the sources would have obviated. But in such a study, says the author, the essential thing is the proportion, to be maintained at all costs. How does he maintain it? Ten chapters for the first six centuries, three chapters for the Middle Ages, three chapters for all the rest. Truly, "many mangled remains have been strewn along the path" ("with compunction and regret", pleads the author). Up to Gregory I. he steers his craft, bearing a carefully selected cargo, with a fairly steady hand, keeping well clear, however, of the theological current, which is, after all, only a "theoretical incident". But from Gregory on, the word is "rush", and we are carried along at a bewildering rate. We realize that the proportion is the essential thing and must

be maintained; but somehow at the end we have a suspicion that in our haste the proportions of some essential things were not clearly seen. The method may demand "the elimination of every detail that does not bear directly on the evolution of large movements or ideas", but when foreshortening passes into distortion it tends to discredit the method. The "elimination" is employed chiefly in the medieval and modern periods; in the earlier period the author is at great pains to trace out antecedents and analogies of Christian beliefs and practices, apparently under the impression that analogy is fatal to the claim of genuineness. The historicity of Jesus is admitted, "reluctantly"; but his personality virtually disappears under the solvent of universal elements, and Jesus becomes little more than a composite myth. Similarly, the Christianity of the age of Constantine is nothing but "an imperial label" for all the faiths, superstitions, and cults previously known under a variety of names. The one generous admission with respect to early Christianity is that it met the needs of conscience, but this was more than offset by medieval Christianity, which established a "collective conscience" controlled by "miraculous deceptions played upon superstitious fear", a tyranny scarcely weakened by the Reformation.

So, eliminating and condensing, "hazarding" here, "conjecturing" there, availing himself of "facts inferential" and "facts controversial", pausing not to verify details of name, date, or citation, the author hastens on to the last chapter (which is possibly his best), and to the final conclusion that while "the central legend of Christ" still holds because of its note of humanitarianism, the Church is crumbling away; just how far it has declined we cannot yet tell. But the future will not be satisfied with Christianity; its religion may be a form of humanitarianism, perhaps Comtism, when "the myth of a redeemer god (becomes) affixed to Comte".

THEODORE F. COLLIER.

*The Lascarids of Nicaea: the Story of an Empire in Exile.* By ALICE GARDNER, Lecturer of Newnham College, Cambridge. (London: Methuen and Company. 1912. Pp. xiii, 321.)

UNDER "the Lascarids of Nicaea" Miss Gardner includes Theodore Lascaris I., his son-in-law John Vatatzes, and Theodore Lascaris II.; but her work includes still more, as it begins with the Fourth Crusade and recounts the events down to the recapture of Constantinople by Michael Palaeologus. This is because the author thinks of the Nicene Empire as "*the Empire in Exile*", and believes that "the Lascarids had throughout a guiding idea which they pursued without intermission: the recovery of the natural capital of the Empire, the 'Queen City' Constantinople." Hence she is inclined to exalt them at the expense of their less fortunate rivals.

The early portions of the book are disappointing. Chapter I. is an apology for writing about the subject at all, and an attempt to prove that



Byzantine history is interesting and important; apparently Gibbon's judgment of the Byzantine Empire still weighs upon the spirits of the English writers. The second chapter discusses inadequately the preliminary causes of the collapse of Constantinople in 1204. The third chapter takes up the Fourth Crusade in seventeen pages; if Miss Gardner had used Luchaire's *Innocent III.* she would probably have made a different presentation of the subject. These first three chapters might well have been omitted. The rest, five-sixths of the book, is the best account of the subject in English. It "is a study chiefly from the Greek point of view", and shows throughout extended work in, and knowledge of, the Greek sources. It deals with the intellectual, ecclesiastic, and artistic interests of the age, as well as with the political and military events. There are some excellent illustrations, a map, two genealogical tables, and an appendix containing a dozen pages of illustrative extracts from the Greek sources.

Unfortunately, the work is marred by many minor faults. The proof-reading was extremely defective: some Greek proper names are spelled in two or more ways; the list is too long to quote, but as examples may be cited Irene (p. 154) and Eirene (p. 155); Berroea (p. 209) and Berrhoea (p. 226); Poemanenum (p. 84), Poemenenum (p. 85), and Poemaeneum in the index. Western names meet with strange treatment: Ducange becomes DuCanoye (p. 255); Gregorovius becomes Gregorius (p. 270); and Ersch becomes Erz (p. 145); Sanudo is quoted as Saunto (p. 150), and Saluto (p. 250); and there are many other instances. The author does not seem to be familiar with the Western sources; *c. g.*, Albericus Monachus Trium Fontium is one of her main authorities (which, by the way, he ought not to be), but is cited in the bibliography as Albertus-Fontellanensis; on page 142 as Albericus Tresfontanensis, and in the index as Albericus Fontellanensis; the edition used is that of Leibnitz, published in 1698, instead of Scheffer-Boichorst's masterly edition in the *Monumenta*. The citations of authorities are not uniform, and follow no definite rules; *c. g.*, on page 85, the same work is cited differently in succeeding notes; Acropolita is sometimes cited by his full name, elsewhere as Acrop., Acr., or Ac.; and the same is true of almost all the other authorities. The bibliography is very incomplete, and does not contain important works referred to in the text. The titles are inexact, and are not cited with any uniformity. Krumbacher is mentioned as "indispensable", but with no reference to edition or date of publication. The index is defective.

These faults are dwelt upon because they are indicative of similar faults in the narrative itself which cause doubt of its trustworthiness in details. And examples might be given of numerous errors, for the most part petty; but, in the judgment of the reviewer, this would be unjust, because the work as a whole is better than the many errors and slips would indicate.

D. C. M.

*Italy in the Thirteenth Century.* By HENRY DWIGHT SEDGWICK.

In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1912. Pp. x, 440; 395.)

THE title of Mr. Sedgwick's book *Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, is as tempting as it is ambitious, and the author's attempt to give not only a record of political events, but also a survey of religious movements, and literary and artistic developments, makes one hope well of a book of over eight hundred pages, of which seventeen are devoted to a bibliography. But, even if there are so many phases to treat of, the arrangement of the book is unnecessarily confusing. Beginning with an introductory chapter showing the condition of the Occident at the time of the election to the papacy of Innocent III., the continuity of the narrative of the career of the great pope, which goes through the sixth chapter is broken by a chapter on Joachim of Fiore. Then follow two chapters on St. Francis and the foundation of his order, of which we hear no more until the end of the first volume, where we find two chapters on its progress and its Joachimite followers. The career of Frederick II., and his quarrel with Gregory IX., is continued in a chapter upon his relations to the tyrants of the north, only after we hear of Provençal poetry and the Sicilian school, the Lombard communes, particularly Bologna, its constitution, university, and some of its professors. We take leave of Frederick once more to be told of Italian art, and of its development in painting, mosaic, and decoration. Then comes an account of the emperor's struggles with Innocent IV. and of his last days, and then we are switched back to an account of Gothic architecture in Italy and of the Franciscans. One chapter tells us of the fate of Conrad, and the volume ends with an account of Tuscan politics through the battle of Montaperti and a chapter on Florence.

We start our meanderings in the second volume with a chapter on what the author unfortunately calls the intermediate poets, which is followed by a chapter on Venice. The account of the French conquest and its consequences, and the relations of its leaders to the popes from Urban IV. to Boniface VIII. is interrupted by chapters on St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventura. Then the internal politics of Romagna, Tuscany, and northern Italy take up two chapters, followed by one on manners and customs, two on sculpture, and two on painting. One chapter is devoted to the *Dolce Stil Nuovo*, another to Latin literature, and the volume closes by telling of Boniface's attempt to arrogate to himself the power of the world, and its disastrous anti-climax with the French raid to Anagni.

As one would expect in a work of such scope, written by any one but a profound scholar, there is only a superficial treatment of the many problems involved, and a failure to notice a number of others. The author has a first-hand acquaintance with only a very few of the original sources of the period; references in the bibliography to such collections as the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte*, and the *Registers*

of Honorius IV., and of Nicolas IV. as edited by Prou and Langlois, mean nothing, when it is all too evident that the author has not used them to advantage. Further, his acquaintance with studies on the many phases of his subject is purely accidental. Again, a lack of information in regard to the history and literature of the earlier periods, which form the background of his subject, leads him to judgments which lack perspective. A few specific instances will show why the book cannot be recommended as an historical introduction to Dante, the purpose for which it was written.

To outline Innocent III.'s political career with the guidance of Luchaire's masterly monographs is an easy task, but to write of his biblical allegorical interpretation that "even the sacerdotal mind, trained in canonical exegesis" could use such methods (I. 25), shows that the history of interpretation is a dark page for Mr. Sedgwick. His unfavorable judgment upon Innocent's sermons, based upon their contents, shows at once a perfect ignorance of the literature devoted to medieval sermons, and of medieval rhetorical ideals, of which some of Innocent's sermons are perfect specimens. A page is taken to sentimentalize on the hymn "*Ave mundi spes Maria*", as the work of Innocent, who certainly did not write it, just as the well-known "*Ubi sunt*" is ascribed to Jacopone da Todi (II. 316), and the eleventh-century "*O Roma nobilis, orbis et domina*", found only in a single manuscript, is cited as a pilgrim song of the late thirteenth century (II. 326).

If there is one subject the author is less prepared to treat than any other it is the beginnings of Italian poetry. There is no attempt to show its origin, or to study its progress in form or thought: not a word said as to whether the Sicilian school of poetry had its source by direct contact with Provence, or though the medium of northern Italy. It is unfortunate that Mr. Sedgwick places Guido among the "intermediate poets" (II. 16-22), stating that "after Guinizelli the time was ripe for the *dolce stil nuovo*" (p. 21), a subject which he considers much later (pp. 276-296). The Bolognese poet was the founder of that school of poetry, which owed to him its philosophic basis, which was neither Platonism nor the spirit of chivalry of Northern French literature (p. 288).

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

*Procès de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc.* Raconté et traduit d'après les Textes Latins Officiels par JOSEPH FABRE. Nouvelle édition. In two volumes. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1913. Pp. xvii, 360; 415.)

M. FABRE is already known as the translator into French of the *Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*. Like that, this work will be of slight use to the perfect scholar, but of great convenience to the general student interested in readily getting behind authorities to the sources. It is a translation of the *Procès de Réhabilitation* in 1455-1456.

The translator has taken some liberties, pardonable in a work intended to be popular. The original text of the *Procès-Verbal* is unmethodical and diffuse, in striking contrast with the text of the first trial, which is a masterpiece of legal method and procedure. Instead of following the sequence of the original in every case, the parts of the process have been rearranged in a logical and more natural order and much that is of interminable length and sterile has been excised. Important passages, however, are literally translated, the rest abridged. At the same time the testimony has been changed from indirect to direct discourse in harmony with modern procedure.

There is no need in this place to emphasize the historical value of this famous document. As a source for the history of Jeanne d'Arc it has been assiduously mined. But there is much evidence in it of another sort, the value of which has not yet been fully appreciated. Students of medieval legal theory and procedure will find it a mine of information. For example: the right of a defendant to have counsel (I. 28); the question of secular or ecclesiastical jurisdiction (I. 100, II. 5-6); the validity of casuistic evidence (I. 33-45); the extortion of evidence, notably in the case of the abjuration (I. 341-353, II. 15, 34, 52, 72, 114, 130, 141); the use of undue influence with judges (II. 118-119); the textual exactness of the original process (I. 30, 343-344, II. 8, 27-30, 41-46); the intimidation of witnesses (I. 330, II. 15); reluctance of a witness to testify (I. 340); the value of hearsay evidence (I. 314). There is interesting matter on all these questions. One interested in the history of the formation and preservation of archives will relish the varying evidence as to the method in which the original trial was recorded, the Latin redaction of the original record, the preparation of duplicate copies, and the disposal of them in various archives.

Folklorists should give attention to the evidence of the twenty-three simple peasants from Domrémy, three of them priests. The fairy-tree near the village bulks large in their testimony. Invariably they call the girl Jeannette. There is considerable evidence that already, within twenty-five years of her death, the mists of time were beginning to transfigure and legend beginning to form, in which Merlin's prophecies are confused with her achievements (*cf.* I. 150, 173-175, 190, 281-282, 354, II. 97, 119). Frequent allusion throughout the evidence to the Begging Friars recalls the late Siméon Luce's thesis that it was probably from the Franciscans that Jeanne d'Arc got her first impressions of patriotism, for these wanderers, touching the life of the common people at all points, keenly felt the wrongs of France and did much to waken the sentiment of nationality. Parenthetically it may be observed that modern Franciscans are still loyal to the Maid's memory (see the profound study of the RR. PP. Belon and Balme of the Friar Preachers upon *Jean Bréhal, Grand Inquisiteur de France, et la Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, Paris, 1893) and that the ancient feud of the Dominican-Franciscan yet persists, the former opposing the canonization of Jeanne d'Arc as a reproach to their order, which played so invidious a part in the inquisition of 1431.

The temptation to make the Maid and not the book the subject of this review is great, but space forbids. Several appendixes contain eleven alleged letters of Jeanne d'Arc which M. Fabre believes to be authentic (no. 11 certainly is not, and the others ought to be subjected to sterner criticism than has yet been applied to them); a long series of turgid stanzas by Christine de Pisan, written in commemoration of Charles VII.'s coronation in 1429; essays on the *Mystère du Siège d'Orléans*; the false Jeanne d'Arc; the alleged secret of the king, etc.

Although a legitimate and valuable historical work, these two volumes yet have a *tendenz*. M. Fabre is a zealous advocate of the cult of the heroine of France and has written and spoken much in favor of the movement. When recently he was awarded the Prix Guizot by the French Academy for his literary labors in behalf of the canonization of the Maid, he was not unaptly described as "the lay-canonizer of Jeanne d'Arc".

J. W. T.

*Genoese World Map, 1457.* Facsimile and critical text incorporating in free translation the studies of Professor Theobald Fischer. Revised with the addition of copious notes by EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, Ph.D. (New York: The American Geographical Society and the Hispanic Society of America. 1912. Pp. 66.)

DR. STEVENSON has here reproduced, with as much accuracy as modern methods of photography and printing permit, one of the great maps depicting the known area of the earth prior to the discovery of America. Other reproductions have been attempted and sketches have been printed in the works of several cartographers, who without exception have recognized the importance of the map as an historical document. There would be no point in making merely another reproduction, but to issue a facsimile, more accurate in general contour, in detail, and in coloring than any previously published is to make a distinct contribution to the source-material of history. The evidence on the reproduction itself, and presented in the critical text, is conclusive that every care has been taken. Therefore, it is only fair to Dr. Stevenson and to students of history, to correct a statement made in print some time ago. It was stated with considerable care that "the map as issued is a facsimile, not of the original map, but of a recent 'hand-colored parchment copy', apparently based on photographs, with those portions of the map restored where the original colors have almost disappeared." If this were true the facsimile would be useless as an historical document. But fortunately it is the exact antithesis of the fact.

On page 3 of Dr. Stevenson's text, he says, "Through the kindly offices of Professor Gustavo Uzielli, the Italian Government gave courteous consent to have the map photographed, and at the *Istituto Geografico Militare* this part of the work of reproduction was done by its expert photographer." The photographic negatives were made in 1903.

and are now in the possession of Dr. Stevenson. The plates were not retouched. They do not, of course, indicate the colors except by shading. The colors were reproduced by the printers from a copy made by an artist in Florence, and the colors on this copy were compared with those on the original map by Professor Uzielli and Dr. Stevenson. The greatest care was exercised not to "restore" the map either as to outline or color. Until the art of color photography and color printing has been perfected it will not be possible to produce a more perfect facsimile than Dr. Stevenson has given us. The previous reviewer puts in quotation marks the words "hand-colored parchment copy". The quotation is apparently from the List of Illustrations from the critical text. Here it is plainly stated that the *frontispiece* is a reproduction, not of the original map, but of a "hand-colored parchment copy in the collection of the author". This frontispiece measures only 4 by 7 inches, while the facsimile of the original map measures 18½ by 33 inches.

The facsimile is issued under the joint auspices of the American Geographical Society and the Hispanic Society of America, and constitutes publication number 83 of the latter society. The critical text accompanying the facsimile makes a volume of sixty-six pages. Based on the studies of Professor Fischer in his *Sammlung Mittelalterlicher Welt- und Seekarten Italianischen Ursprungs*, supported by the researches of Wuttke, Lelewel, and others, and annotated and put into connected form by Dr. Stevenson, this text may well be said to contain the sum of our knowledge of the Genoese World Map. It has the advantage of being interesting reading, reflecting and explaining the curious geographical lore exemplified in the map. It contains a wealth of learning expressed in brief sentences, each of which could not have been made without patient and scholarly research. The text is divided into four sections. In the first of these, the map is discussed as a whole, dealing with the date of the map, the general sources of the map-maker's information, the importance of the map as a document belonging to the period of transition from the old to the new knowledge of the earth, the shape of the map compared to others of the period, its scale and the method employed in drawing it, and the symbolism used in its ornamentation.

The three other chapters of the text discuss in detail the sections of the map on which Europe, Asia, and Africa respectively are shown. Translations of the legends are given, and in nearly every case these are traced to the source from which the unknown map-maker drew them. Curious beliefs and misconceptions, indicated on the map, are explained.

In dealing with a document of this period, especially one poorly preserved and containing illegible inscriptions, there is abundant opportunity for conjecture, and some of those made by Dr. Stevenson are admitted to be in need of proof; but both the facsimile and the accompanying text are wholly creditable to American scholarship and to the societies under whose auspices they are issued.

FREDERICK C. HICKS.

*De Orbe Novo: the Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera.*

Translated from the Latin with notes and introduction by FRANCIS AUGUSTUS MACNUTT. In two volumes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912. Pp. vii, 414; v, 448.)

THE learned and very competent author of a moving and serious study on Las Casas, of an excellent translation of the *Letters of Cortes*—scholarly on account of the notes which accompany it—and of a captivating life of this conqueror, has just added to his work, already so remarkable for its value and usefulness, a fourth production which is equally important and which will be still more useful to students of the history of the discovery and conquest of America: it is an English translation of the *De Orbe Novo* of Peter Martyr.

There only existed of this work, which is one of the fundamental sources of the history of the first relations of the Old World with the New, an incomplete and insufficient English translation which was no longer read by anybody and which hardly deserved to be. It might even be said that the *De Orbe Novo* was only known to a few scholars when Humboldt showed its importance, and that only in our time has it been brought within the reach of the general public. In fact, it was not until 1892 that Joaquin Torres Asensio gave the only Spanish version of it that we have, and only in 1907 was Mr. Gaffarel able to have printed his French translation upon which he had worked for so long.

The English translation which I have the pleasure of presenting to the readers of our REVIEW is therefore the last comer, but it bears comparison with that of Mr. Gaffarel, which Mr. MacNutt himself has justly qualified as admirable.

Like the venerable dean of the University of Marseilles, Mr. MacNutt knows his subject thoroughly, and, like him, he has, combined with careful accuracy, that simplicity and lucidity of expression which renders easy and agreeable the reading of the most replete works, among the number of which is the *De Orbe Novo*. From the point of view of the translation, there is therefore nothing to improve upon in this last work of our author.

As regards the distribution of the subjects, we cannot see why the chapters have no titles. There are none, it is true, in the Latin text, but abundant marginal notes are found which answer the same purpose. As has been done by Mr. Gaffarel these indications might have been referred to an analytical table, which is also lacking in the American version. These summaries are invaluable for the reader whose researches they facilitate in distinguishing, one from another, the points dealt with.

There might also be said something with reference to the notes. In a work like that of Martyr who, writing rapidly, only said what he had learnt, and where, consequently, omissions and errors are frequent, notes are indispensable and one need not fear to multiply them. This fear has doubtless stopped Mr. MacNutt who has shown himself too concise on this point. Most of his notes are judicious but many of them are insufficient.

Thus, since it was our author's plan to indicate the other sources of information which we possess on the voyages and discoveries which Martyr recounts, it should have been done completely. For the discovery of the Canaries, for instance, it is not Bergeron, Clavigero, and others who should be quoted but the original account of Bethencourt written by Boutier and Le Verrier, of which we have two texts, published for the first time, one by Gravier, the other by Margry. For the third voyage of Columbus, the reader is referred to Oviedo, to the son of the Discoverer, and to Simon Verde, but not to Columbus himself, by whom we have an account of this voyage, and not to Las Casas who wrote another one.

On the other hand, the inscription on the tombstone in the Cathedral at Seville should not have been quoted, for it is without value. This inscription, which is not of the period, is swarming with errors; one reads there, for instance, that Columbus made three voyages instead of four to the New World, and that he died August 20, 1506, whilst at that date he had been dead three months.

Another objectionable note is the one stating that in the time of Columbus "maps and globes show the Asiatic continent in the place actually occupied by Florida and Mexico". This is quite inexact. If we except the map, known as that of Toscanelli, which should be considered to-day as apocryphal, the Globe of Behaim, which is of 1492, is the only cartographic document prior to the discovery of Columbus which shows Asia in the spot on which America is situated. The map of Ruisch which is cited by Mr. MacNutt, is of 1508 and reflects Columbus's own ideas. As for Ptolemy, far from having shared the ideas of some ancients on the great extension of Asia towards the East, he energetically contested that cosmographical heresy.

The bibliographical indications also leave something to be desired. They might be more explicit, more critical, and sometimes more exact. The Spanish translation of *De Orbe Novo* by Asensio (Madrid, 1892), does not figure therein, any more than the original folio edition of *Opus Epistolarum* (Alcalá, 1530), which is preferable to that of 1670. No mention is made therein of the sixteen chapters of Thacher on Martyr which form the first part of his *Columbus*. That amiable compiler was, it is true, quite uncritical, but as his work supplements that of Mr. MacNutt, for the letters of Martyr, which are the necessary complement of the *Orbe Novo*, it would have been well to indicate it. Notice again that d'Avezac never bore the name of Paul; his name was simply d'Avezac. The collaborator of Mr. Gaffarel, for the translation of Martyr's letters, was named Louvot and not Sourot. The author of *Les Hommes Illustres de l'Ordre des Dominicains* was the P. Tournon of which the printers have made Tournon.

These criticisms are happily the last that I have to make. They are besides not very serious and leave to the work all its value. By the method displayed in its composition, by the clear simplicity of its style, as well as by the care which the author has taken to render exactly the



thought of Martyr, this annotated translation of *De Orbe Novo* is worthy of its author, who has prefaced it by an interesting introduction in which Peter Martyr is presented to the reader in the moral and intellectual circle in which his character was formed. It is terminated by a very full alphabetical table of contents.

In its material execution it is a fine book, of the kind appreciated by amateurs of good taste; clear print, light, strong paper, severe and learned illustrations, and elegant in form. From this point of view the work does credit to the large and long established firm of publishers to whom we are indebted for so many fine publications.

HENRY VIGNAUD.

*Peter Ramus and the Educational Reformation of the Sixteenth Century.* By FRANK PIERREPONT GRAVES, Ph.D., Professor of the History of Education, Ohio State University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. xi, 226.)

THIS is a useful little book of a type which ought to be more common than it is. It introduces to people who might otherwise remain ignorant of him one of the great men of the world, who has exercised a larger influence on human progress than others whose names are better known.

It is not an original treatise. To compare, for instance, its chapter entitled the Breach with Aristotle with the first seventy-five pages of Waddington's *Ramus, sa Vie, ses Ecrits et ses Opinions*, published in 1855, is to perceive that the writer follows it very closely. Of the fourteen citations given from Ramus or his adversaries all are found in Waddington. But many people will read Mr. Graves who would never hear of Mr. Waddington and one could not follow a better authority.

The book may be divided into three parts. The first is an introduction on the Times of Ramus, contained in eighteen pages. The second part consists of the life of Ramus of about one hundred pages in three chapters entitled the Breach with Aristotle; Professor in the Royal College; Conversion, Persecution, and Death. The third part gives, in about one hundred pages, an account of the reforms in education advocated by Ramus and ends with an estimate of the Value, Spread, and Influence of Ramism. Of these parts, the first is the least valuable. It suffers from over-condensation and, perhaps for that reason, contains several slight errors.

It is not entirely true, as stated on page 6, that in "the Netherlands, France, and England humanism passed over into the Reformation". The Jesuits distinctly took up the New Learning, as against the Old, in their great design of educating the members of their society and the future rulers of Europe. There was a part of the transalpine humanism—men like Montaigne and Rabelais—which never went into the Reformation either Catholic or Protestant. It is a doubtful statement to make that "without the aid of the independence and individualism that had been growing up in England as the concomitant of humanism, even the king

could not have successfully contested with the pope". Most of the people who backed Henry VIII. knew nothing of the Renaissance, and Thomas More, its most brilliant representative in England, died on the scaffold in opposition to the king.

Nothing like a thousand Huguenots were massacred at Vassy. The Huguenot account (*Mémoires de Condé*, III. 124) states that there were between fifty and sixty killed. There were four outbreaks of civil war during Ramus's life: 1562, 1567, 1568, 1572—not three. There is a similar slip in the statement that "the Guises were in control of the government during the first three years of Charles's reign". Until the outbreak of civil war, they were struggling, and part of the time in vain, to retain any influence at all.

These are perhaps hypercritical notes. The book is a useful little treatise and fulfils well its purpose of introducing Ramus to English readers.

PAUL VAN DYKE.

"*Mes Loisirs*" par S.-P. Hardy: *Journal d'Événements tels qu'ils parviennent à ma Connaissance* (1764-1789). Publié d'après le Manuscrit autographe et inédit de la Bibliothèque Nationale par MAURICE TOURNEUX et MAURICE VITRAC. Tome premier, 1764-1773. (Paris: Picard et Fils. 1912. Pp. xxi, 445.)

STUDENTS of eighteenth-century France have long known of the existence of the manuscript journal of Hardy, the Paris bookseller and publisher. Some have utilized the bulky volumes in the manuscript section of the Bibliothèque Nationale for studies on the period from 1764 to 1789 and have even published extracts from them. Others have turned their leaves regretfully, hoping for the day when they would be done into print and become accessible to all investigators. The hope has, at last, been realized. Picard and Son have included the Hardy manuscripts in their new series of *Mémoires et Documents relatifs aux XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècles*. The editors are MM. Tournieux and Vitrac. The first volume, which has just appeared, contains in condensed form about one-third of the whole work, covering the period from 1764 to 1773. Condensation was necessary, as the publisher would not undertake to publish the entire manuscript. To save as much space as possible for the text, notes were almost wholly dispensed with. This course was a wise one. The work will be used largely by investigators who would willingly forgo notes for the sake of the text. The journal is not a connected narrative, but simply a succession of daily jottings, recording the happenings largely in the world of the court, the parlements, and the Church, with frequent notes on the weather, the price of bread, and bread riots. It would prove dry reading to one not possessing sufficient knowledge of the period to furnish a setting for these unconnected items. The condensation must have been a difficult and disagreeable task. The bulk of it was done in the first two-thirds of the printed volume; the

last third contains practically no condensed items. With the exceptions of copies of documents already found elsewhere in print, no items have been totally excluded. The existence of the condensed matter is indicated in the proper place in the text, by a brief reference, printed in smaller type and included in brackets. One wonders at times what principle guided the editors in their work of condensation. Many of the long paragraphs printed intact, dealing with the death and burial of ecclesiastics, might have given way advantageously to passages dealing with the struggle between the king and the parlements, the bread question, and the punishment of crime. Helpful as the printed volumes will be to the investigator and grateful as all scholars must feel to the publishers for printing so large a part of the manuscript, they will not free the investigator from the necessity of consulting the manuscripts for many items which have been briefly referred to, but which are clearly important. The investigator of the struggle between the monarchy and the parlements; of the condition of the lower classes, of the price of bread and bread riots, and of the attitude of the government and the public toward this great food problem; of the luxury of the upper classes; of crime, its trial and punishment—the investigator of these topics will want to utilize every crumb of evidence contained in Hardy's journal. He will not find it all in the printed volumes, but they will indicate what has been omitted and where it is to be found. It would have been helpful to the investigator if, when a document was omitted, a reference had been given to the printed work in which it is to be found. This could have been done without increasing the size of the volume. The manuscript is anonymous, but there is abundant internal evidence pointing to Hardy as the author. Besides the references given by M. Tourneux in his introduction, valuable data will be found on pages 98, 111, 152, 182, 202, 244, 256, 265, 288, 291, 293, 297, 301, 310, 322 in support of the authorship of Hardy.

FRED MORROW FLING.

*Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française.* Par PIERRE DE LA GORCE, Membre de l'Institut. Tome II. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1912. Pp. 538.)

THREE years have elapsed since the author published the first volume of this encyclopedic work. At that time we gave an outline of his standpoint and aims. His sound and trustworthy method, his dispassionate judgment, his sympathy, and his skill as a writer met with our fullest commendation. In all these respects this volume is a worthy successor of the first, surpassing it however in the interest of the subject-matter.

The period covered in this volume extends from October 1, 1791, to the spring of 1793. Within these months pregnant events follow swiftly upon the prelude so carefully studied in the first volume. Of these events by far the most important are of course the passage of the law against the priests and the two vetoes of the king. This struggle of the

legislative power with the executive culminated on June 20, 1792, when the vacillating and distracted king exhibited a startling and unexpected degree of courage utterly inconsistent with his previous conduct.

The careful reader will observe how stage by stage the tide of insurgency rose; how the new patches on the old institutional garments had rendered those vestments weaker instead of stronger; how utterly hysterical, unreasonable, and uncontrollable the radicals had become. The curtain rises on the first act in the drama of horror which culminated in the "Terrors", red and white. Among all the gilds of modern science none takes itself more seriously than that of the psychologists. One of these, a Frenchman, has recently published a small volume, stitched in a lurid paper cover, with the purpose of exhibiting the revolutionary epoch as one of irresponsible hysteria. It is a short shrift for madness, such a procedure; a necessitarian view of history which frees both nation and individuals from all moral restraint and holds them to no moral responsibility. Not so our author, who metes out in a calm and judicial spirit the praise and blame, the degrees of guilt and innocence, to all the parties concerned. There was a skein of facts and events so tangled as to make the detection of its elements excessively difficult; yet throughout there was a human will-power and an element of choice between good and bad behavior so distinct that the men of the day, the political actors on the scene, are to be reprobated for their guilt like any other criminals. The author's account of the September massacres is a clear statement of debit and credit: the Assembly was utterly craven, the Commune bloodthirsty, the priesthood impotent; and when Danton threw in his lot with the murderers of the Commune, it was because of his associations, his friendships, his interests, and his instincts. The analysis of Danton's character is a remarkable piece of work, whether it commands our conviction or not.

The chapter which narrates the deportation of the priests, the reaction of Parisian and provincial influences in the election and work of the Convention is, if anything, a more convincing and definitive discussion than that on the massacres. There is much new material in it, and the author finds in local archives illuminating facts. This of course has been rendered possible by the publications of local historians and of the *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public* under the editorship of Aulard. These authorities serve also to explain more clearly than ever before, though they do not justify, the frightful laws passed by the Convention in 1793.

Something more than a third of the volume is devoted to what for American readers at least is the most novel portion of the author's subject, the insurrection of the Vendée, which was at first purely religious, a protest against radical oppression. But the people of the district were superstitious and hot blooded, could not be restrained from grave and unwarranted excesses, were delivered into the hands of inefficient and stupid leaders, and the rebellion finally became a plague spot where foreign emissaries exerted a disastrous influence.

The narrative is incomplete, closing with the defeat at Nantes and the death of Cathelineau.

Whoever is a seeker for weird and strange stories that are true, based on original research, contemporary authorities, and the sifting of evidence, should peruse these pages. Furthermore they are interesting not merely as human documents nor as curiosities of history nor as monuments of antiquarian research. There is much complaint among historical workers that the limited field of true history has been covered again and again. So it has, in various ways and from various points of view. Yet here is an instance of what we may style historical research in the sociological field, an instance which is an example. Hitherto the dramatic historians of the revolutionary epoch have written as if throughout that wild period Paris were the whole of France. Such studies as this compel the revision of such a judgment. The madness of the provinces, especially of the Vendée, proves not once but almost continuously to have been a reagent with that of the capital, to have been an historical force of the first magnitude.

As in the previous volume the religious element occupies the most conspicuous place—it is the religious history of the French Revolution we are reading—but as we advance we come to understand that this is not an adventitious emphasis; the political, economic, and social history of the time really turns about this as a pivot. The pivotal question for all Europe was peace or war, tolerance or intolerance, and what all Europe saw most distinctly in framing its judgment and forming its determination was the religious convulsion in France.

*The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield.* By WILLIAM FLAVELLE MONYPENNY. Volume II., 1837–1846. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. ix, 421.)

THE second volume of the late Mr. Monypenny's *Life of Disraeli* is much pleasanter reading than the first. By 1837 Disraeli had left behind him the squalid period of his existence during which he was purely an adventurer, and an adventurer not only in politics but also in finance. There was still a long distance to be travelled before Disraeli could reach the proud position of premier of a Tory government and trusted adviser of Queen Victoria. But on November 15, 1837, the date at which Mr. Monypenny's present volume begins, Disraeli took his seat in the House of Commons; and while there were still debts to be liquidated and long struggles for recognition to be fought, he could no longer be regarded as the charlatan and adventurer that even Mr. Monypenny's kindly pen could not disguise that he had been during the first period of his public life.

The second volume of Mr. Monypenny's unfinished biography may be divided into three sections: first, Disraeli's struggle for recognition in political life; secondly, his marriage and establishment socially; and thirdly, his triumph over Peel and his assertion of leadership of the

Protectionist wing of the Tory party. Mr. Monypenny gives a pleasant picture of Disraeli's courtship and married life. He is quite successful in disproving the theory that the marriage was simply one of convenience, either for money or for social recognition. He quotes largely from the letters of both Disraeli and Mrs. Disraeli to show the terms of friendship and confidence on which they lived, to illustrate the help and inspiration that Disraeli drew from his wife, and to prove Mrs. Disraeli's hearty devotion to the interests of her husband. It was no difficult task for Mr. Monypenny to convince his readers of the happiness of Disraeli's married life, for Disraeli was an attentive husband, and his biographer had ample material at hand in the immense mass of letters and writings carefully preserved by Mrs. Disraeli.

The struggle for recognition by the House of Commons was also a pleasant subject to treat. All readers enjoy the story of rapid triumph over great difficulties and of the adroitness and ability which were able to turn even defeat into subsequent victory. Sir Robert Peel quickly recognized the value and quality of the new recruit, and in the four years before the formation of his ministry in 1841, Disraeli was treated by Peel with marked courtesy and distinction. The most disagreeable incident in Disraeli's career belongs, however, to this period. This was his application to Peel for office in September, 1841, an application that, with or without Disraeli's knowledge, was reinforced by a letter from Mrs. Disraeli. Mr. Monypenny treats candidly and fairly this incident in Disraeli's life. It was nothing extraordinary that a young man who had shown marked ability in debate and who had been honored by particular notice from the leader of his party, should venture to remind Sir Robert Peel of his existence when the new cabinet was in making. The occasion for reproach came much later, when Disraeli was using all his powers of sarcasm and invective to attack Sir Robert Peel on his Irish Coercion and Corn Law Repeal policies. It was then that Sir Robert Peel alluded to the fact that Disraeli, who was then attacking him so bitterly, had "been ready, as I think he was, to unite his fortunes with mine in office". Disraeli in reply took the most discreditable step in his career. He denied point blank that he had ever made any application for place to Peel. The account of this incident given by Mr. Monypenny differs in no essential particular from Parker's story of it in his life of Peel published in 1899. Mr. Monypenny gives, however, a much fuller story of Disraeli's attack upon Peel and of the provocation endured by the Prime Minister before he made his retort. Peel's forbearance therefore in carrying the incident no further, in not substantiating his own statement against Disraeli's denial by the production of the letters, comes out even more clearly in this volume of the *Life of Disraeli* than in Parker's *Life of Peel*.

The two political novels, *Coningsby* and *Sybil*, are largely drawn upon by Monypenny both for the history of the period they cover, as this history was viewed by Disraeli, and more especially for the light they throw on Disraeli's opinions and ideals. The conception of the

Tory party—Disraeli disliked the term Conservative—which Mr. Monypenny builds up out of Disraeli's description in *Sybil* and from his speeches in Parliament is a conception which is more easily understood at the present day than in the years between the repeal of the Corn Laws and the end of the nineteenth century. In many respects Mr. Monypenny shows that Disraeli held views concerning government and the welfare of the nation far more modern than the then almost universally accepted doctrines of the Manchester School of Political Economy. The country has now swung around again to a conception of government as being responsible for the social and economic conditions in the nation at large, a conception which regards the well-being of the masses as the paramount concern of Parliament. In Disraeli's day it was generally held that the duties of government were mainly taxation and police, and that "hands off" was the safe and proper policy whenever industry or the relations of capital and labor were concerned. Disraeli maintained, with considerable truth, that it was the Tory party rather than the Whig and Liberal party that really concerned itself with the social miseries of the poor; but it is doubtful whether his conception of government by a territorial aristocracy, had that government not been swept away by county and parish government acts, would ever have insured to the people the moderate degree of social justice that is gradually coming in sight for the masses of the English people under a more democratic government than Disraeli was ever to witness in operation.

No one can close this second volume of Mr. Monypenny's great biography without the keenest regret that the author did not live to complete his task. Upon whomsoever the continuation of the work shall devolve it can scarcely be hoped that the volumes still to come will surpass in excellence of composition or in fairness of presentation this last and best of Mr. Monypenny's writings.

A. G. P.

*The Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905.* By Colonel CHARLES ROSS, D.S.O., P.S.C. Volume I. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. xxv, 490, 14 maps.)

THE author, who has already written several books of an historical and military character, brings to his task a trained hand and a close study of war in its broader aspect. He also displays a nicer sentiment and a fairer judgment than we usually find in an ally of one of the combatants, writing so soon after the events described.

Following approved models of military criticism Colonel Ross makes a praiseworthy attempt to view the subject from the point of view of each combatant in turn and then to follow with general criticism, based on later study of all that can be ascertained up to the present day. To do this requires access to much of the record on each side and familiarity with many personal accounts. And even with all of this at his hand there are pitfalls into which the military critic too often falls. It is

hard indeed to avoid the tendency to manufacture strategy, to ascribe a logical turn to events which really happened by the purest chance, to award undeserved praise or blame. It was thus perhaps that the great Jomini read the logic of events, and thought that he could find in the campaigns of Napoleon the kernel of his system and the secret of his art, which he published much to the surprise and amusement of Napoleon himself. How far Colonel Ross succeeds in avoiding these tendencies of military criticism, whether his sources of information are sufficiently ample and whether his analysis is always free from fallacy, we must leave to the decision of the reader, for it would be too large a task to attempt in a review. But this much we will permit ourselves to say, that when a general has a highly trained and devoted army whatever he does is right and military experts will usually seek for good reasons to justify any act; when his army is without interest in its cause, is filled with reserves who have not served with the colors for years, is commanded by men who are not trusted, and lacks essential equipment and armament—then whatever he does is wrong.

To those who have delighted in following the classic pages of Napier, Hamley, and Henderson, it will be somewhat of a shock to read such expressions as "nigger", "wriggle past", "wriggle out", "differ to", "in a nutshell", etc.

Although the first volume does not contain a full list of books consulted there are numerous foot-notes and references from which we may get a good idea of the sources of information. The small number of works mentioned is surprising; it is only about half a dozen in all. Many armies had carefully trained observers on the ground and many official accounts have been published, among which those prepared by the general staffs of the United States and of Germany are particularly good. There are also many valuable personal accounts by German officers, one by Captain Camperio of the Italian Army, several by war correspondents, all of which have been available for some years and each of which has a value by itself. The Japanese official account is a monumental work published confidentially about six years ago, rather hard to get hold of at that time, but probably not held back from English officers.

After all, the maps are the most important part of a military work. The reader in this age of many books must be assisted in every way and the map which supplies a graphic description saves much written narrative; it is more quickly understood and longer remembered. The book is illustrated by fourteen maps, following a general rule as to scale by making them about nine miles to an inch for operations and two miles to an inch for portions of the battles. Apparently for the benefit of the reader the maps are skeletonized, all topography being removed except what is absolutely necessary; elevations are shown in figures and passes by brackets. But it is doubtful if the reader will be satisfied. It is almost too much to ask of him to read about the great battles around Shushanpu and Maujuyama when they are shown on a scale of nine miles to the inch. Moreover the reader will lose time in looking for



names mentioned in the text and not found on the maps, sometimes spelled differently or attached to a Chinese word like Ho or Ling on one or the other but not on both. All maps so far published are apparently based on the Russian "two verst map" which was used by the Japanese as well as by the Russians during the war. There are portions which are entirely unreliable but on the whole it is a fairly good map. The magnificent Japanese maps now in existence are probably not yet available. A very instructive adjunct to the maps in the book is the printed statement in colors showing the troops engaged and their numbers and arms, on each part of the field. This feature alone would justify the retention of the book in a military library as it could only be duplicated by an immense amount of work. Nevertheless it is curious to see how different the estimates of numbers become when made independently. Thus the writer of this review, following sources of information not widely different from those of Colonel Ross, would credit the Russians with a superiority of about 15,000 combatants in the battle of Liao Yang. The Colonel gives them a superiority of 40,000 rifles and 110 guns.

There is a curious statement about a "tram line" built by Kuroki to carry his supplies, extended to Liao Yang after the battle of Mukden and since converted into a permanent railroad line. There was a very good "narrow gauge" railroad built by Kuroki for this purpose passing by Lienshankuan and Pensiho to Mukden, which is now, we hear, a great strategic line. We do not remember any other in that district.

EBEN SWIFT.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Guide to the Study and Reading of American History.* By EDWARD CHANNING, ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, and FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER. Revised and augmented edition. (Boston and London: Ginn and Company. 1912. Pp. xvi, 650.)

THIS book is a new edition of the *Guide to the Study of American History* (1897) by Professors Channing and Hart. With Professor Turner's aid it has now been revised and enlarged to the extent of 179 pages. Part I., on the status of American history and historical methods, and part III., on teaching and reading history, have few important changes. Part II., on classified bibliography, and parts IV. and V., containing topics for study, are on the same general plan as in the former edition. Ten new main topics have been added in the period before 1865, five of these being on the development of the West. In part VI., entirely new, there are thirty-four main topics (1865-1910) with numerous references, especially on economic development. The authors state their point of view in section 8, declaring that "the true American history must take into account all the great factors of the life of a community" and that the *Guide* "undertakes to analyze the whole chronological course of American history, keeping in mind all these various

points of view". Judgment on the merits of the book will centre on the question as to how well the authors have selected out of the mass of available material "that likely to be most immediately useful to the searcher into political, social, constitutional, and economic history". Other matters for comment are, first, the amount of over-emphasis or lack of emphasis on particular chronological periods, particular geographic sections, special phases of the life of the people, and secondly and more particularly, the scholarship of the book—accuracy of bibliographical data, mastery of the sources, omissions, errors, etc.

The *Guide* is defective in adequate topics and references for the study of the social, economic, and intellectual development of the colonies, as well as for the period 1783–1820. Conventionality marks this portion of the work. Surely after sixteen years of progress in historical thought, and in the study and writing of American history, one ought to find more new and suggestive topics, new points of view, and a different emphasis than before. Professors Channing and Hart, largely responsible for this portion of the work, have not the same viewpoint as that of Professor Turner, an illustration of the difficulties of divided authorship. For the new interpretation of American history we need for the period before 1820 more topics and references similar to those given by Professor Turner in his portion, the West and the period since 1865. From 1607 to 1760 the *Guide* gives seven main topics for the southern colonies, five for the middle, and *twenty* for New England. This is entirely out of proportion considering the importance of the economic and social development of the South, especially with reference to the rise of the plantation system, the institution of slavery, the development of commerce, and the great immigration movement of the eighteenth century. The three sections on the colonies in 1760, the people of the United States, 1607–1911, and colonial social institutions and slavery, are far too brief and general for the topics mentioned. Moreover, for an adequate study of our institutional history this book should have given more aid to the student of the background of American history, particularly those English institutions which most influenced our history.

Part II., classified bibliography, is defective with respect to titles of certain English bibliographical aids which would greatly help a student in tracing the phases of our history indicated in the preceding paragraph, such as Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, Gross's well-known work, and Cannon's *Reading References in English History* (1910).

A most important omission is that of the "Bibliographies published by Historical Societies of the United States" in the *Proceedings and Papers* of the Bibliographical Society of America (vol. I., part II., 1906–1907. pp. 146–157). This lists 159 bibliographies, many of which are not mentioned in the *Guide* though of great importance. An unpardonable omission is "Materials for a Bibliography of the Public Archives of the Thirteen Original States", by Miss A. R. Hasse (*Report of the Am. Hist. Assoc.*, 1906, II. 239–572). This is the most important source

for a knowledge of the printed public archives of the colonies, such as codes of law, collections of records with analysis of contents, and other official documents, with much useful bibliographical information.

More space should have been given to manuscript sources, for section 49 on this topic is much too brief. Certainly mention should have been made of the important work of the Library of Congress with respect to the transcripts from manuscripts in English archives bearing on American history to 1783, numbering 88,000 foolscap folios in 1910, as also of the B. F. Stevens's "Catalogue Index" in the Library of Congress, which lists and gives abstracts more or less complete of some 160,000 documents in European archives bearing on American history, 1763-1784 (for description see *Report of Librarian of Congress, 1906*, pp. 27 *et seq.*). Section 42 on Collections of Public Records and Statutes is especially unsatisfactory and incomplete. For example, it would have been extremely valuable for students if mention had been made of all available reprints of the laws of the colonies. This has been done in some cases but omitted for example in the case of the Connecticut Code of 1650; laws of Georgia, 1755-1772, in volumes XVIII.-XIX. of the *Colonial Records of Georgia* (1910-1911); laws of Maryland, in the *Maryland Archives*; laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1802, in Chase, *Statutes of Ohio*; and in other cases.

Section 41, on Newspapers, has several errors. The papers are not arranged "in order of their first appearance", and some of the titles and dates are inaccurate. No mention is made of the facsimile reprint of the *Pennsylvania Mercury* of 1719-1722, in four volumes, nor is the title of this paper mentioned. Section 26, on Indexes to Public Documents, would have been more valuable if the various indexes to departmental reports had been mentioned.

Some miscellaneous errors noted are as follows: Hugh Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, is not reprinted in *Library of American Literature*, II. 279, as stated (p. 261) but only a short extract from the same. The codes of Massachusetts mentioned on page 279 do not "give a complete view of the legislation under the old charter", as the code of 1648 is not mentioned. The "colonial records" of South Carolina are not published by the state (p. 128). The thirty-six volumes of transcripts from the Public Record Office preserved at Columbia, South Carolina, would be a great addition to the public records of the colonies if printed. There was no edition of Rhode Island laws printed in 1764 (p. 145), but there were editions printed in 1719, 1730, and 1752, not mentioned by the authors, and the manuscript codes and digests of 1647 and 1705 have been printed, the latter a facsimile print. The code of 1719 has also been reprinted in facsimile, and the supplementary laws of 1730.

Much might be said of the excellencies of the book but these are well known through the wide use of the first edition. It is of course not only the best, but an indispensable manual for the student of American history, and contains an enormous amount of material skillfully arranged.

It does not, however, rise to the highest standards of scholarship, though one would expect authors of such high reputation to put out a more perfect book, especially in a revised edition.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

*Guide to the Materials for American History, to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain. Volume I. The State Papers.* By CHARLES M. ANDREWS, Farnam Professor of American History, Yale University. (Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington. Pp. xi, 346.)

IN confirmation of the views more than once expressed by the late Professor Maitland, Professor Andrews is proving again that there is no method so thorough and effective for gaining a knowledge of the organization and workings of a government as the study of its archives. Their classification, the appearance of new groups among them, the process of regrouping and expansion which they have undergone, reflect the evolution of the system of which they constitute the official record.

In the installment of his *Guide* which has just been published Professor Andrews is concerned wholly with the State Papers. It is the first of two volumes which will be devoted to the description of the materials for early American history which are in the British Public Record Office. During the period of its preparation the colonial papers have been entirely reclassified, but all students of the period are to be congratulated on the fact that the delay which this involved has ended and all other difficulties involved in the task have been overcome. Now at last students of American history will have in their hands a comprehensive survey of this vast body of material with which they are very directly concerned.

The material which is described in the volume falls into three classes—the Foreign and Foreign Office Papers, the Home and Home Office Papers, the Colonial Office Papers. By way of general introduction, the development of the office of secretary of state is traced and the history of the State Paper Office is outlined. The fact is thus thrown into relief that this body of archives, of world-wide scope and extent, has resulted from the activity of the office of secretary of state. In no way could the wonderful expansion of that office since the time of Elizabeth be more impressively shown. Though extremely voluminous and of the greatest importance for European history, the Foreign and Domestic Papers are of minor significance for the purposes of this inquiry. They are important for the period of the Revolution and particularly for the war and diplomacy of that time, but for the history of the colonies the matter which they contain is fragmentary and supplementary rather than of prime importance.

The bulk of the volume therefore—from page 78 to the close—is devoted to the Colonial Papers. As an introduction to this Professor Andrews has prepared a comprehensive account of the Board of Trade,

especially from the point of view of the offices which it occupied, its establishment, and official routine. Its connection with the committees and boards of control which preceded and followed it and with the office of secretary of state has also been briefly described. This account, following in part the lines of older and now rare publications, prescribes a convenient and valuable addition to the literature of this subject, which fortunately is now increasing at a steady pace. In an appendix the passage of a patent through the seals is discussed in a similar fashion.

The bulk of the volume, of course, is devoted to setting forth the contents and arrangement of the Colonial Papers under their new classification. Of these, to most American students, the most important are comprised under Class 5, which includes Entry Books, Original Papers, Acts, Journals, Naval Office Lists, and Miscellaneous of Plantations General and of each of the colonies now forming a part of the United States, from 1689 to 1783. The material in this class fills 1450 volumes and bundles and the description of it occupies seventy-two pages of Professor Andrews's volume. Altogether the chief part of the general matter included here relates to the two decades following 1760 and especially to the Revolution and the controversy by which it was preceded. Under Class 1 are included the Colonial Papers from 1574 to 1688, but as they have all been abstracted and their chief contents published in the *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial*, they call for no description in this report. From the material now included under these two classes our state and local historical societies have been drawing and publishing selected portions for more than half a century, but without regard to any general plan. Individual and local initiative have had absolutely free play, and it has not been guided by any comprehensive or accurate ideas as to colonial government or imperial policy. Large blocks of this material still remain uncopied and practically unknown. Under the new classification some notion of its extent as a whole can be gained, and to that end this volume will be a great help. Under Classes 323 and 324 (Plantations General) and Class 391 (Board of Trade Journal) is other material which has been and always will be drawn upon extensively by American students.

But to those who study the imperial system as a whole the material relating to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Canada, and the British West Indies is quite as important as any of the sources of the period. This will be found under various classes from 7 to 319. A description of a small part of the contents of the great series known as Board of Trade Commercial has also been included in this volume.

Finally, a key to the Colonial Office Papers has been carefully prepared and printed at the close of the report. In this the references according to the old and to the new classifications are printed in parallel columns, so that a comparison of the two in any case can readily be made.

H. L. OSGOOD.

*Compendio de la Historia General de América.* Por CARLOS NAVARRO Y LAMARCA. Prólogo de D. EDUARDO DE HINOJOSA. (Buenos Aires: Angel Estrada y Compañía. 1910. Pp. xxxii, 529.)

AMONG the history text-books used in the educational institutions of Latin America none, in the judgment of the reviewer, is comparable in potential value with this treatise by Dr. Navarro. Though adapted specifically to the "necessities of Argentine education" (p. xiii), the work ought to displace throughout Spanish-speaking countries all existing manuals on the period with which it deals. As a text-book, modern in design and execution, it needs only a careful revision to enable it to take rank with the best of the treatises of its class to be found anywhere. So far as handiness of form, compactness, light and flexible covers, clearness of print, quality of paper, and employment of colors in illustration are concerned, the work is altogether commendable. In some respects, indeed, the author appears to have followed, rather too zealously perhaps, the American article as his model. He is to be congratulated, also, on his familiarity with a large number of the best sources of information.

The initial chapter of the work contains a series of pedagogical suggestions explanatory of the purpose and method of treatment. Then follow 359 pages devoted to prehistoric and aboriginal America and 166 pages given over to an account of the process of discovery through the voyage of Magellan. Another volume will trace the history of the various colonies up to the attainment of their independence from Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal.

In the introduction, preface, and preliminary chapter attention is called to the defective materials and methods employed in the teaching of history in Latin America. The text-books are antiquated in form, suffer from dogmatism, inaccuracy, and partiality, and are overladen, besides, with details of scant educational value. None of them contains anything like a critical bibliography of the chief sources and secondary works. Accordingly the lessons in history amount to little more than a sterile exercise in memorizing, with the slightest possible regard for independent thought, or for investigation by the laboratory system.

Praiseworthy as Dr. Navarro's effort is, the reviewer doubts whether the book, as it stands, is a practical working manual. Enthusiastic over his array of *referencias* in the foot-notes and at the end of the chapters, the author does not take into sufficient consideration, either the ability or the inclination of teachers and pupils to read the languages, especially English, in which so many of the works mentioned are written, even if such works were actually, or for some time likely to be, accessible in Latin America. Allusions to European archives and to catalogues of European libraries as sources of information seem rather ambitious for what is after all a school text. The arrangement of the *referencias* at times is perilously near a jumble, particularly since the persons for whom

they are intended have little or no acquaintance with many of the names and titles quoted. Too little care is taken to insure an orderly and intelligible use of dates. Omission of the dates and places of publication of works cited, the employment of confusing abbreviations, the misspelling of proper names, and a Spanish inclination to regard the middle name as of equal importance with the last one are only too abundant. Though it may be conceded that a "systematic knowledge of aboriginal life is a very important part of American history" (p. xvi), the amount of space allotted to it is quite excessive. Numerous minor slips and dubious assertions, finally, require correction before the book will fit the ideal that it so conscientiously strives to represent.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

*History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647.* By WILLIAM BRADFORD. [Edited by WORTHINGTON C. FORD.] In two volumes. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company for the Massachusetts Historical Society. Pp. xvi, 452; xiii, 462.)

AMONG those who both made and sang the great epic of successful English settlement in America three names are pre-eminent. The first is Captain John Smith, whose stirring, though somewhat strident, *Generall Historie* of Virginia and of his own deeds therein has of late appeared in one edition in England (Arber), in another in Scotland (MacLehose), and in a third in America (*Original Narratives* series).

The second is Governor William Bradford. His *History of Plymouth Plantation* does not, like Smith's work, embody merely the energy and aggressive ambition of one masterful man. It rather breathes forth the profound convictions and austere ideals of a powerful though obscure movement and a Cause to which the devoted leader of the Plymouth colony cheerfully subordinated himself.

The third is he who wrote the history of the Bay colony, Governor John Winthrop, in many ways the most fortunate of them all.

Bradford's *History* has already appeared in four distinct editions. The first was published in 1856 by the Massachusetts Historical Society under the supervision of Mr. Charles Deane from a transcript of the original manuscript, which was then in Fulham Palace Library, London. In 1897, this manuscript was given to the state of Massachusetts and deposited in the state library. The legislature authorized the publication of an edition in 1901, which was avowedly a reprint of the text of the Deane edition of 1856. Seven years later William Thomas Davis of Plymouth edited the *History* for Dr. Jameson's series of *Original Narratives of American History*. All of these editions have made some omissions from the text.

The only complete edition of the Bradford manuscript, prior to this time, is a photographic reproduction in facsimile, made in 1895, with an introduction by John Andrew Doyle.

The Massachusetts Historical Society now presents, with the efficient

service of the Houghton Mifflin Company, this unabridged version of Bradford's manuscript, which is to be welcomed as the definitive edition of an historical classic. The Committee of Publication consisted of Charles Francis Adams, Arthur Lord, Morton Dexter, Gamaliel Bradford, jr., and Worthington C. Ford. Mr. Dexter died in 1910 while the work was in progress.

The editorial labors and responsibilities have been adequately sustained by Mr. Ford alone. In form and in every detail the books are a delight to the eye, and the editor's work has been performed with fidelity, admirable judgment, and good taste, and competent scholarship. He has provided a pleasure for the general reader, and for the scholar a thoroughly commendable work of reference.

The text is as accurate as scrupulous care could make it. "The original was taken as a foundation and twice has the printer's proof been collated with the fac-simile of Doyle."

The annotations leave nothing to be desired in scope and quality. They are copious without redundancy, and together with the numerous illustrations afford a satisfying array of illuminative material. Mr. Ford seems to have enjoyed a free rein in the choice and use of illustrations, and yet amid such a profusion of embellishments some connection between illustration and text is invariably preserved, a gratifying evidence of the union of editorial oversight and typographical ingenuity.

Mr. Ford follows Professor Dexter in commenting (I. 134, note) upon "the dearth of intellectual impulse in Plymouth Colony". It is, however, slightly inaccurate to say that the only publications emanating from the colony before 1650 were those of Winslow. Mr. Ford shows (I. 177-178, 213, notes) that he regards "Mourt's *Relation* (London, 1622) as partly the work of Bradford, and that Robert Cushman's sermon (I. 237), preached at Plymouth, December 9, 1621, and intended to promote co-operation between Plymouth and Mr. Weston, was also printed in London in 1622. This was the first New England sermon to be published, and it proceeded from the text, "Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth."

Rev. Charles Chauncy's sermon, proving the "unlawfulness and danger of Rayling in Altars or Communion Tables", was also, as Mr. Ford shows (II. 300-301), published in London in 1641, while the author was probably still a resident of Plymouth, 1638-1641. Mr. Ford's summary of Professor Dexter's observations might also have properly carried a cross-reference to his own notes (II. 302) upon the plans of Mr. Chauncy and his friends in 1640 for the establishment of an academy at Jones River, "some three miles from Plymouth".

The reader will notice with content that the Massachusetts Historical Society is to continue the notable public service begun in the publication of these handsome volumes. Mr. Ford promises (I. 3, note) another volume which will contain Governor Bradford's Dialogues or conferences. Presumably the surviving Bradford letters will be included. The editor also foreshadows (II. 115, note) the coming publication of a



new edition of Governor Winthrop's *History*, an undertaking for which Mr. Ford's labors upon Bradford's *History* have now provided a fitting introduction.

C. H. L.

*A Colonial Governor in Maryland: Horatio Sharpe and his Times, 1753-1773.* By Lady EDGAR. (London, New York, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1912. Pp. xvi, 311.)

STUDENTS of the colonial period have for some time felt the need of biographical works dealing with men like Governor Sharpe who, as the author frankly states in the preface, was "a character of minor importance" yet whose career was "distinctly interesting" and "illuminates a most fascinating period". More especially has it been recognized that sufficient attention has not been directed to the important and difficult part played by the colonial executive. As the main title of this book is *A Colonial Governor*, and as Sharpe's administration covered a period peculiarly adapted to the study of the position, functions, and problems of a colonial governor, it is a little disappointing to find that the author has failed to give a very clear idea of the governor as such—of his relation to assembly, proprietor, and crown. This relation appears incidentally in the material given, but it is left mainly for the reader to do the constructive work if he would understand the office of colonial governor. No doubt the author has such an understanding, as occasional comments on Sharpe's difficult position indicate. For example, "To steer a right course in this sea of difficulties demanded an uncommon share of ability, tact, and firmness. . . . The present lord looked on the province merely as a source of revenue, from which as much as possible was to be drawn. In return, the people were jealous of their rights and privileges as granted by their charter, and not inclined to yield one iota of these privileges in favor of their absent ruler" (pp. 43-44). It is apparent that Sharpe came as near to steering a "right course" as conflicting interests would permit. From the numerous letters quoted the reader may learn something of the obstinacy of the assembly as well as the greed of the proprietor; but no attempt is made by the author to examine adequately controversies on specific questions (such as supply bills, militia bills, income from fines and licenses), to point out their significance in shaping the political doctrines of the colonists, or to present a definite idea of the degree of autonomy demanded by the people. It is well known, of course, that to secure the passage of bills without yielding on questions of prerogative was the most difficult of the governor's duties. To facilitate this was one of the principal reasons for the passage of the Stamp Act.

The subtitle is more appropriate, for the book is a history of the times of Sharpe rather than of himself or of his office. A large part of it is made up of long but pertinent excerpts from Sharpe's Correspondence and the *Maryland Gazette*. This does not make the volume less

interesting, for the excerpts are skillfully woven into a very readable and entertaining narrative. There are few foot-notes, and those given are not citations to authorities. The first fourteen chapters deal with the Seven Years' War and are followed by four chapters on the revenue controversy and the Revolution. No unwarranted attempt is made to make Sharpe the central figure of the period, and in some of the chapters one almost forgets his existence. The chapter headings indicate the comprehensive treatment of the French war: Braddock's Arrival; Braddock's Defeat; Shirley, Commander-in-Chief; Acadia and Maryland; Shirley's Recall; Loudoun's Arrival; Loudoun's Recall; the Cherokees; Ticonderoga-Louisbourg, etc. One feels at times that the account is altogether too comprehensive as it occasionally digresses to describe such irrelevant events as the execution of Admiral Byng for being unsuccessful in his Minorca expedition (p. 115); and again, when the record of Braddock's arrival and war preparations is interrupted by the conjecture that, "If the general feasted, no doubt the staff flirted, much to the satisfaction of the fair damsels of Annapolis, who were, perhaps, a little inclined to scorn the provincials" (p. 39). The material used by the author is entirely too limited for adequate treatment of the topics indicated by the chapter headings, nevertheless the general account of the war period is satisfactory and the conclusions sound. Early disasters of the English were "partly owing to the lukewarmness of the different colonies, and their want of cohesion. Each assembly had its own ideas and plans for raising troops, for transportation, for supplies. Each was jealous of the other. As to the French, they were united under one head, possessed a trained army, were not dependent for supplies or money on local governments, and had the advantage, although fewer in numbers, of being well organized" (p. 101).

Chapters xv. to xviii. are devoted to the Stamp Act and the Revolution. In the interesting chapter on the repeal of the Stamp Act the reader may regret that five pages are devoted to the profligate clergyman, Bennett Allen, and think it foreign to the subject, but in other respects he will find little to criticize. The viewpoints of both ministry and colonies are well presented. The story of colonial resistance to imperial restrictions, especially in Maryland, is briefly but impartially told. The people of Maryland did their part in resisting British taxation, but were reluctant to sever connections with the mother-country. "Maryland's position during the Revolution was unique, and so was the position of the British Loyalists there. The respect, confidence, and protection of both parties were accorded to them if they remained, and leave to go abroad was given if they so preferred" (p. 267). Political differences, we are told, did not lead to persecution or prevent social intercourse. One of the most interesting features of the book is the glimpse which it affords of social life in the eighteenth century. Some well-selected illustrations of colonial homes help to make this more vivid. The volume is concluded by a biographical sketch of the proprietors and a history of the province compressed into less than fourteen pages.

E. I. McCORMAC.

*The Missions and Missionaries of California.* By Fr. ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O.F.M. In two volumes. (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company. 1908, 1912. Pp. xxii, 654; xlvii, 682.)

IN these volumes Father Engelhardt has made a most interesting addition to the literature of California history. *The Missions and Missionaries* is not to be confused with the stream of books for popular use—part pictures and part sentiment—that issues perennially, responsive to the fascination of the mission buildings. Father Engelhardt is himself a friar, now attached to the mission at Santa Barbara, and for the greater part of his life has been an Indian missionary. What he has written, or rather, is writing, is a minutely detailed account of the activities and vicissitudes of the Franciscans in the two Californias.

The work is not to be taken as a history of California; it occupies a field entirely apart from such books as Bancroft and Hittell, and it is just in this characteristic that its distinctive importance resides. So far, indeed, is Father Engelhardt's book from being a political history that it might almost be described as an anti-political one; a matter not to be wondered at seeing that the fathers were involved in continual conflicts with the governors of the territory. Owing to the great distance of the California settlements from the seat of central authority in Mexico, to the virtual absence of white population in the country, and to the particularly backward condition of the Indians, the relations between the military and civil authorities and the missionaries were frequently strained to a degree not exceeded elsewhere in the Spanish dominions. The liberal tendencies in the thought of the later eighteenth century also had their influence in promoting friction between soldiers and friars; while it is not improbable that a vision of the power that had once belonged to the Jesuits in the peninsula may have proved tempting to their Franciscan successors. If to these elements is added the fact that the two most extensive histories of California were written during a period in the latter half of the nineteenth century that was almost militantly non-Catholic, and that Father Engelhardt has, consciously or unconsciously, undertaken to correct what he believes to be the misrepresentations of Bancroft and Hittell, the tone of the present volumes will be the better understood. As a result we have here a book that is indispensable to anyone who would fully understand the single-minded purpose and earnest devotion which led the fathers of the eighteenth century to relinquish civilization in order that they might bring salvation to the heathen. In itself Father Engelhardt's book is a document, of later date than Palóu certainly, but written with the same pen.

Volume I. begins with a brief account of the earliest voyages and discoveries on the coast (58 pp.); in this the author shows his familiarity with the older authorities, though, singularly, he makes no reference to the very important collection of Vizcaino documents published by Carrasco y Guisasola in 1882-1883, or to the well-known writings of

Lorenzana (1770) and Navarrete (1802). Part II. deals at some length (225 pp.) with the Jesuit period in Lower California, 1679-1767. Here Father Engelhardt has found ample material for his purpose in the published histories of the Jesuits Ortega, Venegas, Baegert, Clavigero, and Alégre. In all probability little more can be done on this period until the Mexican Jesuit relations and allied documents have been collected and edited. Part III. is devoted to the six or seven years of Franciscan activity in Lower California; the seeming disproportionate amount of space given to this short period is more apparent than real, for the author has included here his account of the preparation and despatch of the Portolá expedition in 1769 for the occupation of Upper California. Part IV. covers the Dominican period, 1773-1855, in Lower California somewhat briefly (90 pp.); the materials for it, Father Engelhardt says, are of the scantiest, but in expressing this opinion the author has, one feels, somewhat underestimated the possibilities of the Mexican archives.

Volume II. contains the first half of the "General History" of the missions in Upper California, and carries the narratives from 1769 to 1812. It consists of two unequal parts, the first dealing with the administration of Father Serra as *presidente*, the second with the administrations of Fathers Lasuén and Tapis. Apart from the direct statement of events, this volume contains a chapter on the California Indians, and two chapters on the mission system, which students will welcome as giving a full and unequivocal presentation of the standpoint of the missionaries in regard to their wards.

Like the Apostles, the Franciscans came not as scientists, geographers, ethnographers, or schoolmasters, nor as philanthropists eager to uplift the people in a worldly sense to the exclusion or neglect of the religious duties pointed out by Christ. Superficial writers and shallow pedagogues have found fault with the early California missionaries for not emphasizing what they are pleased to call "education"; but, inasmuch as the friars came in the spirit of the Savior and of the Apostles, they saw no need of laying stress upon such knowledge save in so far as it helped them to gain their end (II. 242).

Hence, if historians and other authors would judge the early California missionaries and their efforts fairly they must divest themselves of the foolish notion that the first duty of the missionary is to impress the necessity of reading and writing. They must look upon those friars as messengers of the Gospel, and apply the same rules of criticism that must be employed in judging the work of the first missionaries, the Apostles (II. 244).

On the controversial point as to the restraints placed upon the Indians, Father Engelhardt says:

After the candidates had once received Baptism, however . . . then, indeed, they were not free to resume their wild and immoral life, because they bore the indelible mark of a Christian upon the soul which it was not allowed to desecrate. Such neophytes were on a level with the soldiers who had taken an oath to stand by the flag of their country which they could not be permitted to desert (II. 264).

As a student, Father Engelhardt has spared no pains to make his volumes proof against errors of fact; he has been assiduous in making use of the local archives and has visited those in the City of Mexico. Indeed, not the least valuable part of his work lies in the introduction on the Sources of California Mission History in his second volume.

In two points, I think, Father Engelhardt's treatment of his subject leaves something to be desired. He recognizes, at times quite clearly (I. 372; II. 145, note 27, and 482, etc.), the fact that the Spanish government regarded the mission system as a part of the machinery of state in the subjugation of new territories; yet this does not lead him, in any instance, to investigate the political reasons for the explorations and settlements with which his history deals. The second point is that Father Engelhardt appears unconscious of the many problems presented by the authorities upon which he relies. Thus he is conscious that there is a question as to the authorship of Venegas but has not investigated the subject sufficiently to discover that this well-known book was written by Father Andrés Marcos Burriel. He utilizes Palóu's *Noticias* as his guide and mainstay for the greater part of these two volumes, yet is content to rely on Doyle's edition which is an "emended" version of the inaccurately printed Mexican issue which, again, followed a poor copy of the original.

Finally, while expressing our indebtedness to Father Engelhardt's labors, it is incumbent to suggest to him the consideration whether, after all, the cause of truth is best served by uncompromising adjectives.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

*The Beginnings of San Francisco, from the Expedition of Anza, 1774, to the City Charter of April 15, 1850.* By ZOETH SKINNER ELDRIDGE. In two volumes. (San Francisco: Z. S. Eldredge. 1912. Pp. 1-433; 443-837.)

THIS work is the contribution not of an historical scholar but of a man of culture who has devoted his leisure to expressing an interest in the history of the state in which he lives. The result of Mr. Eldredge's efforts appears in two privately issued volumes, equipped with suitable illustrations and maps, an imposing supplement of notes, a bibliography, and an index. Unhappily, the 375 pages of text seem rather lost in a setting that numbers up to page 837.

It is not clear that Mr. Eldredge has written his book in accordance with any predetermined plan; for while the work has received a restricted title, the author has not by any means confined himself to the subject of the "beginnings of San Francisco". What Mr. Eldredge has given us is a series of fairly readable essays on various topics of California history, distributed somewhat capriciously between text and notes. He himself says: "This work is not a history of California, but in accounting for the existence of San Francisco it has been found necessary to give some brief statements concerning the settlement of the country,

the character of its people, and the occurrences which preceded and led to the rise of the modern city" (p. 22). This policy is eminently reasonable, but it does not explain the disproportionate space given to the details of the Anza expeditions (90 pp. of text and 55 of notes), much less the 54 page criticism of Frémont, the 34 page restatement of the misadventures of the "Donner Party", or the thirty-two pages devoted to biographical sketches of the Military Governors of California. Some part of this extraneous material is, presumably, to be attributed to the author's desire to remedy certain "misconceptions of history", such as raising "to the rank of heroes men of very ordinary attainments", and "overlooking men whose character and achievement entitle them to the highest place in the respect and esteem of the people" (p. 23).

In volume I. after a brief account of the discovery and exploration of San Francisco Bay (18 pp.), there follows the minute description of the two Anza expeditions reprinted from the author's articles published in volumes II. and III. of the *Journal of American History*. The remainder of the volume (exclusive of notes) is given up to six chapters (100 pp.) entitled respectively: Colonization, Secularization, the Golden Age, Education, Trade, Land Grants, Spanish Administration, the Foreigners. Volume II. opens with an account in forty-nine pages of the Coming of the Argonauts; followed by two chapters on Yerba Buena, 1792-1846; one on the Conquest; and a final chapter on San Francisco, 1847-1850.

The notes appear to be overflow material from the text, and are miscellaneous in character—principally biographical and geographical excursions: San Carlos Borromeo, Punta de los Reyes, Ortega, San Buenaventura, Don Pedro Fages, the San Carlos, Arizona, and so forth.

As an investigator, Mr. Eldredge's interest tends to narrow down to biographical details, rather than to aim at disclosing the political significance of the events he describes. So, after years of work on the subject, he sees only that Portolá was "sent" by Gálvez; that Anza begged to be allowed to make an expedition from Tubac to Monterey and, after a time, permission was granted. He gives sixteen pages to the family histories of the soldiers who accompanied Anza, but does not find space to mention the fact that the idea of the Monterey expedition was a legacy to Anza from his father who had proposed it in 1737. There is a long history behind this effort to open an overland route from Mexico to California, which, had he been familiar with it, would have kept Mr. Eldredge from saying that Gálvez refused Anza's request in 1769 because he "did not consider such an expedition necessary at that time" (p. 55)—the real reason at that time was the Seris, just as in 1752 it had been the Pimas.

On the more technical side the proof-reading is faulty; incomplete references such as "*Ex. Doc.* 17, p. 490" are too frequent; while the bibliography, taken as a whole, is wretched—"Córtes (Hernán), *Historia de New España*. Edited by Lorenzana", is an example.

Finally, one cannot but sympathize with Mr. Eldredge in his protests

against the hard usage meted out to our Californian Spanish place names, but Mr. Eldredge should, one thinks, have informed himself long ago that there are both right and wrong, necessary and unnecessary places for accents in Spanish, and that there is such a thing as agreement between adjectives and their nouns: the book is disfigured throughout with such errors as *Cárlos*, *Cármelo*, *Purísima Concepcion*, and *Nuestro Senora*. Perhaps, indeed, it would be as well to allow *Rio de los Plumas* and *Isla de los Yeguas* (*cf.* p. 559) to remain simply Feather River and Mare Island.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

*A History of the United States.* By EDWARD CHANNING. Volume III. *The American Revolution, 1761-1789.* (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. vii, 585.)

THE completion of the third volume of the great historical work which Professor Channing has undertaken is a notable event in the history-writing world. The last volume, as the preceding ones, compels admiration for the adventurer that with no middle flight has dared a task of such magnitude. If this volume alone were the product of a scholar's pliant hours won from the stress of an academic life, it would deserve high praise, but as one of eight volumes of a true *magnum opus*, it moves one to enthusiasm for its mastery of the period. The reviewer read it with unflinching interest, held by the clear, direct style, unadorned except by the simple ornament of truth. The author never allows the desire to be literary or interesting to become stronger than the desire to be accurate. The restraint is marked. There is no loud denunciation of rascality, unworthiness, or inefficiency, but the mere inexorable statement of facts. The historical technic is well-nigh faultless, and there is absolute honesty as to the nature of the sources of information. Always cautious, suspicious of the least inconsistency in the evidence, no task is too great when once the author's interest and desire to know is aroused. He does not hesitate to let the daylight into even the most able-bodied historical myths with his critical rapier. There is a marked generosity in the recognition of the work of young investigators, even when that work is still in manuscript. But the work is not based merely on monographs, for there is much first-hand investigation, well ruminated upon. After some twelve years' study of the period, the reviewer found the volume abounding in facts that he did not know, and sown with shrewd and canny interpretations which are new and yet convincing.

This much that is appreciation has been written with perfect frankness, and now we turn to criticism, even though we seem to deserve Sir Henry Wotton's dictum that critics are the brushers of noblemen's clothes. In the matter of emphasis, Professor Channing's interests seem curiously hemmed in by the American sky-line. The historical account rarely leaves the Atlantic coast, so that foreign matters of vast importance in determining the outcome of the struggle, receive only the cold

respect of a passing glance. The French Alliance, the Spanish-French Alliance, the Armed Neutrality, even the political conditions in England itself are disposed of in all too hasty a manner, even though with understanding and appreciation. It is enough, perhaps, for the historian who already knows the facts, but not for the general reader. And this brings us to say that, on the whole, this seems an historians' history, always to be admired and read with interest by the specialist, but unlikely to interest greatly the mere cultured reader, because in many parts too compact, accompanied with too little explanation. The Armed Neutrality, the formation of which was one of the most important events of the whole struggle in its effect upon the outcome of the Revolution, is disposed of in five lines (p. 323)—rivalling in laconic brevity Caesar's description of his victory over Pharnaces. The negotiations between France and Spain with a view to alliance, wherein are displayed motives and plans most significant in their bearing on the future history of the Mississippi Valley, are despatched in one line and two words (p. 301). They are also briefly commented upon in a later paragraph (p. 354). The interesting and important history of the West during the Revolutionary War receives the most meagre treatment, one that would mean little to a reader who did not already know the facts. What will the historians of the West say to a history of the Revolution which mentions Lord Dunmore's War only in a foot-note, and does not contain even the names of Andrew Lewis, Daniel Boone, Sevier, or Robertson? Professor Channing says in a foot-note that Captain Mahan has set the Valcour Island conflict on Lake Champlain in its rightful place in history, but if space and emphasis mean anything to this end, Professor Channing does not do it. There are several examples of this foot-note recognition, but textual indifference.

In the otherwise strong and scholarly treatment of the causes of the Revolution, there is shown an astonishing blindness to social forces, notably those of sectarian and ecclesiastical character. A dozen lines (p. 13) suggest the sectarian controversies as a sort of vanishing view, no more. In the second volume, there is a fairly adequate treatment of the controversy respecting the Anglican Episcopate, and of other annoyances to which the colonial dissenters were subjected by the Anglican influences on the British government, but these the author does not in any way relate to the Revolution, and they are ignored in this volume as causes of the struggle.

In this connection, we must declare a radical difference of opinion as to the fundamental causes of the Revolution. In general, we believe that political theories and constitutional arguments are manipulated to meet the economic necessities of those making the arguments, but when Professor Channing states the different political philosophy of the English and Americans (1) as to the relation of government to the individual, (2) as to the relation of the centre to the parts in an imperial organization, and (3) as to representation, leaving the impression that these differences are incidental to the economic differences—caused by the dispute over the monopoly of trade and taxation, we think that he is



placing the incidental cart before the causal horse. We believe that the Americans, from a variety of causes arising throughout the colonial period, had come to have a predominant political theory and way of thinking about the British constitution, very different from the predominant theory and thinking in England, and that when the aggravating economic differences arose, each doubted the sincerity of the other, because each argued with a different conception of the terms employed. An outraged logic rather than economic suffering drove the colonists into rebellion.

But in all these matters there is a chance for a difference of opinion, and we turn from these to point out some actual errors. Professor Channing seems wholly to misunderstand the reason why England made war upon the Netherlands (1780), saying: "The English became aware that a treaty was actually in agitation between America and Holland, and declared war", but the truth is that it was the fact of the Netherlands joining the Armed Neutrality to secure its defense of the neutral commerce which was the real reason, though the Dutch treaty was the pretended one. Again, speaking of the three-fifths compromise in the Constitutional Convention on the matter of representation and apportionment of direct taxation, he speaks of the "federal ratio" as an "artificial number", but as a matter of fact the three-fifths representation of slaves was reasoned—based upon the fact that it was generally agreed that a slave did about three-fifths as much work as a free white laborer. One other important error should be pointed out. The author accepts Professor Turner's theory that Vergennes had in mind, at some future time, to secure the retrocession of Louisiana from Spain and again to make France a power on the continent of North America, but we are convinced by material contained in a thesis now in manuscript, but soon we hope to be published, that Vergennes did not believe in the profitability of colonies, and that his real desire was to set up in America, perhaps one, possibly three republics just strong enough to keep England from extending her power in America, but weak enough to look to France for support, and in gratitude therefor to give France her trade, which in Vergennes's opinion was the only thing which made colonies, otherwise expensive, worth while. The reviewer hardly needs to say that he views with compassion Professor Channing's non-committal attitude on the subject of state sovereignty in the Revolution. Had he read a certain article on that subject—of which he seems unaware—in volume XII. of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, he could not have been in such Egyptian darkness. There are quite a number of other important monographs, the best on their particular subjects, which have escaped the writer's attention. We would that we had been permitted space to point out in detail many of the excellent qualities of the book, but in a limited review the critic must improve his opportunities, though at the expense of the pleasure of giving praise. In spite of the faults—if, indeed, they are faults, and the reviewer not mistaken—the work is a permanent monument to American scholarship, a virile, truthful, and inspiring history, worthy of the great theme.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

*Under the Old Flag: Recollections of Military Operations in the War for the Union, the Spanish War, the Boxer Rebellion, etc.* By JAMES HARRISON WILSON, Brevet Major-General, U.S.A. In two volumes. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1912. Pp. xvi, 580; ix, 582.)

GENERAL WILSON has held important commands in three wars. In the Civil War he served on T. W. Sherman's staff in the South Atlantic campaign, McClellan's staff in the Maryland campaign, and Grant's staff "during the period of his greatest glory from the beginning of the campaign in Northern Mississippi to the end of the Campaign at Chattanooga".

He had charge of the Cavalry Bureau in Washington in the spring of 1864; commanded a division under Sheridan in the Wilderness; conducted, independently, an important raid in south-central Virginia; was with Sheridan at Winchester; and was then sent to Sherman to command the cavalry of the Military Division of the Mississippi. Grant declared he would add fifty per cent. to its effectiveness. He did. Under his leadership the cavalry distinguished itself at Franklin, and broke the Confederate left at Nashville, turning a doubtful success into an overwhelming victory. Then at the head of a force of fourteen thousand troopers, Wilson defeated Forrest, captured Selma, Montgomery, Columbus, and Macon, and ended by capturing Jefferson Davis himself. In the four years of fighting he had been brevetted five times for gallant and meritorious conduct, and had risen in rank from second lieutenant to Major-General of Volunteers.

In the Spanish War he served with the expedition to Porto Rico, and during the first occupation of Cuba commanded the Department of Matanzas and Santa Clara. In the Boxer War he served as second in command of the American contingent.

General Wilson's book is not only a very valuable contribution to military history, but a most entertaining one as well. He is a sharp critic, but he praises warmly those he regards as deserving of praise and these include himself. As has been written of Marbot, "There is no pretense of self-depreciation . . . he knows what he did is creditable to him, and does not mind in a modest way taking credit for it."

Despite the many pages devoted to Grant we are left in doubt as to Wilson's estimate of his generalship. Of Grant, the man, he gives a very real and attractive picture though he does not hesitate to refer to Grant's unfortunate habits.

Thomas, he thinks, resembled the traditional Washington in appearance, manners, and character, and was an abler general than Sherman or Sheridan. Sherman's generalship receives scant praise and Sheridan although described as "perhaps the most brilliant and certainly one of the most aggressive and successful [soldiers] on either side" was seemingly neither brilliant nor aggressive while Wilson was with him. Upton, he declares the "best all-round soldier of the day". Lee's gener-

alship and patriotism he thinks have been magnified. Stuart he considers overrated. Hampton and Forrest "were quite his equals in personal prowess and leadership, while Hampton was his superior in administration and generalship". His opinions of the leaders of more recent years are certain to be challenged, for General Wilson is a robust partizan and needs time to soften his judgments. The inaccuracies in the book are few and unimportant; but the index should be corrected and enlarged.

*A History of the Presidency from 1897 to 1909.* By EDWARD STANWOOD, Litt.D. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1912. Pp. ii, 298.)

MR. STANWOOD preserves in the present volume the characteristic features of his *History of the Presidency*, published in 1898 as a revised and enlarged edition of his *History of Presidential Elections*. The party platforms of 1900, 1904, and 1908 are given in full, together with brief accounts of the conventions and campaigns, tables of popular and electoral votes, and the special incidents, if any, of the Congressional count. An appendix gives the platforms of 1912. In these various respects the work leaves nothing to be desired save an adequate index, the index which is provided being singularly incomplete in the important matter of names. There are a few minor misprints: "the immediate duty of the law" (p. 3) should probably read hour; "the cause of the president" (p. 90) should undoubtedly read, the *course* of the president; and the name of Senator Burrows of Michigan appears (p. 169) as "Burroughs".

In some other important respects the present volume differs appreciably from its predecessors. For one thing, the accounts of the several administrations have been, by comparison, much expanded. Mr. Stanwood has not, indeed, undertaken to write a history of the United States since 1896. It is clear that what he has in mind is an exposition of the issues which operated to determine nominations and elections. He has also sought—laboriously at times, one cannot help suspecting—entire impartiality. But the elaborateness with which the presidential careers of McKinley and Roosevelt are traced takes this portion of the work somewhat beyond the limits of undisputed historical chronicle, and embarks the author upon the deep and stormy sea of contemporary politics. As Mr. Stanwood has essayed the voyage, a reviewer cannot do less than follow him.

The two features of historical development since the election of 1896 which loom largest to the contemporary observer are the changed attitude of the United States towards world politics, and the extraordinary upheaval of political sentiment and action under Mr. Roosevelt. To both of these Mr. Stanwood naturally gives positions of chief prominence, but to neither of them, I am constrained to think, does he do entire justice. Elation over the successful war with Spain, satisfaction, or at least the lack of organized dissatisfaction, with the Dingley tariff, and the

personal popularity of President McKinley, were undoubtedly potent elements in the Republican success of 1900. On the other, the effect of the anti-imperialist agitation in stimulating a wide-spread examination of the whole question of the future position of the United States as a world power, and of colonialism as an inevitable accompaniment, is hardly more than alluded to in Mr. Stanwood's pages; nor does he point out the significance of the submergence of traditional notions of liberty and morality, as exhibited in the indifference of the country at large to the conduct of the army in the Philippines and to the demand for Filipino independence.

On the position of President Roosevelt in the history of the United States no writer may yet venture to speak with entire assurance. One lays down Mr. Stanwood's volume, however, with the feeling that the writer has not only failed to grasp, or at least to express, the most obvious significance of Mr. Roosevelt's second administration, but that in one vital respect he has misinterpreted it. The uprising of the people, whether for good or for ill, against political bosses and aggregated wealth was due to social and economic evils deeply imbedded in the structure of American society; and of this revolt Mr. Roosevelt was far less the promoter and inspirer, as Mr. Stanwood seems to imply, than the reiterant mouthpiece and aggressive leader. If Mr. Stanwood sympathizes with or clearly perceives the epoch-making struggle of classes which has grown so portentously since 1896, his pages do not convincingly show it.

In a final chapter on the Evolution of the Presidency, the veteran historian of that institution seeks, by a brief survey of the growth of the appointing power, the veto, and the suggestion and control of legislation, to determine the present position of the office in our constitutional system. His conclusion is that the President has become by evolution a part of the legislative power, and, potentially at least, a dictator. Into his discussion of this interesting constitutional problem we cannot follow him here, further than to commend to students of government and constitutional law both his facts and his conclusions.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

*Lord Durham's Report of the Affairs of British North America.*

Edited with an introduction by Sir C. P. LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.

In three volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. Pp. vi, 335; 339; iv, 380.)

THE appearance of a thoroughly complete and well-annotated edition of Lord Durham's classic report is particularly appropriate at a time when the British Dominions are manifesting a new interest in the question of the relation between the mother-land and the overseas possessions. Modern British colonial policy accepts two fundamental conditions—the necessity of colonial autonomy and the necessity of the ultimate supremacy of the government of the United Kingdom. The first of these conditions was not always recognized. It is as the apostle

of colonial self-government that Lord Durham lives in history and it is in the *Report on the Affairs of British North America* that his doctrines of colonial administration are proclaimed.

His experience at the Colonial Office and his familiarity with the sources of Canadian history have made Sir Charles Lucas thoroughly conversant with the subject-matter of this important document. The work is divided into three volumes—the first an historical introduction with an analysis and criticism of the report, the second, the report proper, and the third, the very valuable appendixes to the report together with the more important despatches and Charles Buller's sketch of Lord Durham's mission, hitherto unpublished.

The immediate occasion of Lord Durham's appointment as High Commissioner of the British North American Provinces was the insurrection of 1837 and though his inquiries included other subjects, they were more especially directed to that particular affair. Both Upper and Lower Canada presented the spectacle of a very large section of the community at least manifestly dissatisfied with the existing administration, if not in active revolt against its authority. There was an apparent agreement between the parties of reform—as the opponents of the administrations were known—in demanding the introduction of the principle of responsible government. But this seeming agreement served only to obscure fundamental differences.

The problem in Lower Canada, as Lord Durham clearly perceived, was essentially racial but aggravated by the "continued inconsistency of British policy" and the "errors and vacillations of Government". The division of Quebec in 1791 Lord Durham considered as a serious error because, while forming one community in which French customs should predominate, it at the same time encouraged English immigration. "The Province should have been set apart to be wholly French if it was not to be rendered completely English." With this criticism Sir Charles Lucas takes issue. Apart from the question of Lord Durham's estimate of the French Canadians, it is true that the British government was guilty of frequent vacillations which undoubtedly tended to complicate the Canadian situation. The constitutional provisions of the Act of 1791 were condemned by Lord Durham because they introduced into government the principle of representation but withheld the principle of the responsibility of the executive which he considered to be a necessary complement. The editor defends the action of Pitt on the ground that the act was intended as a temporary remedy. While this is doubtless true it must also be admitted that the Constitutional Act did contain contradictory principles of government which must sooner or later come into open conflict. The granting of representative government in 1791 was premature, and the discussion in the legislature of issues which were reducible in most cases to racial diversities only aggravated the existing ill feeling. Further, the division of the province tended to set one government against the other by creating jealousies which, as in later years, very seriously embarrassed the government of Upper Canada.

The Executive and Legislative councils were the bulwark of English influence and with them the governors, with few exceptions, became allied. Racial factions thus became converted into political parties and the governor was forced to assume the leadership of the party of the administration which in Lower Canada was hopelessly in the minority. In the Lower Province Papineau and the French Canadian party advocated the introduction of the principle of responsible government for the purpose of controlling the administration and securing the supremacy of the French Canadian nationality, while in Upper Canada the reform party, under Mackenzie, advocated reform for the purpose of improving the administration.

The remedy proposed by Lord Durham was, in brief, the partial introduction of responsible government and, as a necessary prelude to this, the reunion of the provinces. The idea of local responsibility in the administration of a dependency had hitherto been held to be inconsistent with the supremacy of the crown. In the sphere of government Lord Durham distinguished between affairs of purely colonial concern and those affecting imperial interests, and holdly advocated granting self-government in matters in which the colony alone was interested. His declaration on this occasion marks the dawn of a new era in colonial administration. The history of colonial government since this time has been the story of the gradual extension of the conventional circle which separated colonial from imperial interests until now when the question of imperial defense is uppermost it has become patent that there are no problems of empire which are not concerns of the self-governing dominions.

Lord Durham's arguments in favor of union may be admitted without subscribing to his estimate of the French Canadian people. He did not know French Canada. As a Radical he disapproved of the reactionary policy of the French Canadian party in the legislature; as an Imperialist he saw no hope for the future but in a uniform British nationality. Were any advantage to have been gained it would have been quite impossible at that time to have denationalized French Canada.

In the brief appendix to the introductory volume a parallel is drawn between the situation in Lower Canada and that in modern Ireland and the conclusion is reached that, in so far as any inference can be drawn, Lord Durham would not have recommended Home Rule for Ireland. In this bit of special pleading the editor seems to underestimate the significance of the positive content of Lord Durham's recommendation of the principle of self-government. It would seem to have been Lord Durham's view that there could be no permanent basis of empire short of granting local autonomy in matters of local concern. The problem of nationalism connects Ireland and French Canada and if any inference can be drawn it is from Lord Durham's failure to recognize the value and the strength of nationality. In this respect Lord Elgin proved a truer prophet than Lord Durham.

The work of the editor has on the whole been faithfully performed.

He frequently, however, conveys the impression that he holds a brief for Downing Street. His attitude is not as critical as it could well afford to be. British colonial policy has succeeded amidst a series of brilliant blunders. The glory of its later achievements need not blind the student to the errors of its earlier ways. These volumes, however, constitute a most important contribution to the history of Canada and of British Imperial relations and will doubtless remain for many years the standard work on Lord Durham's *Report*.

*True Tales of Arctic Heroism in the New World.* By A. W. GREELY, Major-General, U. S. Army. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1912. Pp. xii, 385.)

GENERAL GREELY'S book makes no particular appeal to the scholar or the student of Arctic exploration. It is designed rather to put before American youth, in readable and at the same time strictly accurate form, the "deeds of daring, the devotion to duty, and the self-abnegation which have so often illumined the stirring annals of exploration in arctic America". This is not to say, however, that these *True Tales* are not worthy of the attention of more mature readers. It is true that the matter of the book is, for the most part, already familiar to those whose taste leads them into the field of arctic literature; or perhaps it is nearer the truth to say that it would be familiar to many of us, were it not for the fact that as often as not we read these narratives more for the sake of the light they throw upon the historic search for the North Pole, or the more ancient quest of the Northwest Passage, than for their worth as human documents. It is as human documents that General Greely has studied the classic works of Franklin and McClintock, Kane, Rac, and Richardson, McClure, Ross, and many others; and he has managed to extract and bring together in a volume of 385 pages a wonderful collection of stories, related generally in the simple, modest, and most effective language of the actors themselves, revealing the heroism and self-sacrifice that runs like a golden thread through the history of arctic exploration. Perhaps none of these tales of dauntless courage and perseverance is more impressive than that of Mylius-Erichsen and Hagen, of the Danish expedition of 1905, and their Inuit dog-driver, Jörgen Brönlund. The Danish explorers had left their ship the *Danmark* on the eastern coast of Greenland, and had set forth with dog-sleds to complete the survey of Hazen Land, now Peary Land—the most northerly land of the globe. Their equipment had been based on a serious misapprehension of the distance, but when this became apparent the explorers, thinking only of the importance of their task, determined to complete it at all hazards. They finally completed their surveys with Peary's at Navy Cliff, but the game they had hoped for failed them, and the ship lay 560 miles to the south. They could face death, but not the failure of their expedition. Their records must be got somehow to the nearest depot, on Lambert Land; and the only possible route was over the terrible glacial ice-cap. En-

feebled by starvation, their clothing and tent in rags, they crawled, through incredible hardships, 160 miles in twenty-six days. Brönlund alone reached the depot, with Hagen's chart and his own field-journal, in which the final entry runs: "I perished in 79° N. latitude, under the hardships of the return journey over the inland ice in November. I reached this place under a waning moon, and cannot go on because of my frozen feet and the darkness. The bodies of the others are in the middle of the fiord. Hagen died on November 15, Mylius-Erichsen some ten days later."

L. J. B.

*Colbert's West India Policy.* By STEWART MIMS, Assistant Professor of History, Yale University. [Yale Historical Series, I.] (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Henry Frowde. 1912. Pp. xiv, 385.)

IN 1736 John Bennett, whose residence in the West Indies as agent of the South Sea and Royal Assiento Company gave weight to his judgments, addressed to an unnamed statesman, *Four Letters concerning the flourishing Condition, large Extent, and prodigious Increase of the French Sugar Colonies; the Poverty, Weakness and Decay of the British Sugar Colonies; and their vast Importance to the Trade, Navigation, Wealth and Power of this Nation.* He voiced the conviction of his day. Jamaica planters acclaimed it; Massachusetts merchants acted upon it. Nevertheless the French West Indies have remained, as Professor Mims says, little more than a name. "Students have watched New England ships sail with their cargoes of fish, lumber, live stock and food-stuffs and have let them, so to speak, disappear into the unknown, whence they saw them reappear with cargoes of sugar and molasses." To follow those ships to Martinique, or to Guadeloupe, or to St. Domingo, to learn the secret of that extraordinary development which enabled the French planters to drive English sugar from the warehouses of Europe and to afford New England traders their most profitable market, such was the fascinating task which Mr. Mims undertook, hoping thereby to elucidate "the so-called economic causes of the American Revolution". His immediate interest lay, therefore, in the eighteenth century. But to understand that period he found an introductory study necessary. It carried him back to Colbert. He discovered that no serious student had dealt in detail with any single problem that Colbert encountered in his attempts to build up French colonial commerce in the West Indies. So he yielded to the temptation of expanding his introduction into an independent book.

This, then, is the initial volume of a history of French colonial policy in the West Indies. Another, announced for early publication (pp. ix, 318), will bring the narrative through the reign of Louis XIV. Subsequent studies will extend it, let us hope, for at least a century further. Meanwhile the first volume is before us. It is soberly written, foregoing



tales of exploration or of personal adventure, concerning itself with war or diplomacy in so far only as the author finds needful for explaining the course of administration, touching even upon politics only when politics is shaped by the necessities of commerce.

The book is divisible into two parts, nearly equal in size. The first, after outlining the history of the French colonies prior to the establishment of the West India Company in 1664, traces with much care the varying fortunes of that company during its ten years of life. The second part takes up topically the more important subjects that have appeared in the preceding narrative, such as the struggle to exclude the Dutch from the commerce of the islands, the licensing by the company of French private traders, the means taken to encourage the production of tobacco and of sugar, and the efforts that Colbert made to supply the French planters not merely with African slaves of French procuring, but also with French live-stock, lumber, provisions, and manufactured goods. This part also contains, incidentally, a somewhat scattered account of Colbert's later policy, from the downfall of the company in 1674 to his own death in 1683. It is obviously a plan that must entail repetitions. But they have seldom been permitted to transcend the minimum which a clear presentation of the facts demanded.

For most of this study contemporary books are few. To Du Tertre's *Histoire Générale des Antilles habitées par les François* (1667-1671) Professor Mims, in common with all students of the early history of the French West Indies, owes a heavy debt. This he handsomely acknowledges (p. 342); and it stands not less clearly revealed by the fragmentariness of his insular narrative after 1667, when the Dominican fails him. Second in importance is perhaps the *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Isles et Terre Ferme de l'Amérique, recueilly par J[ean de] C[lodoré] S[ecrétaire] D[e] l'[a]issex*, as most bibliographers believe. Professor Mims, however, without discussing the authorship, attributes it to de La Barre (pp. 140, 360). However that may be, the book closes with 1669. There is no other seventeenth-century publication of importance. The chief modern writers on Colbert, regarding the West India Company as one of his failures, all pass over it briefly except Bénédict du Rey. And of his *Recherches sur la Politique Coloniale de Colbert* Professor Mims has but a low opinion. Depping's *Correspondance Administrative*, Boislisle's *Correspondance des Contrôleurs Généraux*, and Moreau de Saint-Méry's *Loix et Constitutions des Colonies Françaises*, however, print source-material of which Professor Mims makes extended use. But his book is based, chiefly and first of all, upon hitherto unused manuscripts. The archives of the ports which traded most largely with the West Indies proved disappointingly barren, but in Paris he found masses of archival material of which he gives a full account (pp. 342-358).

The points of greatest interest in the history of the West India Company brought to light by Professor Mims's diligence and acuteness are perhaps these: that the subscription of a half-million livres to its capital on the day the books were opened is no proof of a public success, the

operation being but an exchange for the stock of the older and only half-successful company of Cayenne (pp. 75-78); that though there were a few merchants among the company's directors their subscriptions were small and their influence slight; that of a total capital of more than five millions subscribed first or last the king furnished more than half, and revenue farmers and high officials almost all the residue, so that the company was in fact little more than a colonial office, and its policy was completely dominated not by its merchant directors, but by Colbert; that the embarrassments which insufficient capital had brought upon it were so increased by the war with England that its balance-sheet, struck soon after the peace of Breda, showed a deficit of 1,600,000 livres (p. 147); that in order to sustain the planters during the war the company was forced to share its monopoly with French private traders, and even to readmit the Dutch; that Colbert soon came to appreciate the superior efficiency of the private traders, and although he again expelled the Dutch with barbarity, even suggesting (p. 198) that the Caribs be secretly incited to attack them, he threw open the trade of the islands to all Frenchmen in 1670, and in 1671 confined the trade of the company to the importation of slaves from Africa and of live-stock and salt meat from France (pp. 163-164); that the company succeeded so ill in the beef-trade that Colbert decided, in October, 1672, to dissolve it, leaving the colonial trade freely open to all Frenchmen.

Such are the bald outlines of the story. Professor Mims enriches it with a wealth of new details, many revealing afresh the familiar aspects of all West Indian commerce: the ubiquity of the Dutch, to whose services in supporting early European establishments overseas he pays a deserved tribute; the willingness of insular governors, who must live on tolerable terms with their planter neighbors, to deceive their superiors at home as to the effectiveness of measures enjoined for suppressing interlopers; the inevitable "ketch coming from the city of Boston", and the early repute of the New Englanders for a spirit of political independence; the long inadequacy of Canada to provision the West Indies; and the prevalent disposition of every island to believe its neighbors more prosperous than itself. Comment and interpretation seem, in general, to be judicious and such as the sources sufficiently support. Towards doctrinaire interpretations of Colbert's policy, whether by convinced free traders or by resolute admirers of bureaucracy, Professor Mims shows a healthy repugnance, preferring to find rather the spirit of the commercial opportunist—"habile homme d'affaires"—in the varying means by which the great minister pursued his unchanging aim of engrossing French colonial commerce for Frenchmen.

In general, so far as I have been able to check the matter, Professor Mims uses his sources with care. But his translations, fluent and idiomatic, are occasionally rather free. Thus, in a passage quoted from Du Tertre (p. 107) clauses are altered, though in a manner that the original context fairly warrants and that serves to clarify the historian's mean-

ing. No substantial harm is done by the translator's changes, but it is disconcerting to find the result enclosed in marks of quotation.

Mechanically, the book, with its ample page, strong but open type, and rough paper, is most agreeable to use; and in this regard, as well as in its scholarly conscientiousness, it is an auspicious inauguration of the *Yale Historical Studies*.

CHARLES H. HULL.

## MINOR NOTICES

*Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1910.* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912, pp. 725.) Following the report of the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Association, held at Indianapolis, December, 1910, and the account of the seventh meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch, the volume contains a number of the papers which were read at the meeting, dealing, as it happens, entirely with English and American history. Those concerned with the former are: the Efforts of the Danish Kings to secure the English Crown, by Professor Laurence M. Larson; the Records of the Privy Seal, by Professor James F. Baldwin; Royal Purveyance in Fourteenth-Century England in the Light of Simon Islip's *Speculum Regis*, by Professor Chalfant Robinson; Anglo-Dutch Relations, 1654-1660, by Professor R. C. H. Catterall; and Some Critical Notes on the Works of S. R. Gardiner, by Professor R. G. Usher. American history is treated in the following papers: the Mexican Policy of Southern Leaders under Buchanan's Administration, by Professor James M. Callahan; the Decision of the Ohio Valley [in 1860], by Professor Carl Russell Fish; North Carolina on the Eve of Secession, by Professor William K. Boyd; the Inception of the Montgomery Convention, by Dr. Armand J. Gerson; the Attitude of Congress toward the Pacific Railway, 1856-1862, by Professor Allen M. Kline.

Passing from individual to corporate activities, we have a paper on the Working of the Western State Historical Society, by Miss Jeanne E. Wier, the Report of the Committee of Five on the Study of History in Secondary Schools, which is of especial value to teachers of history, an account of the seventh annual conference of historical societies with a summary of the reports from these societies, and the report of the Public Archives Commission, containing an account of the second annual conference of archivists, and a report of the International Congress of Archivists at Brussels in 1910. The commission also presents reports on the archives of Indiana, Kentucky, Nebraska, and the Philippines, by Professor Harlow Lindley, Miss Irene T. Myers, Mr. Addison E. Sheldon, and Dr. James A. Robertson. Last of all comes the annual bibliography, *Writings on American History, 1910* (pp. 429-706), compiled by Miss Grace Griffin, and now annually incorporated in the *Annual Report*.

*Manual of Early Ecclesiastical History to 476 A. D.* By Charles L. Wells, Ph.D., Lecturer in History, McGill University. [Sewanee Theological Library.] (Sewanee, Tenn., The University Press, 1912, pp. xxxv, 259.) The plan of Dr. Wells's manual is determined by that of the series to which it belongs, a series intended to furnish a standard for examinations for clerical orders. The text is to indicate a minimum of required knowledge and the bibliographical notes are to aid the student in expanding his knowledge beyond the required minimum. Dr. Wells has prepared a helpful guide furnished with a convenient chronological table of Roman emperors and of Roman bishops contemporary with them, a list of synods with a note of the action taken in them, and an excellent general bibliography accompanied by comments on the character of the works. The analytical division of topics is very complete so that it serves as an index to more extensive treatments, though for an epitome like this it involves a sacrifice of continuity and obscures the story of historical development.

This outline is well suited to its purpose of aiding in the mastery of the materials either in the case of a student hearing lectures or reading larger works. The chief defect is that occasionally the author's apologetic interest has affected the statement of certain historical problems. It is proper, for example, to argue that the single local episcopate must be carried back to the earliest time, but it is well first to state the conflicting data and then to suggest the argument. Dr. Wells's argumentative statement obscures the data that make a problem.

Text-books evolve and this one can be improved in expression. On page 140 a mysterious sentence needs revision: "Christianity is not a religion; but a life and the whole living was etc." What is meant by saying (p. 168) that the bishop of Rome had imperial prerogatives? Why speak of Roman primacy in the fourth century when page 171 indicates a rank only equal to the Alexandrian patriarchate? The decree of Aurelian about the church property in Antioch is sadly misstated (p. 129). There are misprints: Alexandria for Antioch (p. 212), Aurelius for Aurelian (p. 82), Ep. 77 for Ep. 71 (p. 129), kernel for canon (p. 64).

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

*Politics and Religion in the Days of Augustine.* By Edward Frank Humphrey, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Columbia University. (New York, 1912, pp. 220.) This book deals with the period between the death of the Emperor Theodosius (395) and that of St. Augustine (430). As a field of research calculated to exhibit the true importance of "those eventful years during which the Roman Empire was, for the first time, facing genuine barbarian invasion" the author selects Africa, "which in the time of Augustine absorbed the thought and direction of Christendom". Augustine is made to appear as a Colossus bestriding the narrow world of religion and politics. "During his lifetime took place that rapid development by which Christianity emerged from dependence on an all-powerful Emperor, Theodosius, into an aggressively militant

supremacy dependent on its own political leaders. This movement Augustine dominated both religiously and politically. Indeed his doctrines, formulated under the stress of active contest, eventually prevailed throughout the Christian world" (p. 13). Exaggeration is perhaps unavoidable in an intensive historical study of persons or limited periods; but neither the African Church nor the Bishop of Hippo merit the unqualified importance ascribed to them by Professor Humphrey. As a matter of fact the African Church enjoyed no pre-eminence over other sections of Christendom either in the field of politics or religion, while the influence of Augustine was confined to the West. Neither in his lifetime nor afterwards did Augustine appreciably affect the Greek Church. On the politics of the Eastern Empire he made no impression whatsoever.

The immaturity of judgment with which the general theme is conceived is shown in the fact that the author is forced even to contradict himself. After speaking of the "aggressively militant supremacy" which the Church attained as a result of Augustine's labors, the author further on makes the assertion that: "With the fall of Chrysostom (404) the Church of the East took the position it was thereafter to hold as a power inferior to and dependent upon the civil authorities" (p. 83). Inexactness in stating facts frequently occurs. Thus (p. 70) we are told that Chrysostom "hurried to Constantinople under military escort to avoid trouble with his congregation at Antioch". The truth is Chrysostom was kidnapped and brought to Constantinople by force. In view of the opinions of recognized authorities, the author should not have been betrayed into making many positive statements unsupported by new evidence, such as, "The fall of that minister [Stilicho] was accomplished by the leaders of the Christian party" (p. 128). The letter of Augustine to Dioscorus, which is quoted at length, will hardly bear the interpretation that "Augustine showed a profound contempt for all educational traditions" (p. 159). Many typographical errors and some mistakes in regard to dates escaped the author's notice. The subjective quality which runs through the book and shows itself at times in narrow partizanship should find no place in a work of erudition.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

*Deutsche Kaisergeschichte in der Zeit der Salier und Staufer.* Von Karl Hampe, Professor in Heidelberg. [Bibliothek der Geschichtswissenschaft, herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Erich Brandenburg.] (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1912, pp. viii, 294.) "Dies Buch möchte nicht nur belehren, sondern auch anregen, nicht nur studiert, sondern auch gern gelesen sein." That this hope expressed in the preface of the first edition has been fulfilled is indicated by the necessity in less than four years of a second edition. On its first appearance the book was recognized as the best short history of the empire within the period covered to which the professed student or the general reader could turn (AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XIV. 846-847) and the new edition has pre-

served all the attractive features of the old—energy and lucidity of narrative, proportion and emphasis in presentation, and above all masterly characterization of the leading personalities, especially those of Henry IV., Gregory VII., and Roger II. of Sicily. The size of the book has been somewhat increased, for Dr. Hampe has carefully appraised the new literature that has appeared since 1908, as may be seen by referring to his foot-notes and by observing the number of passages, especially in the latter portion of the book, that have been rewritten. The critical discussions in small type have disappeared and have either been relegated to the notes or incorporated in the main text. It is hoped that the desire expressed by an English reviewer may be fulfilled and that we may soon have an English translation for the convenience of students who do not easily read German.

A. C. H.

*Local Government in Francia and England.* A comparison of the local administration and jurisdiction of the Carolingian Empire with that of the West Saxon Kingdom. By Helen M. Cam, M.A. (London, University of London Press, 1912, pp. x, 156.) Miss Cam's problem is the old question whether or not the local institutions of the Angles and Saxons show any definite traces of Frankish influence. After a careful study of analogous institutions in the two lands, their areas of local government, their military systems, the benefice, vassallage, and immunity, she finally concludes that there is no evidence for any borrowing on the part of the Saxons from across the Channel except, perhaps, in certain forms of land tenure; and it is her opinion that "the first borrowing must have taken place during the Merovingian period" (p. 99); of Carolingian influence she finds no sure traces. She believes that the institutional resemblances are in most cases due to a common Germanic ancestry, which "is sufficient to explain much, if not all, of the parallels that have been noticed". The results of Miss Cam's study are, however, not wholly negative: the chief value of her work lies in the discussion and criticism of the more recent theories that have been put forth by students of Old English institutions, particularly Chadwick, Corbett, Vinogradoff, and Guilhiermoz. Miss Cam has also contributed several interesting suggestions of her own. She is inclined to hold that the *gerefa* of the early ninth century was not a shire-reeve but an official of the hundred (p. 49). The name of the hundred (not the institution itself) she attributes, with Chadwick and others, to a borrowing from the Scandinavians of the Danelaw (p. 60). As a rule she distinguishes clearly between terms and periods; the *corl*, however, she confuses with the older *caldorman*, though their offices appear to have differed both in origin and in functions.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

*Two Select Bibliographies of Medieval Historical Study.* By Margaret F. Moore, M.A., Carnegie Scholar in Palaeography and Early Eco-

nomic History, with a preface by Hubert Hall, F.S.A., University Reader in Palaeography and Early Economic Sources. (London, Constable and Company, 1912, pp. 185.) The first of these useful bibliographies, entitled "A Classified List of Works relating to the Study of English Palaeography and Diplomatic", is of wider scope than the title implies. Besides general authorities, works on such matters as paper-making, and water-marks, and the auxiliary studies of diplomatic, it includes treatises relating to the "national writings" and "national chanceries", not only of Great Britain and Ireland but of the Continent. In respect to works relating to the Continental countries, the principle of selection is not entirely clear. As important as some of those listed, are, for example, such works as L. Schmitz-Kallenberg's *Practica Cancellariae Apostolicae Sacculi XV. Excuntis* (Münster, 1904), and J. Haller's "Die Ausfertigung der Provisionen: ein Beitrag zur Diplomatik der Papsturkunden des 14. u. 15. Jahrhunderts", *Quellen und Forschungen*, Band II., Heft 1.

The second bibliography, "A Classified List of Works relating to English Manorial and Agrarian History from the Earliest Times to the Year 1660", is full, accurate, and altogether admirable. Under more than a thousand numbers, it lists sources and modern works, published in periodicals and collections, as well as singly. It is more comprehensive than the *List of Printed Original Materials* in the same field, published by Dr. Frances Davenport in 1894, and a comparison of the two works is of interest as showing how large a body of additional material has been issued in recent years.

*The Estates of the Archbishop and Chapter of Saint-André of Bordeaux under English Rule.* By E. C. Lodge. *One Hundred Years of Poor Law Administration in a Warwickshire Village.* By A. W. Ashby. [Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, edited by Paul Vinogradoff, Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Oxford, vol. III.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, pp. v, 206; 190.) The first of these monographs began in a study of the conditions of land tenure and rural life in medieval Gascony, but the comprehensiveness of the scheme compelled the author to limit her investigation to one district, connecting it with the history of a great social organization.

The entire monograph is full of interest to those engaged in economic, industrial, or social questions, and has a wealth of detail. The style is clear and pleasing, though occasionally repetitious. In her introduction, the author calls attention to the interest which attaches to the whole of Gascony from the social and economic points of view, its varied physical characteristics producing divergent types of society and industry. This fact renders general conclusions unsafe unless they are based on the social and economic history of individual provinces in special detail. The Bordelais is therefore chosen as, on the whole, presenting the best features for study. Its geographical situation, its commerce, its viticulture, the relation of this industry to corn-growing

and cattle-rearing, and the effect of this on the history of agriculture and of the laboring classes, the characteristics of this estate as typical of other large properties, the varied forms of land tenure, etc.—these and other points justify the author's choice. Space permits little comment beyond the mention of the topics discussed. These are, the Lands of the Archbishop and of the Chapter; the Soil and the Settlements; Landholding and Landholders, (a) the Alod, Fief, and Censive, (b) the Questave and the Homme Questal, Revenues and Dues; Division of Soil and Methods of Cultivation; Vines and Vintage; and Salaries and Wages; tables give the prices of corn in the district (1332-1459); wages for different kinds of agricultural work (men and women); for vintage work in different places; and a comparison of wages for agricultural and non-agricultural work. An interesting point (under Cultivation) is the appearance of modern ideas regarding the use of the plough and of fertilizers in the vineyard.

The second monograph treats of "the range of problems arising from the attempts of eighteenth-century self-government to deal with poverty, sickness, and unemployment". First-hand materials are drawn, in numerous citations and in great detail, from the parish records of Tysoe, Warwickshire, during the period 1727-1827. Two maps compare the Enclosure Awards of 1796 and the ancient enclosures. The author discusses the economic structure and history of the parish before and after enclosure, with an analysis of the Enclosure Award. Chapters follow on the Village and its Population, its Administrative Organization, its Regulations as to Assessment and Rating, and to Settlement in, and Removal from, the Parish. The chapter on bastardy is striking. It shows that the government put a premium on this evil by fostering wrong economic conditions. The chapter on general relief has a suggestion of municipal ownership. The parish traded in coals and had its own malt-house and bakery. The remaining chapters deal with housing, the relief of sick persons, infants, and the impotent, the employment and relief of the able-bodied, and wages and prices.

C. T. WYCKOFF.

*Les Dénombrements de Foyers en Brabant (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle).* Par Joseph Cuvelier, Archiviste Général du Royaume, à Bruxelles. (Brussels, Kiessling et Cie., 1912, pp. cccxxxix, 548.) When Philip the Good failed to receive from one of the first aids he levied in Brabant as much revenue as he had counted on, he decided to introduce a factor in assessment which had proved effective in neighboring provinces, notably in his ancestral Burgundy: the enumeration of houses, or dwellings. Such an enumeration was made in 1437; others followed in 1464, 1472, 1480, 1492, 1496, and 1526. Many documents arising in the course of these enumerations have survived, and M. Cuvelier has sought from them information on the population of Brabant in the later Middle Ages and the early sixteenth century.

His result is a real achievement. Most of the successful studies in



medieval demography thus far—notably in Germany—have related to towns. The materials available for wider groups have seemed so discouraging that not longer ago than 1882 one expert in the field, Paasche, declared unsolvable the problem of knowing, even approximately, the population of an entire region for medieval times. M. Cuvelier however, apparently by starting with the threads unravelled by French scholars in regard to the nature of house-enumerations in northern France, has sufficiently mastered the obstacles to fruitful interpretation of such documents to produce a study that both covers a whole region and seems fitted to stand the severest criticism—certainly the first trustworthy work of such scope on the population of the old Low Countries. He has succeeded in telling not only how many people there were in Brabant at successive times, but as well their distribution—as between town and country and where in each—and in considerable measure their economic and social status. The inhabitants numbered it would seem, in 1437, about 450,000. During the hard years toward the end of the century they decreased to 400,000. By 1526 they were a half-million, about one-fifth of the number dwelling in the same region to-day. As to the chief towns, Louvain, at the head in the fourteenth century but never with more than 25,000, slowly declined; Brussels, at its height in the early fifteenth, declined in turn; while Antwerp rose from some 16,000 in 1437 to about 50,000 in 1526—increasing, by forty years later, to double this number. All this, with much else, is set forth in a detailed introduction that extends beyond three hundred pages, and in a synoptic table of about fifty pages. In addition, forty-five of the documents employed are given, either *in extenso* or in part. They are so selected that the collection as a whole, besides showing the real character of the *fouages* in Brabant—enumerations not of abstract fiscal units but of actual houses—throws light on the administrative processes used to give effect to a grant of aid that was to be levied according to such an enumeration. The editing is done with all requisite pains, and the whole volume is published in the sumptuous manner long maintained for the quartos of the Belgian Royal Historical Commission.

A similar study on Luxembourg is in progress, with the first volume already in the press. It is to be hoped that the materials available for other provinces as well—some are known for at least Flanders, Hainaut, and Namur—may soon be utilized.

E. W. Dow.

*The Latin Works and the Correspondence of Huldreich Zwingli, together with Selections from his German Works.* Edited with introduction and notes by Samuel Macauley Jackson; translations by Henry Preble, Walter Lichtenstein, and Lawrence A. McLouth. Volume I., 1510-1522. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912, pp. xv, 292.) This volume begins the fulfilment of a plan long contemplated by the late Professor Jackson. Since his first publications on Zwingli and the Zürich Reformation, the materials have multiplied and the

papers of the reformer have been subjected to further critical recensions. A new edition of the *Works* of Zwingli now well advanced under the direction of Köhler and Finsler has furnished the contents of this volume, which now presents in English dress the Latin and German writings previous to 1523. These are introduced by a translation of the original life of Zwingli by Oswald Myconius, his friend and contemporary, who condenses the main facts of the reformer's career into the convenient space of twenty-four pages.

The writings of Zwingli are diversified in value. His fables, for example, are not worth preserving as literature, but they form part of the development which brings forth the author as a moral and political reformer. Nearly every thing in this volume displays Zwingli in his public character rather than in his purely personal aspects. He appears first in protest against the mercenary military service in his accounts of the Italian campaigns, but when firmly settled in his pastorate in Zürich his objections to ecclesiastical practices and theological doctrines gradually come to light. In 1522 appeared his pamphlet on the use of food in Lent and from that time on the war with the established system began to be earnest. The controversy was naturally held with his superior the Bishop of Constance, and the extreme point reached in 1522 was the petition of eleven ministers to permit the marriage of priests. This must have been an expression of views rather than an expectation that the rule would be changed, but it is most important for the development of the Reformation movement. The defense of the reformers at this stage is set forth with great particularity in Zwingli's reply to the bishop, dated August 22, 1522, and occupying nearly one hundred pages in the translation. The Reformation had not yet been officially adopted in Zürich at the point at which the present volume closes.

The labors of editor and translators must be highly commended. Occasionally one might quarrel with a word like "Senate" for "city council", but this was the Latin word used by Zwingli, and the fact is duly explained in the notes. The translation reads as smoothly as the originals well allow, as these are not at all models of style, either in German or in Latin. As to comments upon the text the editor had the benefit of the latest and most competent students of the period. As to type and appearance the series is in accord with the dignity of the subject.

J. M. VINCENT.

*La France et le Saint Empire Romain Germanique depuis la Paix de Westphalie jusqu'à la Révolution Française.* Par Bertrand Auerbach, Professeur à l'Université de Nancy. [Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.] (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1912, pp. lxxiii, 485.) It is a very bold enterprise with the possibilities of much labor and a small harvest to undertake a history of the relations between France and the Holy Roman Empire between 1648 and 1789. Some one, I believe it is Pro-

fessor Pollard, has called the old German Empire the Cheshire cat of history and if there ever was a time when the cat faded away leaving only its smile it was in the century and a half between the treaty of Westphalia and the beginning of the revolutionary wars. No one since the days of Putter has devoted to it any sober and largely conceived independent treatment. To attempt to find its policy is like trying to pick up a shadow. To seek the policy of any other nation in the records of the Diet at Regensburg is to turn one's back on realities and attempt to describe them from their reflection in a wavy and very badly cracked mirror. Existence was the sole duty of such an organization and its sole achievement. By that it consecrated and maintained an order that neither princes nor emperors, Catholics nor Protestants, natives nor foreigners, wanted seriously to disturb. It prevented German political atheism by keeping incense ascending before the altar of a dead political deity. So far as the empire is concerned the elaborate study of Professor Auerbach shows not only that the deity was dead but that his worshippers gave little else but lip-service.

Under such circumstances it could hardly be expected that large results would be obtained even by such a thorough treatment as the author has given the policy of the French—one might almost say of Louis XIV., for one-half the book is very properly given to his reign. The treaty of Westphalia was incomplete. Questions concerning Alsace had been left open for future adjustment. Louis sought to make his claims perfect and complete. For the sake of more extensive influence in Germany he tried to make use of the fact that he was a guarantor of Westphalia. When that did not achieve his purpose he claimed membership in the Diet. He thought of himself as a possible emperor. In fact he sought to do what the past of the monarchy and the voice of the French nation called upon him to do, to push French authority and boundaries to the Rhine. The thesis has been phrased by no one better than by Sorel (*L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, I. 244-336). The results in the period under consideration were *nil*. Gradually the efforts of Louis and his successors died away. The French envoys became successively weaker men, less well supplied with money and instructions. Their reports, like everything emanating from Regensburg, soon lost themselves in petty detail, were not read or were but tardily answered from Paris. The problem was passed on to the Revolution and the Bonapartes. The solution was furnished by Bismarck in 1870. It is at least interesting to see French scholarship still concerned in such an objective way with the question of Alsace and the Rhine frontier.

Professor Auerbach has done all that could possibly be done short of going through the reports from Regensburg now stored in the German archives and no one who has handled this material would exact that. He has used the French archives, the contemporary literature, of which some excellent summaries are given, and above all has exploited recent literature however fragmentary or deeply buried in academy proceedings and provincial historical publications. His foot-notes are

a mine of bibliographical information. Upon many subordinate points his work throws needed light, *e. g.*, the methods and temper of the imperial Diet, the knowledge or rather ignorance of French in Germany in the age of Louis XIV. (*cf.* pp. 51 and 210), etc.

G. S. FORD.

*Le Congrès de Rastatt, 11 juin 1798-28 avril 1799.* Correspondance et Documents publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine, par MM. P. Montarlot et L. Pingaud. Tome II. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1912, pp. 407.) The 143 documents included in this volume cover the extremely interesting months of the formation of the Second Coalition, as they run from September 28, 1798, to February 20, 1799. The actual negotiations at Rastatt were as dreary as ever, but the side-lights on the greater drama of diplomacy which was being enacted in the chief capitals of Europe afford entertainment if not instruction. Only once did the imposing diplomacy with the imperial deputation rise above triviality into major importance. The French ultimatum of December 6 startled the dilatory and wavering Austria sufficiently to postpone its avowed adhesion to the Second Coalition for three months. Austria's acceptance of the terms of the ultimatum set Roberjot seriously to the task of arranging a tentative schedule of territorial compensations east of the Rhine for the dispossessed princes, which was to serve Bonaparte and Talleyrand as a basis for the reorganization of Germany in 1803. By the end of February, Austria was acting in open defiance of France, but the French envoys continued at Rastatt treating with lesser German princes until the catastrophe of April 28.

Fifty-four of the documents are letters from Roberjot to Talleyrand, and sixty-nine from Jean Debry to Talleyrand, Treilhard, Merlin of Douai, or Sieyès. There are thirteen other letters of Debry to various persons, and seven miscellaneous documents. The collection contains no letter from Bonnier, the third of the French envoys; and no letter addressed to Reubell, though Guyot's recent volume quotes from letters of Bonnier to Reubell. The collection, with two or three slight exceptions, contains no letters from the members of the Directory nor from Talleyrand to the envoys. Some, but not all, of the official notes exchanged by the two delegations in the Congress are included. Not a word of German correspondence appears. These volumes, therefore, are but a partial contribution to the documentary history of "*cette parade politique de Rastatt*".

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

*Scotland and the French Revolution.* By Henry W. Meikle, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer in Scottish History in the University of Edinburgh. (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1912, pp. xix, 317.) This monograph is a discussion of the various political reforms agitated in Scotland in the period from 1780 to 1832. Although the title indicates that the author set out to determine the influence of the French Revolution

on these movements, he nowhere sums up his conclusion on that subject unless it be in the general statement (p. 215) that: "In Scotland, as in England, the French Revolution had retarded the progress of liberal opinion." But the eleven scholarly and enlightening chapters which Dr. Meikle has written afford ample evidence for more interesting and novel conclusions. His main theme, as he remarks in his preface, is "the political awakening of Scotland". It is true that he continually assumes that the American and French Revolutions played a large part in this awakening. But the bulk of the evidence offered in this book would seem to show that these discontents were rather caused by questions of a local character, such as the "patronage controversy", the agitation for burgh reform, the corn law of 1791, and in general the disposition of the government at London to favor the landed interests at the expense of the less fortunate classes. Indeed, Dr. Meikle seems at times to appreciate fully that the rapid growth of manufacturing industries and the consequent segregation of a laboring class had prepared the way for just such a democratic quickening as came in England and Scotland alike in the years from 1790 to 1794. The French Revolution merely gave the "shock" that "roused the industrial classes to political life" (p. 40). Nevertheless, the general impression that prevails in the book is that, since the politicians who opposed this democratic movement insisted on calling it a product of the French Revolution, somehow there was a causal relation between the cataclysm in France and the political ferment in Scotland.

Perhaps this question can never be finally settled. We cannot know whether the British laborers and artisans would so soon have given voice to their demand for a part in the government had not the Revolution in France taken place. But he little understands this movement in Great Britain who does not remember that its programme was formulated before 1789 and that the conditions that gave rise to it were very largely of a domestic character. And the most interesting as well as the most useful chapters of Dr. Meikle's study are those in which he sets forth in a rather striking fashion some of the aggravated conditions which caused the humbler classes in Scotland to begin to demand a voice in the councils of state.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

*Mémoire de Marie Caroline Reine de Naples intitulé de la Révolution du Royaume de Sicile par un Témoin Oculaire.* Par R. M. Johnston, M.A., Professeur Adjoint à l'Université Harvard. (Cambridge: Harvard University; London: Henry Frowde. 1912. Pp. xxvii, 340.) In the editing and publication of this document Professor Johnston has fulfilled his long-standing promise to readers of *The Napoleon Empire in Southern Italy*, and has added a sixteenth volume to the *Harvard Historical Studies*. Why a volume in this series, essentially American as to authorship and publication, should be presented in French by a "Professeur Adjoint à l'Université Harvard", is not explained. The

question involved, being principally one of personal judgment, does not however call for discussion in so brief a review. The original of the memoir occupies some three hundred large pages of manuscript with "pièces justificatives" covering half as many more. It purports to relate the course of events in Sicily during the years 1805 to 1814, but is written for the avowed purpose of showing that the revolutionary movements of the time and the resulting misfortunes of an angelic and abused royal family were due to the malevolence of that "satrape Britannique", that "grossier caporal", Lord William Bentinck. Professor Johnston believes that the author was the queen herself and that the document was intended for presentation at the Congress of Vienna. While he does not succeed in establishing beyond question the authorship, from the internal evidence, which alone is available, he is able to arrive at a reasonable certainty from the style employed and the knowledge displayed. The corroborative proof, which he attempts to supply through facsimiles of handwriting, is inconclusive.

The work of the editor has been unsparing and skillful. In the foot-notes, which are extremely full and valuable, we have unpublished documents from the Record Office, the British Museum, Welbeck Abbey, and the Archivio di Stato at Naples, with citations from Blaquièrre, Cresceri (who by the way is invariably referred to as Crescieri), from Leckie, Orloff, and Marmont. From the careful collation of these materials the editor believes he has produced final proof that Marie Caroline was in correspondence with Napoleon and Murat, and that Bentinck was anything but the overbearing and violent proconsul described by Helfert and other apologists of the queen. Students of the period will probably agree with him, and will rejoice that several related problems have been advanced nearer to a final solution. But the fact that the most important results have been obtained from materials cited in the foot-notes raises doubt as to the wisdom of the whole method of presentation. Mr. Johnston has told us that his book "can only hope to obtain a circulation in directly inverse ratio to its historical interest and importance". Judged on such a test it will probably rank high. But it does not appear that either interest or importance would have been lessened had he made its appeal broader by telling the story in his own excellent style, retaining the copious documentation where it is really important, and sparing us the unpleasant necessity of following the tedious complaints and pitiful lies of this drug-deranged sister of Marie Antoinette.

HERBERT C. BELL.

*Correspondance du Comte de la Forest, Ambassadeur en Espagne, 1808-1813.* Publiée pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine, par Geoffroy de Grandmaison. Tome VI., Janvier-Août, 1812. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1912, pp. 403.) The sixth volume of the correspondence of the Comte de la Forest describes conditions in Spain from January to August, 1812. It opens with a dismal picture of King Joseph's actual situation, *peint par lui-même*. "I am reduced to the

province of Madrid. The Government of France has promised to advance me a million francs a month. My treasury has only received half of that and, moreover, the amounts for November and December are still due. I am in debt to everybody for even my most necessary current expenses. The misery of my civil servants is so great that one of my principal officials has no fire in his house and another has no bread. Can the Emperor take offense if I insist upon the prompt payment of the million a month?" (P. 7.) The volume closes with the French armies defeated at the hands of Wellington and with the king obliged to leave Madrid and able, only with great difficulty, to reach the north of Spain. This was the beginning of an end that was to come shortly and decisively.

As this series of volumes progresses the impression deepens that M. de la Forest discharged his vexatious and ungrateful task as French ambassador to the improvised and sorely harassed court of Spain with intelligence and fidelity. Joseph considers him the "intermediary" between himself and Napoleon and takes frequent occasion in the audiences which he grants to him to express frankly his grievances and complaints. These La Forest transmits to Paris without reservation, though evidently without sympathy. Indeed, it is these revelations of the varying states of Joseph's mind that give their main value to the despatches of the ambassador. From this point of view perhaps the most important section of this book is the lengthy despatch of April 11, 1812, descriptive of a very intimate interview of over three hours' duration between the ambassador and the king, an interview which covered a wide range of topics and included an exhaustive analysis of the general situation (pp. 170-183).

Joseph's financial expedients, necessarily "d'une stérilité extrême", his attempts, also necessarily futile, to build up a real national party among the Spaniards which should be favorable to his interests, his humiliating relations with the French marshals, who, with more or less politeness, defied or ignored him even after he had been made commander-in-chief, the hopeless antinomy between his position as King of Spain and as a French prince, the growing confidence and insolence of the enemies of France, their ingenious fecundity in the art of creating consternation among the French intruders by various devices, and the gradual and alarming emergence of Wellington as the leading personal factor in the general situation, are some of the subjects upon which this interesting volume throws vivid light.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*Die Deutschen in Russland, 1812: Leben und Leiden auf der Moskauer Heerfahrt.* Von Paul Holzhausen. (Berlin, Morawe und Scheffelt, 1912, pp. xxxii, 260.) This attempt to let the German survivors of Napoleon's Grand Army tell their own story of the terrible campaign of 1812 has produced an interesting narrative. The danger of an unwieldy mass of undigested evidence has been avoided as well

as the too strident sounding of the patriotic note. The great Corsican is treated throughout with profound respect and praise of the bravery of such leaders as Ney and Murat is never stinted. For the taste of the present reviewer at least there is too much military history, but the author may plead in excuse that many of his witnesses were expert soldiers and that without the orderly exposition of the campaign the human records which are his primary interest could not so clearly convey their vibrant message of sufferings, heroisms, and dark misdeeds. An immense material has been consulted, much of it stored in the archives of half a dozen German states and now brought to light for the first time. The tabulation of these sources in an appendix is for scholars a welcome feature of the work. The collective picture of the Russian disaster struck off by these German narrators gives a host of fresh and vivid touches, but is in the main merely corroborative of what has gradually established itself as the authentic story of the campaign. Thus we see that the dissolution of the army really began on the eastward march; we get new evidence of the Russian policy of devastation, including the deliberate destruction of the capital city; and we may once again convince ourselves that Napoleon's military genius did not decline in Russia, numerous as his strategic mistakes may have been, owing, as is only too plain, to a fundamentally mistaken political course. The skill of some of the impressionistic sketches of these German soldiers is surprising, as, for instance, the swift glimpse of Murat (p. 136) and the gripping narratives of the Beresina crossing (part II, pp. 112-116). The author's own power comes to the front throughout the chapters dealing with the retreat, which he develops into a comprehensive panorama without abandoning his plan of giving the floor to successive eye-witnesses. But the most enduring impression of this new tale of Napoleon's overthrow is, like all its predecessors, associated with the almost incredible sufferings of the poor soldiers, who once more pass before us in scenes more moving than the pictures Dante drew of his imaginary Hell. In spite of occasional degradation to stark savagery, the hero of the unique drama is man—the average European of whatever nationality—who seen trudging over the ice-bound Russian plain proclaims himself to be only a little below the angels.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

*The Japanese Nation: its Land, its People, and its Life, with special Consideration to its Relations with the United States.* By Inazo Nitobé, A.M., Ph.D., LL.D., President of the First National College, Japan. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912, pp. xiv, 334.) This book contains the lectures and addresses of the first exchange professor from Japan to the United States, which were delivered in America in 1911-1912. One gathers from the preface that Professor Nitobé's purpose is to serve as a convoy of "warm human feeling rather than of cold scientific truth", and to add a note toward the "fuller harmony of diverse nations or of discordant notions" (pp. vi, viii). Incidentally



to this purpose he presents more or less historical information, which is to be found chiefly in chapters IX., X., and XI. entitled, respectively, Japan as Colonizer, American-Japanese Intercourse prior to the Advent of Perry, and the Relations between the United States and Japan. Not much of this information is new. Some of it the author has drawn from his earlier book, *The Intercourse between the United States and Japan* (Baltimore, 1891), which contains materials apparently derived from Japanese sources. All who have attempted to write of American-Japanese relations have felt the need of materials of this kind. It is hoped that some day Professor Nitobé will be able to enlarge his contributions to a history of these relations by a thorough exploration of the sources of information in his own country.

A few doubtful or erroneous statements were noted. It is rather improbable that Commodore Porter wrote to Secretary Monroe in 1815 respecting a Japanese mission (pp. 262, 279). Mr. Edmund Roberts twice received instructions to negotiate with Japan (p. 262). Authorities are not agreed that "Commodore Biddle's mission was worse than a mere failure" (p. 269). Commodore Aulick proceeded to China and there received word of his removal (p. 276). The statement that the Japanese can call Perry the benefactor of their country "only by a rhetorical stretching of the term", while somewhat guarded by the author, is nevertheless extreme (p. 320).

C. O. PAULLIN.

*Readings in American Constitutional History, 1776-1876.* Edited by Allen Johnson, Professor of American History, Yale University. (Boston, New York, Chicago, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912, pp. xvii, 584.) Of the publication of source-books on American history there seems to be no end, yet this work fills a want not supplied by others such as those by MacDonald, Hart, Beard, Caldwell, and Reinsch. It is divided into nine parts, following for the most part the general periods of American history, with 192 documents to illustrate such topics as the administration of the colonies, formation of state and federal constitutions, relation and powers of Congress, the judiciary and the President, development of national sovereignty and states' rights, and the Constitution in its relation to slavery, the Civil War, and reconstruction. The book is intended to supply the needs of undergraduates in American history and is an application of the "case system" to the study of constitutional history. This is interpreted broadly and includes, as the author states, material on the history of governmental processes. The outlook is national, though some attention has been paid to state constitutional development. Besides chapters on the ordinary topics of constitutional development there are some which are particularly interesting and contain matter not so well brought out in other books of this type. For example one on presidential initiative in determining foreign policy, another on presidential dictatorship, and a third on the basis of the new democracy. Many cases are given while

the remainder of the material is drawn largely from such sources as the debates of Congress, writings of statesmen, messages of presidents, etc. The introductions to the several extracts are excellent though brief. There is no bibliographical apparatus other than a bare reference to the source from which the extract is drawn. This omission is somewhat unfortunate, for references might have been given to show students where to find contemporary or later comment on the principles of constitutional development illustrated by the extract. In this respect the volume does not compare favorably with those edited by MacDonald. The author would have added greatly to the value of the book if he had included material on the period since reconstruction. The development of the power of the executive and the judiciary since the Civil War with respect to their influence on legislation is a subject that the average undergraduate should know more about. However this book is a valuable addition to this phase of the literature of American history, and it should prove very useful for college instruction in the subject.

*Causes and Effects in American History: the Story of the Origin and Development of the Nation.* By Edwin W. Morse. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912, pp. xxvi, 302.) This is a book for the general reader—in fact for the very general reader. For the story with which the author deals ranges from the voyages of the Northmen to the conditions in Cuba in the early part of 1912, and all within the compass of less than three hundred pages. The style is pleasantly readable. The alert suggestiveness of the allusions to many important matters—they can hardly be more than allusions—will cause the book to find favor with the man who “wants a one-volume sketch of the whole thing”.

The title may mean anything, of course. As a matter of fact, Mr. Morse, in the course of the narrative presents many happenings as causes, and many as effects. And in a number of instances topics thus mentioned are developed with a generosity of space-allotment not usual in such general treatments. The chapter on the High Tide of American Commerce is an instance of this.

But the purpose of the writer is described in the preface in terms which indicate an ambitious project. He wishes to give a view of the “large currents of thought, feeling, and action which from generation to generation . . . have modified and shaped the destinies of the American people”. His aim is to emphasize “the important parts which intellectual and religious freedom, industrial and commercial activity, and even literature and the fine arts . . . have played in shaping the life of the people”.

To the reviewer it seems that this emphasis is achieved at the cost of clearness in bringing out the organic development of national life. The story of national development is more than a pageant. Political and party activities may not be the whole of national life but they live in closer relation to the heart of things than they are allowed to appear in this book.

CHARLES W. SPENCER.

*Een Studie over het Grondbezit in de Vereenigde Staten van Noord-Amerika.* Door Meester Hendrik ver Loren van Themaat. (Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink en Zoon, 1912, pp. vi, 111, vii). Dr. ver Loren van Themaat is a young Dutch burgomaster who, having a year of absence from his official duties, spent it in the United States, chiefly in Madison and Washington, in the study of the American land system. The present small book is a thesis toward obtaining the doctorate in political science at Leyden last July. It represents but a small portion of the large task which Dr. ver Loren has set himself, in the study of American landholding, for the benefit of his compatriots. A work upon this subject written in Dutch is obviously not addressed to American readers. The present chapters are frankly based on secondary materials, but on the best of such, and studied with care. They present an intelligent, accurate, though not always adequate, study of the processes of colonization and the development of land law and landed possessions in Virginia, North Carolina, New England, and Pennsylvania in the colonial period, and of those phases of land policy which mark the settlement, in the post-revolutionary period, of the up-country and western domains of Virginia and the Carolinas, and of western New York. In this last, as is natural, special attention is paid to the history of the Holland Purchase, though without bringing Dutch or other than American sources to bear upon that history.

*Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts.* Volume I., 1636-1656; volume II., 1656-1662. (Salem, Essex Institute, 1911, 1912, pp. viii, 502; x, 506.) These excellent volumes, edited by Mr. George Francis Dow, present the historical scholar with a wonderful mass of valuable material for the economic and social history of early Massachusetts. The county court, for nearly all the period involved, holding quarterly sessions, had jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases of all sorts, except cases of divorce, or of crime involving life, limb, or banishment. Its records for Essex County, and the part of old Norfolk County now in Essex, are voluminous, amounting to nineteen volumes for the period previous to 1692, with fifty-six folio volumes of accompanying papers and files. It is obvious how minute a mass of particulars respecting life in Essex County might be expected from such a source, and the two thick volumes before us do not disappoint this expectation. All is, to be sure, presented in abstract, but abstract very skillfully composed, in such a manner as to preserve every name and every fact that historian, genealogist, or sociologist need care for. Records and files have both been drawn upon, but are presented with appropriate distinction of typography. The indexes, sixty or seventy pages in each volume, are very elaborate, as in such a book they should be. The classified entries under such heads as Animals, Buildings, Clothing, Crimes (a case of accusation of witchcraft as early as 1659), Furnishings, Tools, Utensils, are models of intelligence, and will make the volumes useful to many to whom individual Essex County men and women are less an object of interest than early Massachusetts life.

*Merchant Venturers of Old Salem: a History of the Commercial Voyages of a New England Family to the Indies and Elsewhere in the XVIII. Century.* By Robert E. Peabody. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912, pp. 168.) This is the kind of book for which the student of economic history feels grateful. Unlike the political historian who deals mainly with public affairs, he must of necessity pry into the private business of individuals. What he desires most to find out is how the people gain their livelihoods and all the circumstances which affect their ability to do so. This is the part of every man's activity about which he is least likely to speak or write freely. It is accordingly extremely difficult to secure a thorough knowledge of economic life even in very recent times. To have the business affairs of one of the leading commercial houses of New England in the eighteenth century laid open is therefore something to be thankful for. The author of this volume has apparently had access to a large amount of the correspondence and accounts of the Derby family of Salem for two generations, from about 1735 to the end of the century, and from this source has gleaned much information concerning New England commerce during this period. Nothing new as to its general character is revealed, but many details are brought out which enable us to gain a much clearer understanding of its importance to the economic life of the community. Such for example are the lists of commodities which made up the cargoes of the ships with their values; the way these stocks of commodities were collected by the merchants for export and how they had to be peddled out in the West Indies; the risks which were incurred in times of peace as well as in war, with the rates of insurance paid; the enormous profits which sometimes resulted from a voyage; the nature of privateering as a business venture; the character of the men who carried on this trade and the kind of training they received; the instructions given to the captains and their financial transactions, the shares which they were given in the cargoes, together with the compensation paid to the officers and common seamen. Many more such details concerning the business activity of men in other callings are needed before we can reconstruct the economic life of colonial and revolutionary times.

GUY S. CALLENDER.

*Journals of the Continental Congress.* Edited from the Original Records in the Library of Congress by Gaillard Hunt, Chief, Division of Manuscripts. Volumes XIX., XX., 1781, January 1-April 23, April 24-July 22. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912, pp. xi, 436, 437-776.) These volumes are much smaller in bulk than their immediate predecessors, for the records in the journals become rather meagre, especially toward the end of the year. The year 1781 is nevertheless noteworthy in the history of the Continental Congress because of efforts toward important constructive legislation. It is especially signalized by the adoption of the Articles of Confederation as a result of their

ratification by Maryland after a long delay. That the Articles were, however, defective as an instrument of government had already become apparent, and measures were at once taken looking toward an enlargement of the powers of Congress (March 6, May 2, August 22). Important steps were also taken (February 16, April 5, July 18) toward establishing a system of federal courts. On the financial side, in particular, the federal system was on the verge of collapse. On January 15 Congress sent to the states an urgent appeal for funds with which to pay the arrears due the army, following up the appeal with statements of the condition of the federal finances (February 19, April 18). Meanwhile, the system of requisitions had proved to be so utter a failure that Congress took the important step of asking the states for power to levy a duty of five per cent. on imports, the proceeds to be used for discharging the principal and interest of the public debt. The hopes from this measure were destined ultimately to be dashed by the refusal of Rhode Island to sanction this federal tax. The country was saved from immediate bankruptcy through a subsidy from the French government and the assistance of that government in obtaining a loan. Another important series of measures was the overhauling of the executive departments by substituting single executive heads in place of the cumbersome and inefficient boards and committees of Congress. The appointment of a Superintendent of Finance (February 20) did much to put the finances of the Confederation on a sounder basis.

*A Journey to Ohio in 1810, as recorded in the Journal of Margaret Van Horn Dwight.* Edited with an introduction by Max Farrand. [Yale Historical Manuscripts, I.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1912, pp. vi, 63.) It is not often that one reads a more charming account of life a hundred years ago than this first volume of the *Yale Historical Manuscripts* series. As the editor explains in the brief introduction, Margaret Van Horn Dwight, a niece of Timothy Dwight of Yale, and a great-granddaughter of Jonathan Edwards, travelled from New Haven to Warren, Ohio, in the fall of 1810, keeping this diary to send back to her cousin in New Haven. The journey was accomplished by wagon and occupied six weeks, the company including a deacon, of whose parsimony Margaret often complains, his wife, son, and daughter, and various others who joined them for brief periods. In addition to the enjoyment afforded by the writer's shrewd humor and delightful lack of self-consciousness the little volume is a valuable addition to the social history of the period and the region. The accommodations offered to travellers of the day were a continual source of complaint to Margaret, the beds dirty, the food poor, the people rude, indeed it became a cause of rejoicing before the journey was over to find a tavern which could afford the party a room to themselves. The dress, the language, and the habits of the people they met are all commented upon with keen interest. "We are at a Dutch tavern almost crazy. In one corner of the room are a set of dutchmen talking in dutch so loud, that my brain

is almost turn'd. . . . I believe at least 50 dutchmen have been here to day to smoke, drink, swear, pitch cents, almost dance, laugh and talk dutch and stare at us" (pp. 15, 16).

The journey stretched much beyond the time expected, and the high spirits of the writer and her interest in the country lessened before the weary trip across the mountains was over, but her courage did not fail. The form of the book is most attractive.

*Governors' Letter-Books, 1840-1853.* Edited with introduction and notes by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson, University of Illinois. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. VII., Executive Series, vol. II.] (Springfield, Ill., Illinois State Historical Library, 1911, pp. cxviii, 469.) This volume of the Illinois State Historical Library *Collections* contains the letters of Governors Carlin, Ford, and French, found in volumes IV., V., and VI. of the manuscript series of "Governors' Letter-Books" in the office of the secretary of state and in time covers the years from 1840 to 1853. Unfortunately, the manuscript series is incomplete. There are no letters of Governor Duncan's administration (1834-1838), none for the first year of Governor Carlin's (1838-1839), and none for the last year of Governor Ford's (1844-1845). The destruction in the great Chicago fire of a considerable number of the Duncan manuscripts renders impossible the completion of the series and the loss is a serious one.

The defeat of Black Hawk and the beginning of steam navigation upon Lake Michigan ushered in a period of rapid development (1834-1855)—a period in which the population of the state increased fivefold and changes, heavy with responsibility, followed closely upon each other. The rapid growth during the first few years of this period encouraged the state to undertake a gigantic scheme for internal improvement and to indulge in some reckless banking experiments which involved it in serious financial difficulties and all but destroyed its credit. We regret greatly the absence of letters for the years 1834-1839, which undoubtedly would have given us an insight into the responsibilities of an executive whose wisdom and patience must have been sorely tried in directing the over-enthusiastic legislatures which voted away the state's money to finance such ventures.

The period covered by this volume (1840-1853) is one in which the state suffered for the errors of preceding years. The internal improvement system had burdened it with a tremendous debt and consequently a great part of the correspondence of Governors Ford and French is devoted to the question of finances (chs. II., III., IV.). The financing of the Illinois-Michigan Canal, the only important project not abandoned after the collapse of the "system" occupies much of Governor Carlin's attention (ch. I.). This is by far the most valuable part of the work for the necessity of maintaining the financial integrity of the state pushed into the background other questions which would have demanded attention under ordinary conditions.

Some space is given to the discussion of the proposed Central railroad (ch. iv.), and some to the question of slavery which comes up in connection with the Eells and Wade cases (chs. ii. and iii.). The controversy between the state of Illinois and the city of St. Louis over the proposed improvement of the St. Louis harbor was sufficiently serious to cause Governor French to talk of using force to protect the rights of the state (ch. iii.). Little is said of such important affairs as the Mormon agitation or the constitutional convention of 1847.

An introductory chapter gives a careful account of Governor Ford's administration, treating of questions which receive little mention in the letters. An appended list of letters (371 in all) acts as a guide to the work and further assistance is given by an unusually complete index.

WILLIAM V. POOLEY.

*Letters of Ulysses S. Grant to his Father and his Youngest Sister, 1857-1878.* Edited by his nephew, Jesse Grant Cramer. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912, pp. vii, 182.) This book contains sixty-four letters (running from August 22, 1857, to January 13, 1885) and a proclamation by Grant, and (pp. 159-182) a curious feminine justification of the South. The notes introducing the several letters for the most part clarify family relationships. The letters are mostly short and would be of little historical interest if not written by Grant. Still pages 12 to 14 refer interestingly to slavery conditions, 17, 19, 20, and 55, to politics, 28 to 36 enlistment, and 44 and 45 to secessionist sentiment in Missouri.

The letters confirm the commonly accepted views of Grant's character, but, while extremely reticent, suggest somewhat more change than is generally recognized. The first show a strong, simple, somewhat boyish and to all appearance commonplace man. The letter of April 21, 1861, to his father, giving his position on the war, is a noble and appealing document. That of February 9, 1862, after the capture of Fort McHenry, gives the best self-revelation. The joy of fighting, competence, and confidence, show that the man has found his vocation. "Your plain brother, however, has as yet no reason to feel himself unequal to the task, and fully believes that he will carry on a successful campaign against our rebel enemy. I do not speak boastfully but utter a presentiment."

Heavier responsibilities bring shorter letters, sometimes a little curt and grim. His father's interference disturbs him more than financial difficulties earlier, and he is forced constantly to resist attempts to use his influence to aid relatives or friends. Never an idealist, Grant emerges from the presidency a practical man of the world. He writes, March 29, 1878, expressing his disinclination to serve again as president, and his hope that the North will rally "and put in the Executive chair a firm and steady hand, free from Utopian ideas purifying the party electing him out of existence".

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*Personal Recollections of the War of the Rebellion.* Addresses delivered before the Commandery of the State of New York, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. Fourth series. Edited by A. Noel Blakeman. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912, pp. viii, 380.) This volume includes a number of interesting papers relating to the Civil War. Rear-Admiral Goodrich writes of the life of a midshipman during the war when the "Naval Academy" was at Newport, Rhode Island; Edward Curtis describes the daily round of a military hospital in Washington and tells of the post-mortem examination of President Lincoln at which he assisted; and General Edward H. Ripley in a paper, *Memories of the Ninth Vermont at Harper's Ferry Tragedy*, gives an interesting account of the defense and surrender of Harper's Ferry in 1862.

George Haven Putnam has an exceedingly interesting paper (since published in separate form) on his experience in Virginia prisons during the last year of the war; and there are three papers on the treatment of prisoners North and South: one by John Read who tells, in particular, of conditions at Camp Groce, Texas; another by Thomas Sturgis who was adjutant of a regiment on guard at Camp Morton and then himself a prisoner at Libby; and the third by Clay W. Holmes on the Elmira Prison Camp.

Special mention should be made of the addresses by General Horace Porter and Horace White at the observance of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of President Lincoln; and of the paper *Lincoln's Last Hours* by Dr. Charles A. Leale who was the first physician to reach the President's side after he was shot and attended him to the moment of his death.

The other papers that appear are interesting but do not call for comment. Nor do the sermons, except, perhaps, that of the Rev. Morgan Dix who prays, "God save us from the passion for further amendment of the noble instrument, [the Constitution] and would to God we might not see another amendment for fifty years to come!"

*The American Year Book: a Record of Events and Progress, 1912.* Edited by Francis G. Wickware, B.A., B.Sc. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1913, pp. xx, 876.) This, the third issue of the *Year Book*, in scope and form is practically the same as the issue of 1911, though the order of topics has been varied somewhat, and the topics have been more carefully subdivided. The statistics which formed the first two sections of the last volume have been placed in the departments to which they appertained, thus bringing the article on American history to the beginning of the volume. The greater part of this article, written by Professor James A. Woodburn, of the University of Indiana, is concerned with the presidential campaign of the past year, giving an excellent account of the events leading up to the nominations, written with much restraint. The remaining pages of this section treat of the doings of Congress and the closing events of the year. The editor adds



a short account of the Titanic disaster. International relations are dealt with as adequately as could be expected, by Mr. Philip M. Brown, formerly United States Minister to Honduras, and foreign affairs by Messrs. Dudley Harmon, Charles Lyon Chandler, Ernest H. Godfrey, and the editor. The series continues to prove a valuable condensed record of events of the year.

*Les Fêtes du Troisième Centenaire de Québec, 1608-1908.* Publié par le Comité du "Livre-Souvenir" des Fêtes Jubilaires. (Québec, Laflamme and Proulx, 1911, pp. 630.) Probably no historical celebration on the North American continent was ever carried out on so large a scale or in a manner so calculated to appeal to the historical imagination as the tercentenary celebration at Québec in 1908. An elaborate record of this event has been prepared by Abbé Camille Roy under official auspices, which contains an account day by day of the proceedings and events with detailed descriptions of the pageants. Of historical material the volume contains a number of old views of Québec, and a "Liste des Familles de la Province de Québec dont les Descendants occupent (en 1908) la Terre ancestrale depuis deux cents Ans ou plus." This list of over 260 families is a striking evidence of the social and economic effects of over two centuries of feudal social organization. While the present volume will in years to come constitute a most valuable document it is perhaps to be regretted that it was not thought feasible, as an important part of the celebration to bring out a notable series of documents bearing on the history of the French régime, such for example as the completion of the publication, abandoned in 1891, of the *Jugements et Deliberations du Conseil Supérieur de la Nouvelle France*.

## NOTES AND NEWS

For the first time since the foundation of this journal, a number appears not bearing upon its cover, in the list of the Board of Editors, the name of Professor George B. Adams of Yale University. He was a member of the conference which founded the REVIEW, and has been chairman of the Board from the day of its organization to the present time. That he should have declined re-election is a matter of regret to all concerned with the REVIEW, and most of all to those who have known most intimately its history during the eighteen years of its existence, and who can best appreciate the invaluable quality of the services which he has rendered in its development and guidance. It has been mentioned on a preceding page that Professor Edward P. Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania has been chosen by the Executive Council of the American Historical Association to fill the vacancy resulting from the resignation of Professor Adams.

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The official address of the treasurer of the Association has been changed from New York to 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

A price list of the publications of the Association is being prepared, and copies will be sent upon application to the secretary.

The prize essay for 1911, *The Political Activities of Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum*, by Dr. Louise F. Brown, has lately been published as a duodecimo volume of 258 pages. Subscriptions are to be sent to the secretary of the Association. The annual report for 1911 is in press, and will be distributed as soon as possible in the present year.

In the series of *Original Narratives of Early American History* an edition of the *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts*, the Labadist emissary, concerning his travels in America, mostly in the middle colonies, in 1679-1680, prepared by the Rev. B. B. James and Dr. J. F. Jameson, will appear this spring. The next volume, to be issued in the autumn, is expected to be edited by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln, and will be devoted to Narratives of the Indian and French Wars of the period from 1675 to 1698. It will contain several of the tracts relating to King Philip's War, the Captivity of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, and Cotton Mather's *Dccennium Luctuosum*.

## PERSONAL

Dr. Thomas Hodgkin died on March 2, at the age of eighty-one. A wealthy banker, of the society of Friends, he early spent his leisure in historical composition. Later he retired from business, to devote himself entirely to history, dwelling in a castle in Northumberland but travelling extensively. His great work, one recognized as of high merit, was a series of eight volumes on *Italy and Her Invaders* (1880-1889). He also wrote the first volume of the *Political History of England* (1906), and books on Theodosius, on Theodoric, and on George Fox. He was a man of the highest and most kindly character.

Professor Léon-Gabriel Pélissier, dean of the faculty of letters at Montpellier, died on November 9, 1912, at the age of forty-nine years. He was known for his studies on the relations between France and Italy, especially during the reign of Louis XII., of which the latest was *Documents relatifs au Règne de Louis XII. et à sa Politique en Italie* (Montpellier, 1912, pp. 320).

Professors James F. McCurdy of the University of Toronto, John H. Latané of Washington and Lee University, and Henry A. Sill of Cornell University will lecture to classes in the University of Chicago during the summer session.

Professor William MacDonald of Brown University will teach in the summer session of New York University, Professor Clarence E. Carter of Miami University in that of Columbia University, Mr. Roscoe R. Hill in that of the University of California.

Professor Charles V. Langlois, the eminent medievalist of the University of Paris, has been made director of the Archives Nationales.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams will deliver this spring the lectures on American history provided for by a recent foundation at the University of Oxford. His theme will be the diplomatic relations between the United States and Great Britain during the American Civil War.

Dr. Annie H. Abel, associate professor of history at Goucher College, has recently been appointed to superintend the classification of the Old Files in the Indian Office and to prepare historical material for publication. The first work is to be connected with the history of the Southwest, later, documents dealing with the second Seminole War, and with the history of the Northwest will be edited.

Professor Claude H. Van Tyne of the University of Michigan will have leave of absence from June 1913 for the ensuing academic year.

## GENERAL

General review: M. Prinnet, *Chronique des Sciences Auxiliaires de l'Histoire, Numismatique, Sigillographie, Héraldique* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

The January number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* contains, besides an account of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, and a list of doctoral dissertations now in progress in various American universities, an article on Teaching the Crusades in Secondary Schools by Professor Dana C. Munro, and one on Teaching the United States Bank in Grammar Grades by Professor Albert H. Sanford. The February number contains a lecture on the Future Uses of History, delivered this winter before the trustees of the Carnegie Institution by J. F. Jameson, and papers by various hands on the Use of the Lantern in History Classes, on the Teaching of the History of Art, on the Economics of Slavery, and on Waste in History Instruction. The issue for March opens with a paper by Mr. Sydney G. Fisher on the Legendary and Myth-making Process in the History of the American Revolution, which is followed by one on the Basis of Historical Teaching by Mr. Samuel B. Howe, and another by Mr. Claude S. Larzelere on the History Teacher and the Peace Movement.

The annual winter session of the History Section of the California Teachers' Association was held in San Francisco on January 3. The first annual meeting of the Tennessee History Teachers' Association occurred at Nashville on January 16. The History Teachers' Association of Maryland met on February 15 in Baltimore. The next meeting of the Indiana Association will be held about April 1; that of the History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland at Syracuse, on April 18 and 19; and that of the History Teachers' Association of Nebraska in May. The sixth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held at Omaha, Nebraska, on May 8, 9, and 10.

The Library of Congress expects hereafter to prepare and print an annual list of all American doctoral dissertations actually printed.

Professor Aloys Meister has himself contributed the section on *Methodik* to his *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft*, while Dr. O. Braun, privatdocent at Münster, has written the section on *Geschichtsphilosophie*. These two articles form the sixth fascicle of the first volume (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913, pp. 63), and are packed full of useful information.

A recent essay in the history of international law is A. Raestad's *La Mer Territoriale, Études Historiques et Juridiques* (Paris, Pedone, 1912).

The sixth volume of the Vicomte d'Avenel's *Histoire Économique de la Propriété, des Salaires, des Denrées* bears the subtitle *L'Évolution des Dépenses Privées* (Paris, 1913, pp. 700).

Dr. Theresa S. McMahon, instructor in the University of Washington, is the author of a careful study of *Woman and Economic Evolution or the Effect of Industrial Changes upon the Status of Woman*, which

was presented at the University of Wisconsin as a doctoral dissertation in 1908 and is now published by that university as vol. VII., no. 2, of the *Economics and Political Science* series.

Professor Frank P. Graves, author of *History of Education before the Middle Ages* and *History of Education during the Middle Ages and the Transition to Modern Times*, will shortly bring out through the Macmillan Company a concluding volume of the series, the *History of Education in Modern Times*.

The Nobel Institute of Christiania has begun the publication of a *Catalogue* of its library. The first of the four volumes contemplated, a valuable bibliography, deals with *Littérature Pacifiste* (Christiania, Aschehoug, New York, Putnam, 1912, pp. 238).

Vice-Admiral R. Siegel of the German navy is the author of *Die Flagge* (Berlin, Reimer, 1912, pp. xv, 267), a history of flags, richly illustrated in colors.

Two recent additions in the field of history to the *Home University Library* (Holt) are *Napoleon* by Mr. Herbert Fisher, and *The Navy and Sea-Power*, by Mr. David Hannay.

*The Economic Utilization of History* is the title of a small book by Professor Henry W. Farnam, which the Yale University Press has just published.

Under the joint auspices of the American Anthropological Association and the American Folk-Lore Society a journal entitled *Current Anthropological Literature* began to be published in 1912, which we believe will provide the best means available to the American historical student for keeping acquainted with recent progress in anthropology. Its contents are chiefly reviews of books and articles, short notes, and items of news.

A bibliography important to those interested in the history of medicine is "Texts illustrating the History of Medicine in the Library of the Surgeon General's Office, U. S. Army", compiled by Dr. Fielding H. Garrison, assistant librarian in the office of the surgeon-general. This is a reprint from volume XVII., second series, of the *Index Catalogue* of the library. The texts are enumerated chronologically, beginning with the Code of Hammurabi about 2250 B. C. and extending to publications of 1910.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Michels, *Zur Historischen Analyse des Patriotismus* (Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, XXXVI. 1); A. Hofmeister, *Genealogie und Familienforschung als Hilfswissenschaft der Geschichte* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 4); H. F. Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age* (American Museum Journal, December, 1912).

## ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: M. Besnier, *Chronique d'Histoire Ancienne, Grecque et Romaine*, III. *Rome et le Monde Romain* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); J. Toutain, *Antiquités Romaines*, I. (Revue Historique, January).

Professor and Mrs. George Willis Botsford have compiled *A Source-Book of Ancient History* which is published by Macmillan and Company.

M. Hoernes, in three small volumes entitled *Kultur der Urzeit*, has given a résumé of present knowledge of the stone age, the bronze age, and the iron age. Good bibliographies are appended (Leipzig, Göschen, 1912, pp. 147, 128, 120).

Dr. Eugène Cavaignac has undertaken a *Histoire de l'Antiquité* in three volumes, somewhat on the model of the works of Bury and Belsch. The publication has begun with the second volume, *Athènes, 480-330* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1912). The third volume, on *La Macédoine, Carthage, et Rome, 330-168*, is promised for 1913, while the first volume, on the earliest times, will appear last. Dr. Cavaignac is also the author of a *Histoire Financière d'Athènes du V<sup>e</sup> Siècle, le Trésor d'Athènes, 480-404* (Paris, Fontemoing).

Legrain's *Le Temps des Rois d'Ur, Recherches sur la Société Antique d'après des Textes Nouveaux* (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 159, and album of 57 plates) forms the 199th number of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*.

Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company have published *The History of the People of Israel in Pre-Christian Times*, by Mary Sarson and Mabel Addison Phillips, with a preface by Rev. A. A. David. The book traces the course of Hebrew history, with some comment on the documents pertaining to this history found in the Old Testament.

Volume XV. of the new edition of Pauly-Wissowa's *Encyclopædie* has recently appeared, extending from "Helikon" to "Hestia". With it appears the announcement that a second staff is to begin work on the letter R, thus hastening forward the completion of the work.

*Greek and Roman Portraits*, by Dr. Anton Hekler (Putnam) contains 311 plates ranging from the fifth century B. C. to the fourth century A. D. There are also forty pages of comment, a bibliography, and a table giving the location of each portrait, the whole furnishing excellent illustrative material for the study of Greek and Roman history. A German book of the same class and intention, beautifully executed, is Dr. Richard Delbrück's *Antike Porträts* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1912, pp. lxx), with 62 plates presenting portraits Egyptian, Greek, and Roman.

A standard work for students is Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, which is much more

comprehensive than this author's *Handbook*, though he regards it as an enlarged edition of the *Handbook*.

The third and last volume of Professor B. Perrin's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* has recently been issued by Messrs. Scribner. This volume includes Nicias and Alcibiades.

The Oxford University Press (Mr. Henry Frowde) will shortly issue *Aristarchus of Samos*, by Sir Thomas Heath, and *Antigonos Gonatas*, by Mr. W. W. Tarn.

Professor Ettore Pais has begun a *Storia Critica di Roma durante i Primi Cinque Secoli* with a volume of more than 800 pages, divided into three parts, dealing with the sources, the mythical period, and the regal period (Rome, Loescher, 1913).

Mr. H. Stuart Jones has furnished in his *Companion to Roman History* (Clarendon Press) a good handbook, provided with 80 plates, 65 other illustrations, 7 maps, and a text which is both interesting and informing, though open to some criticism in respect to questions of inclusion and exclusion.

*Roman Laws and Charters*, translated and edited by Dr. E. G. Hardy, contains Dr. Hardy's *Six Roman Laws* with three additional laws concerning the municipal system of the early empire, and two utterances of Claudius II. on the organization of non-municipal units in North Italy and Gaul.

*Le Travail dans le Monde Romain*, by P. Louis (Paris, Alcan, 1912, pp. 416), forms a part of the *Histoire Universelle du Travail* edited by Professor Georges Renard. The period of Roman history is treated in three parts, before the Punic Wars, from the Punic Wars to Augustus, and the imperial period, but within these periods the author is not always careful to note the varying conditions (reviewed by M. Besnier, *Journal des Savants*, January).

J. L. Strachan-Davidson has published two volumes on *Problems of the Roman Criminal Law* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, pp. xxii, 246, 288).

Messrs. Kiepert and Huelsen have published a new and enlarged edition of their well-known work on the topography of ancient Rome, *Formae Urbis Romae Antiquae* (Berlin, Reimer, pp. xix, 162), accompanied with four large maps.

*The Cults of Ostia* (pp. 98), by Lily Ross Taylor, appears as a *Bryn Mawr College Monograph*. The author has made extensive research for facts relating to worship in the old Roman port.

Two recent studies of Roman law and institutions refer especially to Egypt. E. Revillout has written *Les Origines Égyptiennes du Droit Civil Romain* (Paris, 1912), and N. Hohlwein, *L'Égypte Romaine, Recueil de Termes Techniques relatifs aux Institutions Politiques et*

*Administratives de l'Égypte Romaine, suivi d'un Choix de Textes Papyrologiques* (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 619).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Meyer, *Untersuchungen über die älteste Geschichte Babylonien und über Nebukadnezars Befestigungsanlagen* (Sitzungsberichte der k. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1912, XLVII.); J. V. Prášek, *Kyros der Grosse* (Der Alte Orient, XIII. 3); *id.*, *Kambyses* (*ibid.*, XIV. 2); W. Schulze, *Der Tod des Kambyses* (Sitzungsberichte der k. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1912, XXXVII.); H. Vincent, *Les Noms de Jérusalem* (Memnon, VI. 2); U. Kahrstedt, *Phoenikischer Handel an der Italischen Westküste* (Klio, XII. 4); A. Boucher, *La Tactique Grecque à l'Origine de l'Histoire Militaire* (Revue des Études Grecques, July); M. P. Nilsson, *Die Grundlagen des Spartanischen Lebens* (Klio, XII. 3); E. Cavaignac, *La Population du Péloponnèse aux V<sup>e</sup> et IV<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (*ibid.*); A. Schulten, *Die Ausgrabungen in und um Numantia, 1905-1912* (International Monatschrift, January); M. Bang, *Die Herkunft der Römischen Sklaven, II. Die Rechtsgründe der Unfreiheit* (Mitteilungen des k. Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abt., XXVII. 3); W. Judeich, *Das Ende von Caesars Gallischer Statthalterschaft und der Ausbruch des Bürgerkrieges* (Rheinisches Museum, LXVIII. 1); K. Eymer, *Cäsar und Tacitus über die Germanen* (Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, XXXI. 1); C. Jullian, *César et Drusus en Germanie*, I. (Journal des Savants, January); L. Holzapfel, *Römische Kaiserdaten*, I. *Nero und Galba* (Klio, XII. 4); L. Deubner, *Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius* (Mitteilungen des k. Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abt., XXVII. 1); L. Joulin, *Les Âges Protohistoriques dans l'Europe Barbare* (Comptes Rendus, July); F. Haverfield, *Ancient Rome and Ireland* (English Historical Review, January).

### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The second and concluding volume of *Das Christentum in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* by Achelis has appeared (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1912).

*Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources*, by Carl Clemen, translated by R. G. Nisbet (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark) is a study of the origin of Christianity based on ample knowledge of ancient religions and of the results of modern scholarship.

The third volume of O. Bardenhewer's *Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Litteratur* has the subtitle, *Das Vierte Jahrhundert mit Ausschluss der Schriftsteller Syrischer Zunge* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1912, pp. x, 665).

A recent volume of the *Bibliothèque de Théologie Historique* deals with *Nestorius et la Controverse Nestorienne* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1912, pp. viii, 326), and is from the pen of J. Martin.

Volume III. of Professor Hartmann Grisar's *History of Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages*, edited by Luigi Cappodelta (Kegan Paul),



carries the account to the end of the sixth century in as able a manner as that which characterizes the earlier volumes.

*L'Afrique Chrétienne* by J. Mesnage (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. xii, 593) is a supplement to *La Géographie de l'Afrique Chrétienne* of Mgr. Toulotte, whose investigations the author has completed (reviewed, *Revue Archéologique*, July).

A British and Breton saint of the sixth century is the subject of *La Vie de Saint Samson, Essai de Critique Hagiographique*, by R. Fawtier (Paris, Champion, 1913, pp. ii, 180). A new critical edition of the text of the *Vita Sancti Samsonis* is appended. The volume is number 197 of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. von Sybel, *Die Magier aus Morgenland* (Mitteilungen des k. Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abt., XXVII. 4); P. Allard, *Une Nouvelle Théorie sur le Martyre des Chrétiens de Lyon en 177* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January; Professor J. W. Thompson's thesis is also controverted by Harnack in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, XXXVIII. 3); A. d'Alès, *Tertullien et Calliste, l'Édit de Calliste* (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, October); P. J. Healy, *Constantine's Edict of Toleration* (*Catholic University Bulletin*, January); *id.*, *Social and Political Significance of the Edict of Milan* (*ibid.*, February); F. Savio, *La Conversione di Costantino Magno e la Chiesa all' Inizio del Secolo IV*. (*La Civiltà Cattolica*, February 15).

## MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General reviews: K. Dietrich, *Die Byzantinische Zeitschrift und die Byzantinischen Studien in Deutschland* (*Internationale Monatschrift*, December); D. De Kok, *Les Études Franciscaines en Hollande depuis 1894, Notes Bibliographiques et Critiques* [conclusion] (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, October).

Aicher's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Tagesbezeichnung im Mittelalter* (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1912) is a recently published aid to research in medieval history.

H. Lammens has gathered into a small volume three articles published in the *Revista degli Studi Orientali* on Ziad Ibn Abihi, *Vice-roi de l'Iraq, Lieutenant de Mo'avia I.* (Rome, 1912, pp. 139). The work is a critical study of a provincial governor who placed Mohammedan power on a firm basis in a recently conquered region, within a generation after the death of the Prophet. Another recent publication of Professor Lammens is *Fatima et les Filles de Mohomet, Notes Critiques pour l'Étude de la Sira* (Rome, Bretschneider, 1912, pp. viii, 170).

The registers of Pope John VIII. have recently been published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae* (Berlin, Weidmann).

A collection of *Études sur l'Histoire Byzantine*, by Professor Alfred Rambaud, has been published with a preface by Professor Diehl (Paris, Colin, 1912). One of the studies deals with the Bulgarian wars of the tenth century.

The fifty-seven days' pontificate of Gregory VIII. on the eve of the Third Crusade was crowded with activity which promised a notable administration, when it was cut short by sudden illness. Dr. G. Klee-  
mann's thesis, *Papst Gregor VIII., 1187* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1912, pp. 62), furnishes an excellent account, with abundant bibliographical apparatus, of the life and pontificate of this pope.

To the rich contributions of the past year to the history of the mendicant orders, the following additions are worthy of note. K. Hefele's *Die Franziskanische Wanderpredigt in Italien während des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1912, pp. 85) is practically a life of St. Bernardin of Siena. Louis Gillet has published a series of lectures under the title of *Histoire Artistique des Ordres Mendicants* (Paris, Laurens, 1912, pp. 376), which extends to the seventeenth century. The sixth volume of Mortier's *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs* (Paris, Picard, 1913, pp. 542) runs from 1589 to 1650.

Interest in the period of the Avignon papacy has been manifested by a considerable number of recent publications. The latest include an additional volume of the *Lettres de Jean XXII.* edited by A. Fayen for the *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica* (Paris, Champion, 1912), and W. Scheffler, *Karl V. und Innocenz VI.* (Berlin, Ebering, 1912). In *Vienne au Temps du Concile, 1311-1312* (Paris, Picard, 1912, pp. 66), the Abbé Claude Bouvier has summarized existing knowledge of that little-known general council. A. Seraphim has edited *Das Zeugenverhör des Franziskus de Moliano, 1312, Quellen zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Königsberg, Bever, 1912).

Two notable contributions to the history of the Council of Basel have recently appeared. Paul Lazarus has undertaken a comprehensive history of the council in his *Das Basler Konzil* (Berlin, Ebering, 1912, pp. 359), while A. Eckstein's *Zur Finanzlage Felix' V. und des Basler Konzils* (Berlin, Trowitzsch, 1912, pp. 97) deals only with the inconsistent financial expedients to which the council found itself compelled to resort (reviewed by F. Callaey, *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, January).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Rosenstock, *Zur Ausbildung des Mittelalterlichen Festkalenders* (*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, X. 3); J. de Ghellinck, *La Littérature Polémique durant la Querelle des Investitures* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January); H. Simonsfeld, *Zum Päpstlichen Schreiben von 1157, Besançon* (*Historische Vierteljahrsschrift*, XXIII. 4); F. Van Ortro, *S. François d'Assise et son Voyage en Orient* (*Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXI. 4); Paschal Robinson, *A Conjectural Chapter in the Life of St. Clare* (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, October).

## MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General reviews: M. Dunan, *Le Système Continental*, *Bulletin d'Histoire Économique*, 1900-1911 (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January); P. Bailleu, *Kriegsgeschichtliche Zentenarliteratur* (Deutsche Rundschau, December).

M. Hobohm has made a very valuable contribution to the history of the art of war in his *Machiavellis Renaissance der Kriegskunst* (2 vols., Berlin, Curtius, 1912; reviewed by H. Delbrück, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, February).

The Oxford University Press announces vol. III. of P. S. Allen's edition of the *Letters of Erasmus*, 1517-1519.

A notable volume on the relations between France and Germany has been published by Professor P. Boissonade of the University of Poitiers, a *Histoire des Premiers Essais de Relations Économiques Directes entre la France et l'État Prussien pendant le Règne de Louis XIV., 1643-1715* (Paris, Champion, 1913, pp. vi, 484).

The last addition to the *Special Campaign* series is *An Outline of Marlborough's Campaigns*, by Capt. F. W. O. Maycock.

During the past year two volumes have been added to the *Histoire Générale de l'Église* (Paris, Bloud) by Professor Fernand Mourret of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice. They will form volumes six and seven of the completed work, and deal with *L'Ancien Régime*, and with *La Révolution, 1775-1823*. The earlier volume is especially comprehensive in scope, and though written by an ardent Roman Catholic includes chapters on Protestantism, the eastern churches, and the philosophical movement of the eighteenth century. Three chapters are devoted to the history of the papacy during the period. The Gallican movement, Jansenism, Quietism, the work of St. Francis of Sales and of St. Vincent de Paul, the rise of the new religious orders, and the missionary activities in America, Africa, and the Far East are all treated. The volume covers a period of church history which has been neglected and misunderstood. In spite of its emphatically Catholic point of view and carelessness in proof-reading, this volume by Professor Mourret is a useful contribution (reviews by P. Allard, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, October; and by A. Cans, *Revue d'Histoire Moderne*, November).

A *Bibliographie de la Franc-maçonnerie et des Sociétés Secrètes*, including both printed and manuscript materials in French and Latin, is being compiled by P. Fesch, J. Denais, and R. Lay. The first fascicle, A to Cérémonie, has appeared (Paris, Société Bibliographique, 1912, pp. 276).

Philipppson's *Die Aeussere Politik Napolcons I., der Friede von Amiens, 1802* (Leipzig, Fock, 1912) and S. Bradisteanu, *Die Beziehungen Russlands und Frankreichs zur Türkei in den J. 1806 und 1807* (Berlin, Ebering, 1912) are new studies on two important features of the

Napoleonic diplomacy. Two further volumes are worth adding to the list of 1812 centenary literature: André Bouvery, *Cent Ans après 1812, Rostopchin et Kutusof, Documents Authentiques relatifs à l'Histoire de la Campagne de Russie* (Paris, Challamel, 1912), and Col. C. T. Hellmüller, *Die Roten Schweizer, 1812* (Bern, Frank, 1912, pp. 298).

No. 12 of the *Special Campaign* series is an excellent work on *The Ulm Campaign, 1805*, by Col. F. N. Maude, C. B., late of the Royal Engineers, this being the third study which Col. Maude has contributed to the series.

Pierre Albin has revised and brought up to date his collection of important treaties since 1815, *Les Grands Traités Politiques*, in a second edition (Paris, Alcan, 1912). The first volume of a new *Histoire Politique du XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* is published by Paul Feyel (Paris, Bloud, 1913, pp. viii, 579).

Edmond Bapst's *Les Origines de la Guerre de Crimée* (Paris, Delagrave, 1912, pp. 518) deals with the relations between France and Russia from 1848 until the outbreak of the war. F. Charles Roux has made a detailed study of a later phase of the relations of the two countries in *Alexandre II., Gortchakoff, et Napoléon III.* (Paris, Plon, 1913, pp. 568).

The Abbé Albert Houtin, himself a modernist, has written an excellent and sympathetic *Histoire du Modernisme Catholique* (Paris, the author, 18 rue Cuvier, 1913, pp. 458; reviews by A. Aulard, *La Révolution Française*, January; and by P. Alfarc, *Revue Critique*, January 25).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Salaris, *Gl' Italiani nella Guerra di Russia, Malo-Jaroslavetz, 24 Ottobre 1812* (Nuova Antologia, November 1); E. W. von Baumbach, *Persönliche Erlebnisse im Feldzug gegen Russland, 1812* (Deutsche Rundschau, December); A. Fournier, *Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress* [conclusion] (*ibid.*); S. Goryainov, *The Secret Agreement of 1844 between Russia and Great Britain* (Russian Review, July, November); F. C. Roux, *La France et l'Entente Russo-Prussienne après la Guerre de Crimée* (Revue Historique, January); L. Rava, *Dal Codice Civile al Codice del Lavoro* (Nuova Antologia, February 1); D. Schäfer, *Die Deutsch-Französische Sprachgrenze* (Internationale Monatschrift, October).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

General review: C. Bémont, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, I. (Revue Historique, January).

In partial pursuance of the recommendations recently made by the Royal Commission on Public Records, to the effect that a permanent committee of especially qualified scholars should be appointed to superintend the publications of the Public Record Office, the Master of the Rolls has assembled, under his own chairmanship, an advisory committee to assist him for the present in the planning and superintendence of such

publications as are edited by persons not members of the permanent official staff. The advisory committee now consists of the Master of the Rolls, chairman, the Deputy Keeper of the Records, vice-chairman, Professors C. H. Firth, A. F. Pollard, T. F. Tout, and Paul Vinogradoff, Dr. Reginald Lane Poole, Mr. H. W. V. Temperley, and Messrs. C. G. Crump and C. Johnson of the Record Office, the last acting as secretary.

Among Messrs. Dutton's spring announcements is *English History and Schools of History*, by Professor Richard Lodge.

An important contribution to English industrial history is Miss O. Jocelyn Dunlop's *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour: a History*. The volume contains a supplement on the modern problem of child labor written by Miss O. J. Dunlop and Mr. R. D. Denman.

Three volumes have been recently added to the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* (Constable): *Bedford*, vol. III., edited by William Page; *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, vol. V., also edited by Mr. Page; and *Surrey*, vol. IV., edited by H. E. Malden.

The Manorial Society has just issued its sixth annual report, which cites, among the publications of the society, *A Concordance of all Written Lawes concerning Lords of Mannors* by William Barlee (1578), edited, with a biographical preface, by the deputy-registrar; and *Kentish Manorial Incidents* by Mr. H. W. Knockner. The society is preparing a card index of all references to manors and manorial documents in the volumes of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

*Das Keltische Brittannien*, by Professor E. Windisch of the University of Leipzig, is published in the *Abhandlungen der k. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. XXIX. 6.* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912, pp. 190). The struggles of the Celts with the Romans and with the Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of the Celts are treated, but the author as a philologist has naturally given liberal attention to the Arthur legend.

The second volume of the series the *Birth of the English Church*, published by John Murray, is *Saint Augustine of Canterbury*, by Sir Henry H. Howorth, K. C. I. E.

*The Youth of Henry VIII.: a Narrative in Contemporary Letters*, by Mr. Frank A. Mumby, is to be published shortly by Messrs. Constable.

Volume 48 of the *Record Series* of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society contains papers relating to the suppression of the monasteries in Yorkshire, edited by J. W. Clay (1912, pp. xii, 196).

Dr. Hornemann has published a monograph on *Das Privy Council von England zur Zeit der Königin Elizabeth* (Hanover, Hahn, 1912).

The University Press at Oxford, England, has just published a brochure of forty-three pages entitled *John Penry, the so-called Martyr*

of *Congregationalism as revealed in the Original Record of his Trial and in Documents related thereto*, edited, with preface, introduction, and notes, by Champlin Burrage, B.Litt., librarian of Manchester College, Oxford. The discovery of the original records of Penry's trial (1593) furnishes an important contribution to an important incident in the early history of the English Separatist movement.

Mr. Bernard Nutter's *The Story of the Cambridge Baptists and the Struggle for Religious Liberty* (Cambridge, England, Heffer) is a study of the part played by the University of Cambridge in the early history of the Separatists.

Father William Forbes Leith has published, through the press of Longmans, two volumes of *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, the material being selected from manuscripts hitherto inedited.

Professor G. Rouard de Card of the University of Toulouse is the author of a monograph on *La Défaite des Anglais à Tanger en 1664* (Paris, Pedone, 1912).

*The Journal of John Stevens: containing a brief Account of the War in Ireland, 1689-1691* (Oxford, Clarendon Press), printed from a manuscript owned by the British Museum, well edited by the Rev. Robert H. Murray, is a valuable addition to the history of the Revolution in Ireland.

In *The Memoir of Sir Horace Mann* (Kegan Paul) by I. G. Sieveking, the author's interest in the subject of the volume has been distinctly secondary to his interest in the personality of Prince Charles Edward, the Young Pretender.

A brief but carefully written essay by Mr. J. A. Lovat Fraser on *John Stuart, Earl of Bute* (Putnam) is an attempt to interpret that statesman's character in the non-partizan spirit of von Ruville's portrait rather than in the spirit of the biased writings of the earlier historians.

Professor William T. Laprade of Trinity College, North Carolina, is editing for the Royal Historical Society the papers of John Robinson, secretary of the treasury under Lord North. These papers, which consist chiefly of letters, notes, and memoranda, contain valuable information about the secret service, government patronage, and parliamentary elections. They are to appear in the society's *Camden Series*.

*The Windham Papers*, in two volumes (Herbert Jenkins), with an introduction by the Earl of Rosebery, not only give an excellent picture of William Windham but also throw new light on the relations between England and France during the French Revolution.

An excellent account of the *Campaign of Trafalgar* (Longmans), viewed as part of Pitt's plan of war rather than as an achievement of Nelson, comes from the pen of Julian S. Corbett, lecturer in history to the Royal Naval War College and author of notable books in English naval history.

*The Correspondence of Lord Burghersh, afterwards Eleventh Earl of Westmorland, 1808-1840*, edited by his granddaughter and published by John Murray, while covering a wide range of topics, is especially valuable for its vivid picture of Italian affairs during Lord Burghersh's ministry at the court of Tuscany, 1813-1830.

Volume III. of Monsignor Bernard Ward's *The Eve of Catholic Emancipation* has recently appeared (Longmans).

John Lane announces *Life and Letters of William Cobbett in England and America*, by Mr. Lewis Melville.

*The Union of South Africa*, by W. Basil Worsfold (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company), is a survey of the physical characteristics of the country, the character of the native races, and the history of European colonization, by an author who has already written much on South Africa.

A valuable study of English colonization by a French observer is *La Politique Indigène de l'Angleterre en Afrique Occidentale* (Paris, Hachette, 1912, pp. xxxix, 561). The book is an account of the formation of English establishments in western Africa, especially during the last generation, based upon observations made during residence in the districts concerned.

British documentary publications: *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. XVIII., 1623-1625, ed. A. B. Hinds; *Calendar of Inquisitions post Mortem*, vol. III.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: N. S. B. Gras, *The Origin of the National Customs-Revenue of England* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, November); L. V. D. Owen, *England and the Low Countries, 1405-1413* (English Historical Review, January); G. Constant, *Le Commencement de la Restauration Catholique en Angleterre par Marie Tudor, 1553* (Revue Historique, January); C. Read, *Walsingham and Burghley in Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council* (English Historical Review, January); L. Riess, *Die Lösung des Maria Stuart Problems* (Historische Zeitschrift, CX. 2); H. W. V. Temperley, *Documents Illustrative of the Powers of the Privy Council in the Seventeenth Century* (English Historical Review, January); W. C. Abbott, *The Fame of Cromwell* (Yale Review, January); E. Lipson, *The Elections to the Exclusion Parliaments, 1670-1681* (English Historical Review, January).

## FRANCE

General reviews: R. Reuss, *Histoire de France, Révolution* (Revue Historique, January); L. Alloing, *Chronique de l'Est de la France*, II. (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

M. Pierre Caron's *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de la France depuis 1789* has now been issued in completed form (Paris, Édouard Cornély, 1912, pp. xxxix, 831). The entries run

to more than 13,000 numbers, and the indexes, of authors and persons and of places, occupy 136 pages. Upon the value of such a guide it is not necessary to dilate. Its method is sufficiently described by saying that it is the same as that of the *Répertoire Méthodique* of MM. Brière and Caron, of which the first volume was that for 1898, but which extended over the whole modern field, whereas the present work is confined to the materials on the period since 1789.

Professor E. Levasseur has written a *Histoire du Commerce de la France* (Paris, Rousseau, 1912). The work is in two volumes, one for the period prior to the Revolution, and the other for the period since 1789.

In the series of manuals for the use of historical investigators issued by Picard of Paris, J. Roman has published a *Manuel de Sigillographie Française* (1913, pp. vii, 400). The first volume of a *Manuel de Numismatique Française* by A. Blanchet and A. Dieudonné (1913, pp. vii, 431) extends through the Carolingian epoch. The early iron age, or Hallstatt period, is covered in the second volume of J. Déchelette's *Manuel d'Archéologie Préhistorique, Celtique, et Gallo-Romaine* (1913).

The council general of the department of the Seine has undertaken the publication of a series of monographs on the history of the eleven communes annexed to Paris in 1859. The first volume dealt with Bercy; the second volume, by Lucien Lambeau, is on *Vaugirard* (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. 538). The materials relate mainly to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An appendix includes twenty-one important documents, while frequent extracts from documents and references to the sources throughout the volume testify to the careful researches of the author. The volume is handsomely printed and fully indexed.

An unusually important contribution is Henri Hauser's *Le Traité de Madrid et la Cession de Bourgogne à Charles-Quint* (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 186). It is especially a study of the national sentiment in Burgundy in the years 1525 and 1526. The writer proves that there was no meeting of the States General at Cognac in the latter year, but only a meeting of the council.

The publications during the past year relating to Richelieu include the third volume (1620-1623) of his *Mémoires* published by the Société d'Histoire de France; M. Deloche, *La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu* (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. iii, 586); the first volume of J. Tournyol du Clos, *Richelieu et le Clergé de France, la Recherche des Amortissements d'après les Mémoires de Montchal* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1912); and *Le Cardinal de Richelieu et la Réforme des Monastères Bénédictins* (Paris, Champion, 1913, pp. xvi, 511). The last work is the first volume of a *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Bénédictine*.

The two-volume *Histoire des Séminaires Français jusqu'à la Révolution* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1912, pp. xv, 440, 543), by Professor A. Degert, of the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, is a chapter in the history of religious education, which will interest the students of the history of



both France and New France (reviewed by E. Albe, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, October, 1912).

In *La Dîme Ecclésiastique de XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle et sa Suppression* (Bordeaux, Imprimerie de l'Université, 1912, pp. xx, 403), Henri Marion has produced a valuable general study in legal history, but the work can scarcely be considered definitive, as the archives of only a few departments have been studied in relation to the subject. A brief account of the *dîmes inféodées* is included (reviewed by Camille Bloch, *La Révolution Française*, January).

*Madame Royale, Fille de Louis XVI. et de Marie-Antoinette: sa Jeunesse et son Mariage*, by Ernest Daudet (Hachette), and *Les Fiançailles de Madame Royale, Fille de Louis XVI., et la première Année de son Séjour à Vienne* (Plon-Nourrit) cover much the same ground, though the second is the result of a wider use of documents.

Alphonse Dunoyer's *Fouquier-Tinville, Accusateur Public du Tribunal Révolutionnaire, 1746-1795* (Paris, Perrin), because of the author's wide knowledge and careful use of documents, is of considerable historical value.

*The Journal of the Comte d'Espinchal during the Emigration*, edited by Ernest d'Hauterive and translated by Mrs. Rodolph Stawell, is published by Messrs. Chapman and Hall.

In the *Collection des Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française*, Charles Porée, archivist of the department of the Yonne, has published the first volume of *Documents relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux dans le District de Sens* (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. ccxlv, 500). The extended introduction contains many carefully prepared tables. The commission in charge of this series has issued as the first part of the 1912 volume of its *Bulletin d'Histoire Économique de la Révolution* (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. 352) a collection of the principal legislative and administrative documents regarding the regulation of commerce from 1788 to 1803. These are edited with an introduction by C. Schmidt, and are intended as a guide for the editors of documents in the series.

The most recent publications of the Société de l'Histoire de la Révolution Française are Félix Mourlot's *Le Cahier d'Observations et Doléances du Tiers État de la Ville de Caen en 1789*, and Pierre Caron's *Le Comité Militaire de la Constituante, de la Législative, et de la Convention* (Paris, 1912).

The most important recent volumes on the local history of the Revolution include *La Révolution à Nice, 1792-1800* (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. xi, 237) by Dr. Joseph Combet, professor of history at the lycée of Nice; *Le Club des Jacobins de Tulle*, which contains the complete journals of the club from 1790 to 1795 (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. 610); *La Révolution à Alençon, Année 1789* (Alençon, Coueslant, 1912, pp. xv, 304) by

Adhémar Leclère; and *La Mission du Conventionnel Lakanal dans la Dordogne en l'An II*. (Paris, Champion, 1913, pp. xxii, 710).

M. Christian Pfister, who is already known for his contributions to the history of Nancy and of Lorraine, has published *Les Assemblées Électorales dans le Département de la Meurthe, le District, les Cantons, et la Ville de Nancy* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1912, pp. xxx, 403). The volume contains the *procès-verbaux* of all the elections from 1789 to 1800, and a list of all officeholders in the circumscriptions concerned during the period. The documents are elucidated and illuminated by notes and other materials. The volume stands in a class almost by itself, as the only other works of the sort are Eschasseriaux's volume for the Charente-Inférieure, and the incomplete publications of Charavay for Paris and of Rouvière for the Gard (reviews by A. Aulard, *La Révolution Française*, December, 1912; and by C. Constantin, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, October, 1912).

The second volume of Picard and Tuetey's *Correspondance Inédite de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> conservée aux Archives de la Guerre* covers 1808 and 1809 (Paris, Lavauzelle, 1912, pp. 856).

There have recently appeared two volumes on the Commune: Lieutenant-Colonel Rousset's *La Commune à Paris et en Province* (Paris, Tallandier, pp. vii, 303), and the second volume of the extremely detailed study by Edmond Lepelletier on the *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (Paris, *Mercur de France*, 1912, pp. 520), which deals with the central committee during the week March 18-26.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Kurth, *Étude Critique sur la Vie de Sainte Geneviève* (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, January); L. Levillain, *La Succession d'Austrasie au VII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (*Revue Historique*, January); E. Lesne, *La Dîme des Biens Ecclésiastiques aux IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> Siècles*, I, II, III. (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, July, October, January); L. Batiffol, *Un Bourgeois du XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* [Michel de Marillac, garde des sceaux] (*Revue de Paris*, January 15, February 1); A. Schinz, *La Question du "Contrat Social"* (*Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, October); A. Aulard, *La Féodalité sous Louis XVI*. (*La Révolution Française*, February); A. Wahl, *La Politique Réaliste de Robespierre* (*Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire*, October); J. Colin, *La Place de Napoléon dans l'Histoire Militaire* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, January); L. de Lanza de Laborie, *Napoléon et le Peintre David* (*ibid.*); F. Masson, *L'Inceste de Napoléon et Pauline à l'île d'Elbe* (*ibid.*); J. S. Worm-Müller, *Ledende Ideer i Fransk Historie-skrivning i det 19<sup>de</sup> Aarhundrede* (*Samtiden*, XIII. 8); F. Blanc, *Le Comité Exécutif de Lyon en 1848* (*La Révolution de 1848*, November); É. Mayer, *Henry Houssaye, Notes sur sa Documentation* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, January).

#### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: E. Pandiani, *L'Opera della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1858-1912* (*Rivista Storica Italiana*, October).

From the Cambridge University Press comes *The Early History of the House of Savoy, 1000-1233*, by C. W. Previté Orton, a thorough and valuable study of the period in which the counts of Savoy were building up their power.

K. Burdach and P. Piur have published the third and fourth volumes of the *Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1912).

The subtitle of the third volume of R. Davidsohn's *Geschichte von Florenz* is *Die Letzten Kämpfe gegen die Reichsgewalt* (Berlin, Mittler, 1912, pp. xiv, 954).

T. Persico is the author of a volume on *Gli Scrittori Politici Napoletani dal 1400 al 1700* (Naples, Perrella, 1912, pp. xx, 414). Volume 31 of the *Historische Bibliothek* is an essay on Machiavelli as an historian, entitled *Machiavellis Geschichtsauffassung und sein Begriff Virtù*, by E. W. Mayer (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1912, pp. viii, 125).

The rise to power of the elder Cosimo de' Medici in the fifteenth century is the subject of A. Anzilotti's *La Crisi Costituzionale della Repubblica Fiorentina* (Florence, Seeber, 1912; reviewed by R. Morcay, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, October).

C. Fedeli's *Studi e Ricerche sulla Storia dell'Ordine di Malta* (Pisa, Mariotti, 1912) contains a series of letters from the grand masters of the order to the dukes of Urbino from 1558 to 1623 (reviewed by C. Cipolla, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, October).

The siege of Turin in 1706 is the central topic in the sixth volume of *Le Campagne di Guerra in Piemonte* (Turin, Bocca, 1912, pp. xv, 541) by G. Roberti, A. Segre, and P. Valente.

Several monographs have recently appeared dealing with the French activities in Italy after the Revolution, including A. Mattioli, *Le Correnti di Parte e la Poesia Politica in Modena durante la Rivoluzione del 1796* (Modena, Soc. Tip. Modenese, 1912, pp. 25); U. Benassi, *Il Generale Bonaparte, il Duca, e i Giacobini di Parma e Piacenza* (Parma, Tip. Federale, 1912, pp. 114); L. Ginetti, *Napoleone I. a Parma* (Parma, Tip. Coop. Parmense, 1912, pp. 40); B. Croce, *La Rivoluzione Napoletana del 1799* (Bari, Laterza, 1912, pp. xxiii, 473); F. Nicolini, *Saggio Storico sulla Rivoluzione Napoletana del 1799, seguito dal Rapporto al Cittadino Carnot di Francesco Lomonaco, di Vincenzo Cuoco* (Bari, Laterza, 1912, pp. 395); and G. Natali, *La Vita e il Pensiero di Francesco Lomonaco, 1772-1810* (Naples, Stabilimento Sangiovanni, 1912, pp. 122).

Two recent additions to the Cavour literature are Pietro Orsi's *Cavour e la Formazione del Regno d'Italia* (Turin, Società Nazionale, pp. 382), and Ida N. Micheli's *Cavour e Garibaldi nel 1860, Cronistoria Documentata* (Rome, Tip. Sociale, pp. 223). A bibliography of the Risorgimento, *La Storia del Risorgimento Italiano nei Libri, Bibliografia Ragionata* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1912), has been prepared by Ernesto Masi.

The number for September, 1912, of the *Revista Popolare*, published at Rome and Naples, is devoted exclusively to an article on Aspromonte, which is stigmatized in the subtitle as the greatest crime of the Italian monarchy. The account of the expedition is supplemented by personal recollections drawn from memoirs and various other sources, and by the judgments on the affair expressed by many noted Italians. The article is fully and excellently illustrated.

E. Lémonon treats the half-century of Italian unity in *L'Italie Économique et Sociale, 1861-1912* (Paris, Alcan, 1913).

The *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos* for July was dedicated to the memory of its late editor, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, and contained a dozen articles on his life and work contributed by different writers.

Mr. Julius Klein, Woodbury Lowery Fellow in Spanish History at Harvard University, has had the good fortune to discover at Madrid the archives of the Mesta, or Sheep-Raising Organization of Spain, hitherto unknown to Spanish archivists and historians. These archives contain a number of royal charters of privilege to the Mesta from the fourteenth century onward, minutes of the meetings of the Concejo de la Mesta, accounts, notes on trials of cases between the Mesta and various individuals, pueblos, and religious organizations, and reports of the different Mesta officials. This rich collection is now the property of the Asociacion General de Ganaderos, and Mr. Klein has been given access to it through the great courtesy of the Marques de la Frontera, secretary of that association. He is at present engaged in summarizing and copying the most important documents in the collection.

Dr. E. Masoin, an alienist, has presented what seem to be convincing proofs of the insanity of the unfortunate Mad Joanna in *La Mère de Charles-Quint, Jeanne de Castille, dite la Folle, fût-elle réellement Aliénée? Etude Historique et Médicale* (Brussels, Goemaere, 1912, pp. 48).

We have recently received two large volumes in which the third Viscount de Santarem has published the minor and scattered writings of the second Viscount de Santarem, edited by Jordão de Freitas, under the title, *2º Visconde de Santarem: Opusculos e Esparsos* (Lisbon, Imprensa Libanio da Silva, 1910). About sixty pieces are included, of which the longest is the "Noticia dos Manuscritos que se achao na Bibliotheca Real de Paris, pertencentes ao Direito Publico Externo Diplomatico de Portugal e a Historia e Literatura do mesmo Paiz." A third volume, containing unpublished works of the same erudite historian, is promised, and like the other volumes will be gratuitously distributed by his grandson, the present viscount.

In a pamphlet of a dozen pages, Sr. Jordao de Freitas reviews the question, *Quando foi Descoberta a Madeira?* (Lisbon, Imprensa Libanio da Silva, 1911).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Andreas, *Graf Baldassare Castiglione und die Renaissance* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, X. 3); G. Natali, *Francesco Lomonaco e il Sentimento Nazionale nella Età Napoleonica* (Nuova Antologia, November 1); R. De Cesare, *Alessandro Poerio, Enrico Cosenz e la Battaglia di Custoza* (ibid., February 1); G. Daumet, *Louis de la Cerda ou d'Espagne* (Bulletin Hispanique, January).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General reviews: E. A. Goldsilber, *Courrier Allemand*, II. (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); R. Kötzschke, *Geschichte der Wirtschaftlichen Kultur Deutschlands, die Ältere Zeit*, I. (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, X. 3).

In the series of *Historische Studien* published by Ebering of Berlin, the most recent issues are: F. J. Biehringer, *Kaiser Friedrich II.*; W. Norden, *Erzbischof Friedrich von Mainz und Otto der Grosse*; F. Schneider, *Herzog Johann von Bayern, Erwählter Bischof von Lüttich und Graf von Holland, 1373-1425*; and F. Hülsen, *Die Besitzungen des Klosters Lorsch in der Karolingerzeit*.

G. Weise has made a useful study of the relations of Church and State in the early Middle Ages in *Königtum und Bischofswahl im Fränkischen und Deutschen Reich vor dem Investiturstreit* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1912).

*Henry the Lion*, the Lothian Historical Essay for 1912 (London, Simpkin and Marshall), by Austin Lane Poole, is an excellent summary of the events in the life of Henry.

J. Haller's *Die Marbacher Annalen* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1912) is an important critical study of the sources for the Hohenstaufen period.

Köster's *Die staatlichen Beziehungen der Böhmisches Herzöge und Könige zu den Deutschen Kaisern von Otto dem Grossen bis Ottokar II.* (Breslau, Marcus, 1912) is an important addition to the history of the rise of Bohemia.

Dr. J. Vota (said to be the pseudonym of a well-known German historian) has used important new sources in *Der Untergang des Ordensstaates Preussen und die Entstehung der Preussischen Königswürde* (Mainz, Kirchheim, 1913, pp. xxiv, 608), as he has been granted unusual freedom of access to archives both in Berlin and Vienna. The work extends from the treaty of Thorn in 1466 to the acquisition of the royal title in 1701.

Among the recent publications on Luther and the Reformation in Germany are: P. Kalkoff's *Zu Luthers Römischen Prozess, der Prozess des Jahres 1518* (Gotha, Perthes, 1912, pp. ix, 214), republished with some additions from the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*; A. V. Müller's *Luthers Theologische Quellen, seine Verteidigung gegen Denifle*

und Grisar (Giessen, Töpelmann, 1912); Hecker's *Religion und Politik in den letzten Lebensjahren Herzog Georgs des Bärtigen von Sachsen* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1912); Völker's *Toleranz und Intoleranz im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1912); and the volume of *Kirchengeschichtliche Forschungen, insbesondere zur Reformationsgeschichte* (Gotha, Perthes, 1912) published in honor of the seventieth birthday of Theodor Brieger, professor of church history at Leipzig.

A number of recent monographs on the military and diplomatic history of Germany during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are worthy of note: N. Wimarson, *Sveriges Krig i Tyskland, 1675-1679* (Lund, Geerup, 1912); H. Schilling, *Der Zwist Preussens und Hannovers, 1729-1730* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1912); Turba, *Die Grundlagen der Pragmatischen Sanktion* (vol. II., Vienna, Deuticke, 1912); and Preitz, *Prinz Moritz von Dessau im Siebenjährigen Kriege* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1912).

The relations between the enlightened despotism and the Church in Germany have recently been studied by W. Windelband in *Staat und Katholische Kirche in der Markgrafschaft Baden zur Zeit Karl Friedrichs* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1912); and by M. J. Mack in his thesis on *Die Reform- und Aufklärungsbestrebungen im Erzstift Salzburg unter Erzbischof Hieronymus von Colloredo* (Munich, Böck, 1912, pp. 127). Another work on the archbishopric of Salzburg is *Die Kurie und die Salzburger Kirchenprovinz* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1912), by A. Brackmann.

A very expensive illustrated volume has been brought out by Wilhelm John, the director of the military museum in Vienna, on *L'Archiduc Charles, le Maréchal et son Armée* (Vienna, Klarwill, 1913). A three-volume life by Cieste of *Erzherzog Karl von Oesterreich* (Vienna, Braumüller, 1912) has also appeared. Professor Delbrück has completely revised *Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen Neidhardt von Gneisenau* in a third edition (Berlin, Stilke, 1913). The second volume of the *Lebenserinnerungen* of General Karl von Wedel, edited by K. Tröger, covers the period 1810-1858 (Berlin, Mittler, 1912). A volume of reminiscences by Prince August of Thurn and Taxis bears the title, *Aus Drei Feldzügen, 1812-1815* (Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1912).

The German general staff has undertaken the publication of *Das Preussische Heer der Befreiungskriege*, the first volume of which deals with the army of 1812 (Berlin, Mittler, pp. viii, 640). The numerous maps and sketches are of the highest value. The general staff has also issued a volume on *Kolberg, 1806-1807* (Berlin, Mittler, 1912, pp. xii, 293). The third volume of F. Friederich's *Die Befreiungskriege* deals with the campaign of 1814 (Berlin, Mittler, 1912). Another volume on the Napoleonic wars is Lieut.-Col. Sauzey's *Les Allemands sous les Aigles Françaises, les Soldats de Hesse et de Nassau* (Paris, Chapelot, 1912, pp. 296).

Professor Karl Lamprecht's *Deutsche Geschichte der Jüngsten Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* deals primarily with the last three decades

of the nineteenth century. The first volume treats the economic and social development, and the second the domestic politics and foreign relations (Berlin, Weidmann, 1912, pp. xvi, 519; xiv, 563). The last quarter-century of German history is sketched in P. Meinhold's *Wilhelm II., 25 Jahre Kaiser und König* (Berlin, Hofmann, 1912).

*Principles of Prussian Administration*, by Professor Herman G. James of the University of Texas (Macmillan, 1913, pp. xiv, 309), is prefaced with a brief sketch of the history of the Prussian administrative system.

Max Foltz's *Geschichte des Danziger Stadthaushalts* (Danzig, Kafe-mann, 1912, pp. xi, 615) is a full investigation of the city's administration from its foundation down to 1910, but the portion of greatest importance is that on the Polish period from 1454 to 1793.

Professor M. Doeberl of the University of Munich has published the second volume of *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1912, pp. viii, 496), which covers the period from the peace of Westphalia to the death of King Maximilian I. in 1825. A third volume will complete the work.

The Commission for the Modern History of Austria expects to publish this spring the second volume of the treaties with England, edited by A. F. Pribram, and the first volume of the *Korrespondenz Ferdinands I.*, ed. W. Bauer, and later in the year the first volume of the *Korrespondenz Maximilians II.*, ed. V. Bibl. The manuscript of the third volume of Dr. Ludwig Bittner's *Chronologisches Verzeichniss der Oesterreichischen Staatsverträge* is expected to be ready before long.

A *Generalregister* (Vienna, Holder, 1912, pp. xiii, 187) has been published of the first one hundred volumes of the *Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte*, formerly *Archiv für Kunde Oesterreichischer Geschichtsquellen*, and for the nine supplementary volumes of the *Notizenblatt*, which were published from 1851 to 1859.

Duncker and Humblot of Leipzig have recently issued a *Geschichte der Böhmisches Industrie in der Neuzeit* by A. Salz.

The second volume of H. Friedjung's *Geschichte Oesterreichs von 1848 bis 1860* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1912, pp. xii, 569) deals mainly with Schwarzenberg and contains an appendix of important documents.

Though written in a somewhat popular style, *Handelspolitik und Ausgleich in Oesterreich-Ungarn* (Vienna, Holder, 1912, pp. vi, 253), by Professor Josef Grunzel, gives an excellent and useful survey of a subject which has needed an enlightening treatment.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Rosenstock, *Würzburg, das erste geistliche Herzogtum in Deutschland* (Historische Vierteljahrsschrift, XXIV. 1); W. von Brünneck, *Geschichte der Soester Gerichts-die Preussische Politik im Winter 1812 bis 1813* (Deutsche Rundschau, XXXIII.); M. Meyhöfer, *Die Kaiserlichen Stiftungsprivilegien für*

*Universitäten* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, IV. 3); F. Hartung, *Die Reichsreform von 1485 bis 1495, ihr Verlauf und ihr Wesen*, I. (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 1); O. Schiff, *Thomas Münzer und die Bauernbewegung am Oberrhein* (Historische Zeitschrift, CX. 1); O. Braun, *Herders Ideen zur Kulturphilosophie auf dem Höhepunkt seines Schaffens* (ibid., CX. 2); P. Bailleu, *Preussen am Scheidewege, Die Preussische Politik im Winter 1812 bis 1813* (Deutsche Rundschau, February); E. Brandenburg, *Die Verhandlungen über die Gründung des Deutschen Reiches, 1870* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 4); O. Schneider, *Bismarcks Finanz- und Wirtschaftspolitik* (Staats- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen, 166); G. Goyau, *Bismarck et l'Église, la Fin du Kulturkampf*, VI. [conclusion] (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1).

### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Professor P. J. Blok has begun the issue of a second edition of his standard *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk*. In a sense it may be regarded as a third edition, since the intermediate German version (though not the English) represents distinctly a personal revision by the author. The new issue will be in four volumes. Volume I. (Leyden, Sijthoff, 1912, pp. 708) includes the contents of volumes I. and II. of the original, carefully revised with attention to the investigations published since their issue in 1892 and 1893.

The Linschoten Society has in preparation editions of Pieter de Marees's *Beschrijvinghe ende Historische Verhael van het Gout Coninkrijck van Guinea (1600-1602)* and the first book of Cornelis de Houtman's *Historie van Indien*, containing the adventures of the Dutch ships from 1595 to 1597.

Major-General A. N. J. Fabius is the author of an excellent monograph entitled *Het Leven van Willem III.* (Alkmaar, Kluitman, 1912, pp. vii, 394). The work is divided into three parts, dealing with his youth, his stadtholderate to 1689, and his career after he became king of Great Britain and Ireland.

The third volume of the fourth series of the *Archives ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau* (Leyden, Sijthoff, 1912, pp. xvi, 624) is edited by T. Bussemaker and covers 1756-1759.

In connection with the centenary of national independence, and because of the new privileges which they acquired through that event, the Catholics of the Netherlands are planning to publish a memorial volume entitled, *Katholiek Nederlands, 1813-1913*, written by co-operation.

To the original ten volumes of the *Table Chronologique des Chartes et Diplômes Imprimés concernant l'Histoire de la Belgique* compiled by Alphonse Wauters, a supplementary eleventh volume has been added by the late Stanislas Bormans and J. Halkin, of which the first part was



published in 1907, and the second part (1250-1300) in 1912. The work is a publication of the Commission Royale d'Histoire de Belgique (Brussels, Kiessling).

The Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire has published C. Terlinden's *Liste Chronologique Provisoire des Édits et Ordonnances des Pays-Bas, Règne de Philippe II., 1555-1508* (Brussels, Goemaere, 1912, pp. vii, 319), and the second volume of V. Brants's *Recueil des Ordonnances des Pays-Bas, Règne d'Albert et d'Isabelle*, covering 1609-1621 (Brussels, Goemaere, 1912, pp. iii, 512).

In the *Rapport* for 1911-1912 of the historical seminary of the University of Louvain the portion of most interest to our readers will be the comprehensive and valuable survey, by an American, Father P. Guilday, of the history of the English religious establishments in the Catholic Low Countries, 1558-1795.

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: A. Bugge, *Geschichte der Nordischen Kultur* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, X. 3).

The third volume of Professor M. C. Gertz's *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum* has recently appeared. The book is issued by the Society for the Publication of Sources of Danish History (Copenhagen, Gad).

E. Bull has published *Folk og Kirke i Middelalderen, Studier til Norges Historie* (Christiania, Gyldendal, 1912, pp. 272), a history of the Church in Norway in the Middle Ages.

Swedish negotiations with England, France, and Russia during the Crimean War are recounted in A. Cullberg's *La Politique du Roi Osear Ier pendant la Guerre de Crimée*, of which Jordell of Paris has published the first volume.

*Die Europäisierung Russlands im 18. Jahrhundert* by C. Mettig has been published as the second volume of A. Bruckner's *Geschichte Russlands bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* in Lamprecht's *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*. This valuable contribution is supplemented at an interesting point by F. Andreae, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Katharinas II., die Instruktion vom J. 1767 für die Kommission zur Abfassung eines Neuen Gesetzbuches* (Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1912). The Grand Duke Nicolas Mikhaïlovitch has added to his historical writings a life of *L'Empereur Alexandre Ier*, in two volumes (Paris, Manzi, 1913, pp. xi, 544, v, 556).

M. Gaston Cahen's edition of *Le Livre de Comptes de la Caravane Russe à Pékin en 1727-1728* is a valuable reference book for students of Russian relations with the East.

A little brochure by E. Fiodorow on *La Révolution Finlandaise en Préparation, 1889-1905* (Paris, Welter, 1912, pp. 88), purports to contain "documents sensationnels publiés pour la première fois".

*Six Années, la Russie de 1906 à 1912*, is an adaptation by G. Dru of a Russian work by P. Poléjaïeff (Paris, Plon, 1912).

The Byzantine Research and Publication Fund and the British School at Athens will soon publish through Henry Frowde *The Church of St. Irene at Constantinople* by Mr. W. S. George, with an historical notice by Dr. A. van Millingen and an appendix on the monument of Porphyrios by Mr. A. W. Woodward and Mr. A. J. B. Wace.

Professor N. Jorga of the University of Bucharest published the fifth volume of his *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, extending from 1774 to the beginning of 1912, almost at the moment when the present war broke out. The work is included in Lamprecht's *Allgemeine Staaten-geschichte* (Gotha, Perthes, 1912; reviewed by E. Gerland, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, December 21).

A new *Histoire de la Bulgarie* (La Chapelle-Montligeon, Orne, 1912, pp. xii, 503) is by Father Guérin Songeon, of the Augustines of the Assumption.

Stojan Novaković's volume on the Servian struggle for independence, which is the standard work on the subject, has been made accessible to western readers through a timely German translation by G. Grassl, with the title *Die Wiedergeburt des Serbischen Staates, 1804-1813* (Sarajevo, 1912, pp. viii, 185).

*La Jeune Turquie et la Révolution* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1912) is by A. Sarrou, who was a commandant in the Imperial Ottoman gendarmerie.

Lieutenant Wagner's *Vers la Victoire avec les Armées Bulgares*, with a preface by the Bulgarian premier, is announced by Berger-Levrault of Paris. Charles-Lavauzelle of Paris announces *La Guerre des Balkans, Campagne de Thrace*, by A. de Penenurun, who was with the third Bulgarian army. The reverse side is shown in G. von Hochwaechter's *Mit den Türken in der Front im Stabe Mahmud Muchtar Paschas* (Berlin, Mittler).

Messrs. Jarrold and Sons announce *A History of Montenegro*, by Mr. Francis Seymour Stevenson.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ernst Meyer, *Zur Hundertschaft in Skandinavien, zugleich eine Besprechung von Sven Tunberg, Studier rörande Skandinaviens Äldsta Politiska Indelning* (Historische Vierteljahrsschrift, XXIV. 1); J. Steenstrup, *Kong Frederik VIII., en Mindetale* (Tilskueren, November); F. Knauer, *Der Russische Nationalname und die Indogermanische Urheimat* (Indogermanische Forschungen, XXXI. 1); V. Voronovsky, *The National War of 1812 in the Province of Smolensk* (Russian Review, November); A. Kornilov, *The Napoleonic Wars and Later Russian History* (ibid.); T. Volkov, *The Ukraine Question* (ibid.).

## THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

A new history of China is Hermann's *Chinesische Geschichte* (Stuttgart, Gundert, 1912).

The *Journal of Race Development* begins in the January issue a series of articles upon the Chinese revolution and various phases of recent Chinese history.

The first volume of a history of *Der Seekrieg zwischen Russland und Japan, 1904-1905*, has appeared from the press of Mittler, Berlin.

Fisher Unwin has announced *The Malay Peninsula: a Record of British Progress in the Middle East*, by Arnold Wright and Thomas H. Reid, an account of British influence in the East from the earliest times to the present. For the earlier years the records of the East India Company have been the chief source.

A comprehensive *History of India* from the earliest times to the present day, on the model of the *Cambridge Modern History*, is in preparation by the Cambridge University Press. The work will be in six volumes, divided equally among the three main periods—Ancient India, Muhammadan India, and British India. These three parts will be edited respectively by Professor E. J. Rapson, Lieut.-Col. T. Wolsley Haig, and Sir Theodore Morison.

James Burgess's *The Chronology of Modern India for Four Hundred Years from the Close of the Fifteenth Century, A. D., 1494-1894* (Edinburgh, John Grant), is a valuable reference book to those interested in Indian history.

The Hakluyt Society has recently issued volume II. of *A New Account of East India and Persia, being Nine Years' Travels, 1672-1681*, by John Fryer, edited by Mr. W. Crooke.

A new edition of J. Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas* has been published by Kegan Paul of London in three volumes.

A. Martineau, formerly governor of French India, has edited the *État Politique de l'Inde en 1777 par Law de Lauriston, Gouverneur-Général des Établissements Français aux Indes* (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 189).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Cordier, *L'Islam en Chine*, I. (*Journal des Savants*, January); *id.*, *Le Premier Traité de la France avec le Japon, 1858* (*T'Oung Pao*, May).

## AMERICA

## GENERAL ITEMS

The staff of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has been increased by the addition of Dr. Charles O. Paullin, who has been placed in charge of the preparation of the proposed Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States.

Dr. Jameson and Mr. Leland have sailed for Europe, the former to attend the International Congress of Historical Studies in London, and for other purposes centring in England, the latter to attend the congress and then to complete at Paris the gathering of data for his Guide to materials for American history in the archives of that city. Mr. Roscoe R. Hill's work in Seville, in calendaring the materials for United States history in the section of the Archives of the Indies called "*Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba*", was brought to a conclusion at the end of March and he returns to the United States to prepare a volume descriptive of those materials. This volume will present a brief description of each *legajo*; but itemized lists of the documents in all the more important *legajos* have been prepared in manuscript and will be at the service of all historical scholars at the offices of the Department in Washington. It is expected that Professor William I. Hull of Swarthmore College will by further researches in the Netherlands prepare for the Department a Guide to the materials for United States history in the archives of that country, and that Professor F. A. Golder of the Washington State College will perform a similar service in the archives of St. Petersburg and Moscow. Professor Faust, as indicated in our last issue, is already at work in Vienna.

The Omnibus Public Buildings Act, passed in the last hours of the 62d Congress, on the morning of March 4, 1913, contains provisions looking toward the erection of a National Archive Building in the city of Washington. The Secretary of the Treasury is directed, after inspection of the best modern national archive buildings in Europe, and consultation with the best authorities there, to prepare designs and estimates for a fireproof building containing not less than three million cubic feet of space, upon a lot of land large enough to contain ultimately a building of three times that size. The cost of the proposed building is limited to \$1,500,000. Whenever the designs and estimates have been approved by a commission consisting of the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House, and the secretaries of the Treasury, of War, and of the Interior, the Secretary of the Treasury is given authority to acquire a site approved by the commission.

The *Report* of the Librarian of Congress for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, has appeared (pp. 235). Among the noteworthy accessions of the year have been the Deinard collection of Hebraica, presented by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, the Karow collection of works relating to Napoleon Bonaparte, a large collection of books, pamphlets, and periodicals relating to Mexico and Central America, presented by the Mexican embassy, and the Hoes collection of works relating to the Spanish-American War. Of accessions of historical manuscripts, the more important—the Maury papers, Van Buren papers, Stanton papers, Mexican Inquisition papers, the Iturbide papers, papers of Admiral Foote, of Gideon Welles, and the papers of the Earl of Wilmington relating to the American colonies—have already been mentioned in preceding issues

of the REVIEW. The acquisition of 131 unpublished letters of Thomas Jefferson and of the papers of Governor and Senator J. H. Hammond of South Carolina, is also noteworthy. Included in the *Report* is a comprehensive description of the specimens from the files of the House of Representatives recently transferred to the library. The library now has in press the calendar of the papers of John J. Crittenden, prepared by W. R. Leech and C. N. Feamster, and will shortly issue Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick's calendar of Washington's Military Correspondence during the Revolution.

The Library of Congress has issued *A Check List of American Eighteenth Century Newspapers in the Library of Congress* (pp. 186), compiled by J. V. N. Ingram, and superseding so much of the *Check List* published in 1901 as pertained to newspapers of the eighteenth century, as it not only brings the record of the files down to date, but is much more detailed in data and more specific as to the conditions of the files, indicating precisely the issues possessed by the library.

Professor J. Basdevant of the University of Grenoble has published a full discussion of the latest phase of the much-vexed fisheries question, *L'Affaire des Pêcheries des Côtes Septentrionales de l'Atlantique entre les États-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne devant la Cour de la Haye* (Paris, Pedone, 1912).

The Macmillan Company will publish this spring *A History of the American Negro*, by Benjamin G. Brawley. The history of slavery in America is outlined, but special attention is given to the educational and cultural phases of negro history.

The *Deutsche-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* of Chicago, hitherto a quarterly, will in the future appear as a year-book, of a more scientific character, under the editorship of Professor Julius Goebel of the University of Illinois. The first of these annual volumes is just upon the point of publication.

The September-December issue of the *German American Annals* presents as its principal article a biographical sketch by Preston A. Barba, of Friederich Armand Strubberg (1806-1889), whose career was closely connected with the settlement of Germans in Texas in the forties, and whose literary works depict life in that frontier region. Mr. Charles F. Brede's papers on the German Drama in English on the Philadelphia Stage are continued.

Mr. Otto Lohr has issued through G. E. Stechert and Company a short essay (pp. 15) on *The First Germans in North America and the German Element of New Netherland*.

The Scottish Historical Society of North America has arranged for the publication at Boston of a quarterly magazine to be devoted to the interests of the Scottish people in the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Newfoundland.

L. Villari has published a small volume dealing with the Italian side of a question of interest to the United States, *Gli Stati Uniti d'America e l'Emigrazione Italiana* (Milan, Treves, 1912, pp. 313).

Volume VI. part II., of the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society (December, 1912), includes a critical paper, by Rev. Joseph Fischer, S. J., upon "An Important Ptolemy Manuscript, with Maps, in the New York Public Library", an elaborate account, by Rev. P. J. Hayes, of the elevation of Archbishop Farley of New York to the cardinalate, and a biographical account, by C. G. and H. F. Herbermann, of Father Pierre Gibault, together with English translations of the Gibault letters which were printed in volume XIV. of the REVIEW. English translations of several of these letters have appeared elsewhere (see *Illinois Historical Collections*, vol. V., and *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society, vols. XVIII. and XX.). The volume contains also a bibliography of John G. Shea, by Rev. Edward Spillane, S. J., and a register of the clergy laboring in the archdiocese of New York from early missionary times to 1885, contributed by Rev. M. A. Corrigan.

The first volume of Professor Charles A. Beard's *Economic History of the United States* will shortly come from the press (Macmillan). It bears the title *The Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Henri Vignaud has placed his imprimatur upon H. Beuchat's *Manuel d'Archéologie Américaine, Amérique Préhistorique, Les Civilisations Disparues* (Paris, Picard, 1913, pp. vii, 747) by writing the preface. The volume is fully illustrated.

M. Gabriel Chinard, now teaching in the University of California, is about to publish a volume on *L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique dans la Littérature Française au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, in continuation of his previous volume on the same subject for the sixteenth century. This book will be followed by a third, on *Les Relations Intellectuelles de la France et de l'Amérique au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*.

The first part (two volumes) of Mr. George Louis Beer's *The Old Colonial System, 1660-1754*, which will be complete in three parts, has been published by the Macmillan Company. Part I., *The Establishment of the System*, covers the years 1660-1688.

Charles Scribner's Sons announce for spring publication the *Life and Letters of John Paul Jones*, in two volumes, by Mrs. Reginald De Koven.

The Essex Institute has brought out *American Vessels captured by the British during the Revolution and War of 1812* (pp. 166), printed from the records of the vice-admiralty court at Halifax, Nova Scotia. These are for the most part the bare records of condemnation of prizes and recaptures, taken from the registers and printed in condensed form, but they contain also numerous depositions concerning captures. The

records for each period are arranged in an alphabetical order by the names of the vessels.

Mr. Charles Evans has brought out volume VII. of his *American Bibliography, 1639-1820*. The volume, which covers the years 1786-1789, lists 2848 books, pamphlets, and periodicals.

Professor Max Farrand will shortly bring out through the Yale University Press a small book on *The Framing of the Constitution of the United States*.

Messrs. Henry Holt and Company will add this spring to their *Home University Library* series a volume by Professor William MacDonald of Brown University, entitled *From Jefferson to Lincoln*.

In *Documents relating to the Invasion of Canada and the Surrender of Detroit, 1812*, selected and edited by Lieut.-Col. E. A. Cruikshank (*Publications of the Canadian Archives*, no. 7, Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1913, pp. vii, 258), many of the documents, particularly the correspondence of General Hull, have been printed before; but a larger number of them are now published for the first time. These are principally from the Dominion archives. The editor has supplied many useful notes and has included in the volume two maps, one of the lake region, from a sketch by Sir Isaac Brock (London, 1813), and "A Sketch of the Communication between Erie and Huron by T. S. of Sandwich U. C."

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has in press an index, extending to several volumes, compiled by Miss Adelaide R. Hasse, which affords reference to the entire published records of documents, papers, correspondence, and, to a considerable extent, legislation and decisions upon international and diplomatic questions, between the years 1828 and 1861.

It is understood that Professor John B. McMaster will bring out this spring through D. Appleton and Company the final volume of his *History of the People of the United States*.

*The Political Debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas*, with an introduction by George Haven Putnam (Putnam, pp. xvii, 377, 284), includes, besides the speeches in the seven set debates, those preliminary speeches of each which are essentially a part of the joint discussion, namely, those of Lincoln at Springfield, June 17, 1858, at Chicago, July 10, and at Springfield, July 17, and those of Douglas at Chicago, June 9, at Bloomington, July 16, and at Springfield, July 17. The correspondence between Lincoln and Douglas preliminary to the debates is also included. No good reason appears why the volume should be divided into two parts, with separate paging.

The lectures on the American Civil War which Dr. James Ford Rhodes delivered at Oxford last year have just been published in book form by the Macmillan Company.

Dr. Frederic Bancroft has for some time been at work on an edition of the writings and correspondence of Carl Schurz, which is to be issued before long by Messrs. Putnam.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have brought out *The Last Leaf: Observations, during Seventy-five Years, of Men and Events in America and Europe*, by James Kendall Hosmer, LL.D.

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

By an error in a note in our last issue, page 436, Ginn and Company were named as the publishers of President Charles H. Levermore's *Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims*. On the contrary this work, in two volumes, is being privately printed for distribution among the members of the New England Society of Brooklyn.

*A History of Garland, Maine* (pp. 401), by Lyndon Oak, has been published in Bangor by J. M. Oak.

*A History of the Town of Canterbury, New Hampshire, 1727-1912*, in two volumes, by J. O. Lyford, is published in Concord by the Rumford Press.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has brought out volume XVIII. of the *Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* (pp. 899). The volume, which is also designated as volume XIII. of the Appendix, contains the resolves, orders, votes, etc., of the period from 1765 to 1774, presented practically without annotation, but with careful indexes.

The October serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains a valuable paper by Mr. Charles Francis Adams on the Negotiations of 1861 relating to the Declaration of Paris of 1861, and one by Mr. Edward Stanwood on the Development under the Constitution of the President's Power. The November fascicle includes a paper by Dr. G. W. Allen on the State Navies and Privateers in the Revolution, and one by Rear-Admiral Chadwick on the American Navy, 1775-1815. There is also printed in these proceedings an interesting despatch from George Canning to Sir Charles Vaughan, British minister to the United States. The despatch is dated February 8, 1826, and bears upon the Monroe Doctrine. The December-January issue has a paper by Mr. Edwin D. Mead on Thomas Hooker's Farewell Sermon in England.

*A History of Lexington, Massachusetts, from its Settlement to the Present Time*, by Sarah E. Robinson, is published in Lexington by the author. The work is in two volumes and is illustrated.

The contents of the January number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* include a diary for the year 1759 kept by Samuel Gardner of Salem; Old Norfolk County deeds, 1671-1689; a continuation of a genealogical-historical visitation of Andover, Massachusetts, in the year 1863, by Alfred Poor; and Newspaper Items relating to Essex County (1763).



*The Holyoke Diaries, 1789-1856*, with introduction and annotations by George Francis Dow, published by the Essex Institute, comprises diaries of various members of the Holyoke family, including Rev. Edward Holyoke, president of Harvard College, 1737-1769, his son Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke, and Mrs. Mary (Vial) Holyoke of Salem, 1760-1800. Portions of the diaries which were considered to be unimportant have been omitted. The editor has supplied numerous notes, and a genealogy of the Holyoke family. There are thirty-six portraits and other illustrations.

Captain Luis Fenollosa Emilio, who presented to the Essex Institute in 1908 the collection of military buttons which he had spent more than a quarter of a century in gathering together, has prepared a descriptive catalogue of the collection (1569 specimens) which the institute has published: *The Emilio Collection of Military Buttons . . . in the Museum of the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts* (pp. xxi, 264).

The Connecticut Historical Society has brought out a volume entitled *Original Distribution of the Lands in Hartford among the Settlers, 1639*, edited by Mr. Albert C. Bates, who writes an introduction for the volume. These records of ownership and transfer of lands in the Hartford settlement were made during practically a century from its beginnings and cast light on the early history of the town. The volume includes also the early vital records of Hartford (extending to about 1750), found in the same manuscript volume from which the land records are taken.

The *Proceedings*, vol. XI. (pp. 381), of the New York Historical Association (thirteenth annual meeting, at Kingston, September 12, 13, and 14, 1911) has come from the press. Of the numerous papers of the meeting the following are noteworthy: "The Valley of the Rondout and Neversink and its unsettled Colonial Questions", by Thomas E. Benedict; "The Huguenot Settlement of Ulster County", by G. D. B. Hasbrouck; "The Scotch Irish in America and New York", by Henry M. McCracken; "The Hudson, its Aboriginal Occupation, Discovery, and Settlement", by William Wait; "Cooperation of Historical and Patriotic Organizations", by F. H. Wood; and "Preliminary Sketch of the Old Dutch Church of Kingston, New York, and some of its Ministers", by Chaplain R. R. Hoes, U. S. N. Bound in the same volume with the *Proceedings*, but paged separately, is a revised translation, by Samuel Oppenheim, of the Dutch Records of Kingston, 1658-1684. It bears upon the title-page: *The Dutch Records of Kingston, Ulster County, New York (Esopus, Wildwyck, Swonenburgh, Kingston), 1658-1684, with some later Dates*. What is here printed is part I., May 31, 1658-November 18, 1664, and relates to Esopus and Wildwyck. The basis is the translation made some years ago by Dingman Versteeg. There is a useful historical introduction of sixteen pages.

The January number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* contains a biographical sketch of the late John Jacob Astor, by Capt. Richard Henry Greene, and Four Generations in America of the

Huguenot Family of Stelle, by Maud Burr Morris. The records of baptisms of the Reformed Church at Machackemeck (Deerpark) are continued.

Mr. Eugene L. Armbruster, of 263 Eldert Street, Brooklyn, is the author and publisher of a small volume entitled *The Eastern District of Brooklyn*, in which is gathered a good deal of historical material pertaining to the locality, including numerous documents ranging in date from 1638 to the end of the nineteenth century. There are numerous pen-and-ink sketches of old houses, and several maps.

The November-December issue of *Penn Germania* contains extracts from the Brethren's House and Congregation Diaries of the Moravian Church at Lititz, Pennsylvania, relating to the Revolutionary War, translated by A. R. Beck. The January issue includes Christian Frederick Post's Part in the Capture of Fort DuQuesne and in the Conquest of the Ohio, by G. P. Donehoo, and the Saratoga Campaign as a Type of New York History, by H. M. McCracken.

*A History of the One Hundred and Fortieth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers*, published by authority of the regimental association, is issued by the Franklin Bindery, Philadelphia.

In the December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* the letters of Rev. Jonathan Boucher (1767), Land Notes, 1634-1655, and Vestry Proceedings, St. Ann's Parish, Annapolis (1727-1728) are continued. Other items are: a diary kept by Thomas Larkin of a journey to England and France in 1794 and 1795; a biographical sketch of Isaac Briggs (1763-1825), including a number of letters, by Ella Kent Barnard; and an account of the Defense of Baltimore in 1814, in the form of a letter from Captain James Piper to Brantz Mayer, written in 1854.

The Maryland Historical Society has brought out a new volume of the *Archives of Maryland*, edited by William Hand Browne. It includes the proceedings of the Council of Maryland, April 15, 1761-September 24, 1770, the minutes of the board of revenue, opinions on the regulation of fees, and instructions to Governor Eden (Baltimore, 1912, pp. xiv, 522).

The Virginia State Library has issued *A List of Newspapers in the Virginia State Library, Confederate Museum, and Valentine Museum*, compiled by Mrs. Kate Pleasants Minor and Miss Susie B. Harrison. The papers in each library are first listed in an alphabetical arrangement of the places of publication; there is then an arrangement of titles by states, and finally a chronological arrangement of titles. This triple arrangement makes the list a good working instrument.

The same library has also issued *A List of Manuscripts relating to the History of Agriculture in Virginia, collected by N. F. Cabell, and now in the Virginia State Library* (pp. 20), compiled by Earl G. Swem. These letters, extracts of letters, essays, etc., date from 1749 to 1879.

The contents of the January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* include the commission and instructions to the Earl of Orkney for the government of Virginia (1714, 1715), a letter from the Virginia governor and council to Lord Arlington (1666); a description of the government of Virginia by Thomas Ludwell (1666); a letter from Governor Berkeley to Lord Arlington (1667); various council papers of 1698 and 1699, among them several naval orders signed by James Vernon, and a letter of Governor Nicholson to the governor of North Carolina (May 3, 1699); and a number of Revolutionary pension declarations, from the records of Augusta County, Virginia, contributed by Judge Lyman Chalkley. The Revolutionary army orders for the main army under Washington, 1778-1779, and minutes of the Council and General Court, 1622-1629, are continued.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly* continues in the January issue the records of Hanover County (principally 1783-1792), and the interesting diary of Colonel Landon Carter (1776), and prints, from the Bancroft transcripts in the Library of Congress, a number of the letters of Governor Francis Fauquier, 1766-1767.

The Hermitage Press of Richmond has brought out the *Discourse on the Lives and Characters of the Early Presidents and Trustees of Hampden-Sidney College* (pp. 46), delivered at the centenary of the founding of the college, on June 14, 1776, by Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL.D. There are several portraits in the pamphlet.

The *Memorial Day Annual* for 1912, a publication of the Department of Public Instruction of Virginia, includes the following papers: The Right of Secession, by H. J. Eckenrode; The Doctrine of Secession, by H. R. McIlwaine; The John Brown Raid, by Douglas S. Freeman; Virginia's Position in 1861; Views of all Sections of the State, by Edwin P. Cox; and Fort Sumter, by George L. Christian.

Mr. George Cabell Greer, of the Virginia state law office, has brought out through the W. C. Hill Printing Company, Richmond, *Early Virginia Immigrants, 1623-1666* (pp. 376).

*The Story of Cotton and the Development of the Cotton States*, by E. C. Brooks, has been published by Rand, McNally, and Company.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has issued its *Fourth Biennial Report*. The commission has acquired during the biennial period several important bodies of manuscripts, among them the Pettigrew manuscripts, embracing papers of Rev. Charles Pettigrew (1748-1807), bishop-elect of North Carolina, Ebenezer Pettigrew (1783-1848), member of Congress (1835-1837), and Brigadier-General James J. Pettigrew (1828-1863). Other accessions of value are a collection of papers of the late Governor Charles B. Aycock and additional papers of David L. Swain and of William A. Graham. The commission will shortly bring out some hitherto unpublished material relating to Christopher de Graffenried's colonization enterprize in North Carolina. This material

was recently brought to light in Europe by Professor Julius Goebel of Illinois and will be published under his editorial supervision.

The proceedings of the thirteenth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina (*Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission*, Bulletin no. 12) includes some noteworthy historical papers: The Historical Foundations of Democracy in North Carolina, by R. D. W. Connor; Neglected Phases of North Carolina History, by W. K. Boyd; and Nathaniel Macon, by Josephus Daniels. Included also is an address by Mr. R. D. W. Connor, delivered on the occasion of the presentation to the state by the North Carolina Historical Commission of a bust of John M. Moorehead.

In 1907 Dr. Kemp P. Battle brought out the first volume of his *History of the University of North Carolina*, relating the history of the institution to the year 1868 (see this journal, XIII. 426). In a second volume, just issued, Dr. Battle has brought the narrative down to the present time (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1912, pp. ix, 875). During the first seven years of this period the university was in a moribund state, practically without funds, faculty, or students. What life the war had left it was in danger of extinction by the poison of politics but its friends would not let the institution die, and since its reorganization in 1875 it has prospered. The administrative history of the university and its relations to the state and to the public, the expansion of its departments, the development of its curriculum, are related with some fullness; there are biographical notes and characterizations of the faculty, and extended records of commencement exercises and other occasions.

The interesting Diary of Timothy Ford, 1785-1786, with notes by Joseph W. Barnwell, which was begun in the July number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, is concluded in the issue for October. The principal remaining contents are continued articles heretofore mentioned.

The Georgia Historical Society has issued as *Collections*, vol. VII., part III., General James Oglethorpe's "The Spanish Official Account of the Attack on the Colony of Georgia, in America, and of its Defeat on St. Simon's Island." The society has in press the *Letters of Joseph Clay*, paymaster-general of the Southern department during the Revolution.

It is understood that volume XIII. of the *Publications* of the Mississippi Historical Society will probably be ready for distribution in April. It will contain four contributions, occupying about 400 pages, devoted entirely to local histories of reconstruction in Mississippi. They are: Reconstruction in Panola County, by J. W. Kyle; Reconstruction in Scott County, by F. G. Cooper; Reconstruction in LaFayette County, by Miss Julia Kendel; and Reconstruction in Oktibbeha County, by F. Z. Browne. These papers have been prepared in the historical seminary of the University of Mississippi under the direction of Professor Franklin L. Riley, who is also editor of the *Publications*.

The Louisiana Historical Society has issued its *Publications*, vols. V. and VI. Among the papers in vol. V. are the Title to the Jesuits' Plantation, Memorial of the Marigny Family, and Early Census of Louisiana, 1702-1721. Volume VI. is the centennial number.

The contents of the January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* include a carefully prepared paper on the Eastern Boundary of California in the Convention of 1849, by Cardinal Goodwin. The writer overthrows the charge, often made, that the Southern men in the convention contended for an extreme eastern boundary with a view to bringing about a division into two states, the southern to be open to slavery. Other contents of the issue are Charles W. Hackett's second paper on the Retreat of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680 and the Beginnings of El Paso, a brief account of Virginians who took part in the Texan struggle for independence, by James E. Winston; and a biographical sketch, by Miss Adèle B. Looscan, of Dugald McFarland, who took an active part in the war between Texas and Mexico. The correspondence from the British archives concerning Texas printed in this issue belongs to the early months of 1843.

The Texas Library and Historical Commission have brought out as the first fruits of their labors the *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861* (pp. 469), edited from the original by Ernest W. Winkler, state librarian. Some ordinances, reports of committees, and communications not recorded in the manuscript journal are inserted. In addition to the journal proper (pp. 251) the volume includes the Address to the People (pp. 10), issued March 30, 1861, by a committee of the convention; the reports of the Committee on Public Safety (pp. 143); a list of the delegates, showing nativity, occupation, etc.; and certificates of election (pp. 44).

The *Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly* devotes more than half of the January issue to a record of the fifth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association at Pittsburg, October 30-November 1, 1911. The principal papers and addresses of historical interest here printed are: The Influence of the Ohio River in Western Expansion, by Edwin Erle Sparks; Constructing a Navigation System in the West, by Miss H. Dora Stecker; The Pittsburg-Wheeling Rivalry for Commercial Headship on the Ohio, by J. M. Callahan; Ship and Brig Building on the Ohio and its Tributaries, by R. T. Wiley; Pittsburg a Key to the West during the American Revolution, by James A. James; and the Relation of New England to the Ohio Valley, by Carl R. Fish. Included in this issue is also the autobiography of Thomas Ewing, edited with numerous notes, by Clement L. Martzoff. The autobiography relates principally to Ohio in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The Indiana Historical Survey will publish, as soon as funds sufficient for the purpose may be obtained, an *Historical Directory of Indiana Newspapers*, by Logan Esarey; an *Historical and Political Atlas of Indiana*, and *Party Platforms and Election Statistics to 1860*, by Ernest

V. Shockley. Plans have been made for the publication of the following collections: the House and Council Journals of Indiana Territory, the Messages of the Governors of Indiana, the Letters and Papers of Thomas A. Hendricks, the Letters and Papers of Joseph E. McDonald, and the Life and Letters of George W. Julian. Professor Harlow Lindley is now engaged in collecting and editing the Julian papers. The Survey also has in contemplation the preparation and publication in the near future of a number of monographs, among which are a bibliography of Indiana authors, by Messrs. Shockley and Esarey, a biographical dictionary of Indiana, contributions toward the history of religious settlements and movements in Indiana, and studies of the development of legislative processes and of foreign immigration in the state.

The *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for December contains a well-written paper by Margrette Boyer on Morgan's Raid in Indiana, and some account of the names of the Ohio River, by J. P. Dunn. In the department of reprints is a fourth installment of A. C. Shortridge's *Schools of Indianapolis*.

The leading article in the October number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is an autobiographical note of Stephen A. Douglas, for which Mr. Frank E. Stevens writes an introduction. This sketch, which bears the date September 1, 1838, pertains chiefly to the first few years of Douglas's career in Illinois. In the same issue of the *Journal* Mr. Paul Selby gives an account of the convention of the Anti-Nebraska editors at Decatur, Illinois, in 1856, and Rev. W. E. Griffiths relates some reminiscences of "The Past Three-Fourths of the Century". In the department of reprints are some extracts from *Way-side Glimpses, North and South* (New York, 1859), by Lillian Foster.

*A History of Knox County, Illinois*, in two volumes, by A. J. Perry, has been published by S. J. Clarke.

The *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the year 1911-1912 (pp. 268) has been issued. The volume includes principally the papers read at the fifth annual meeting of the association at Bloomington, Indiana, in May, 1912, some account of which was given in the issue of this journal for July, 1912 (XVII. 913).

Mr. Otto A. Rothert contributes to the January issue of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* a biographical account of Gen. J. P. G. Muhlenberg, being a chapter from his forthcoming work on the history of Muhlenberg County, Kentucky. In the same number Mr. A. C. Quisenberry writes of the campaign on the river Raisin in 1813, and contributes also a list of Kentuckians killed and wounded in the Mexican War. The *Register* prints some extracts from official proceedings (1824-1825) relative to the visit of General Lafayette, including some letters from Governor Desha to Lafayette.

*A Standard History of Memphis, Tennessee* (pp. 606), by J. P. Young, has been published in Knoxville by H. W. Crew and Company.

Mr. C. M. Burton has brought out under the auspices of the Michigan Society of Colonial Wars the *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy, 1763* (pp. 243), in the original text and in translation on alternating pages. The translator, Mr. R. Clyde Ford, discusses at some length the authorship of the journal and inclines to ascribe it to Robert Navarre. The volume is edited, with explanatory notes, by M. Agnes Burton. The journal, which was the basis of Parkman's story of the events of 1763, is itself of unusual interest and its presentation in so acceptable a form will be welcomed by students of the period.

Mr. John M. Bulkley of Monroe, Michigan, has in preparation a *History of Monroe County, Michigan*, which will be brought out, in two volumes, by the Lewis Publishing Company.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has issued a second edition of the *Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files* in the Library, compiled by Ada T. Griswold.

The January issue of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* includes a paper by Louis Pelzer on the Spanish Land Grants of Upper Louisiana, a contribution by Louis B. Schmidt on the History of Congressional Elections in Iowa, the subject of the present paper being the elections of 1848, and a reprint (from *House Ex. Doc.* no. 168, 29 Cong., 1 sess.) of Captain James Allen's Dragoon Expedition from Fort Des Moines, Territory of Iowa, in 1844, with an introduction, by Jacob Van der Zee. The reprint includes Allen's report as well as his journal.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has added to the *Iowa Economic History* series a volume on the *History of Road Legislation in Iowa*, by John E. Brindley, and another on the *History of Work Accident Indemnity in Iowa*, by E. H. Downey. The society has in press a *Biography of James Harlan*, senator from Iowa, 1867-1873, by Johnson Brigham.

The pages of the October number of the *Annals of Iowa* are largely occupied by a "Pioneer History of the Territorial and State Library of Iowa", by Johnson Brigham, state librarian. Mr. Charles R. Keyes discourses upon the history of primitive American lead mining.

*A History of Carroll County, Iowa: a Record of Settlement, Organization, Progress, and Achievement*, in two volumes, by Paul Maclean, has been published by S. J. Clarke.

Volume IV., no. 1, of *Missouri Historical Society Collections* (1912), contains the Journal of Jean Baptiste Trudeau among the Arikara Indians in 1795, translated from a copy in the Department of State, by Mrs. H. T. Beauregard. The editor of the collections furnishes an historical and critical introduction, including a facsimile of the map published in Perrin du Lac's *Voyage dans les deux Louisiennes*. Three of the articles in this volume relate to the Civil War: A Journey through the Lines in 1863, by Mrs. Lizzie Chambers Hull; Local Incidents of the Civil War, by Mrs. Hannah Isabel Stagg; and a bibliography of sanitary work in

St. Louis during the Civil War, by Dr. Roland G. Usher. Mr. Gerard Fowke contributes some notes on the aboriginal inhabitants of Missouri, and Walter J. Blakely writes a brief biographical sketch of J. A. MacGahan, whose writings as war correspondent in the Franco-Prussian War, in the Russo-Turkish War, and particularly his letters on the Bulgarian question attracted much attention.

In the *Missouri Historical Review* for January Mr. F. A. Samson sets forth some reasons why the state should give the society a fire-proof building. Other papers are: The Story of the Civil War in Northeast Missouri, by Floyd C. Shoemaker; History of Missouri Baptist General Association, by E. W. Stephens; and What I saw at Wilson's Creek, by Joseph A. Mudd.

The Kansas State Historical Society has issued the address, *History as an Asset of the State*, delivered before the society in December by Mr. William E. Connelley. The story of the memorial and historical building of the society, now nearing completion, is appended.

Mr. Raymond G. Taylor has published for use in schools a *Syllabus of Kansas History* (pp. 20), with references.

In 1840 was published in St. Louis a small volume describing a journey to the Rocky Mountains in the preceding year. The writer, F. A. Wislizenus, was a German doctor who had lived for some years in a German colony in Illinois. An English translation of this narrative has been published by the Missouri Historical Society.

The *Official Report* of the Historical Society of New Mexico for the period 1909-1912 has been issued. The society has acquired a considerable body of official papers of the "Northern Jurisdiction" (Santa Cruz) of the years 1821-1846, and also the remainder of the papers of Manuel Álvarez. The latter belong principally to the early days of the American occupation.

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for June, 1912 (belated in its appearance), contains two excellent papers dealing with the period of joint occupancy of the Oregon country by the United States and Great Britain, the one "A Brief History of the Oregon Provisional Government and what caused its Formation", by Frederick V. Holman, the other, "How British and American Subjects united in a common Government for Oregon Territory in 1844", by Robert C. Clark. Mr. Leslie M. Scott discusses John Fiske's change of attitude on the Whitman legend, prints the pertinent part of Fiske's address as delivered at Astoria in 1892, and follows it with the revised form as it was published in 1909. The *Quarterly* prints William A. Slocum's report on Oregon 1836-1837, together with related correspondence.

The *Annual Publications* of the Historical Society of Southern California includes a paper by Professor Rockwell D. Hunt on Hubert H. Bancroft, his work and his method, one by J. M. Gunn on Pioneer Rail-



roads of Southern California, and one by J. M. Dixon on Early Mexican and California Relations with Japan.

Messrs. Dutton and Company have brought out a new edition of C. E. Akers's *History of South America, 1854-1904*, to which has been added a chapter bringing the history down to date.

A Société d'Histoire de l'Amérique Latine has been formed in Paris which plans to publish an elaborate co-operative *Historie des Nations de l'Amérique Latine* under the editorial charge of Professor Seignobos. The work will be in fifteen quarto volumes and the edition limited to 700 sets at 1400 francs.

Volume IV. of *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, by Bernal Díaz del Castillo, which was edited and published in Mexico by Genaro García, has been translated, with introduction and notes, by A. P. Maudslay, and published by the Hakluyt Society.

*The Conquest of New Granada*, by Sir Clements R. Markham, has been published by Dutton and Company.

L. A. de Herrera's work on the French Revolution and South America has been translated into French by S. G. Etchbarne (Paris, Grasset, 1912). The work is supplemented by C. A. Villanueva's *Napoléon y la Independencia de América* (Paris, Garnier, 1911, pp. xii, 383).

Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, director of the Archives of the Indies, has edited in five volumes the first series of *Independencia de América, Fuentes para su Estudio, Catálogo de Documentos Conservados en el Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla* (Madrid, Sociedad de Publicaciones Históricas, 1912).

In the paper entitled *El General Urquiza y las supuestas Matanzas de Pago Largo, India Muerta y Vences* (Buenos Aires, Alsina), Amaranto A. Abeledo seeks to disprove the charges that General Urquiza executed hundreds of prisoners after these battles, presenting him in a very different character from that usually ascribed to him.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Henry Vignaud, *Americ Vespuce: l'Attribution de son Nom au Nouveau-Monde* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, tome IX., 1912); P. Besson, *Les Massacres de la Floride* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, July-August, 1912); John Finley, *The French in the Heart of America*, IV., V. (Scribner's Magazine, January, March); Archibald Henderson, *Forerunners of the Republic*; I. General Richard Henderson; II. Daniel Boone and American Expansion (Neale's Monthly, January, February); J. J. Jusserand, *Rochambeau in America*, concluded (Harvard Graduates' Magazine, December); M. B. Garrett, *The West Indian Negro Question and the French National Assembly, 1789-1791* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); J. A. Fairlie, *The President's Cabinet* (American Political Science Review, February); H. B. Learned, *Some Aspects of the Vice-Presidency* (ibid.); L. Didier, *Le Citoyen Genet*,

III. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January); A. M. Gould, *Luther Martin and the Trials of Chase and Burr*, I., II. (*Georgetown Law Journal*, November, January); D. R. Anderson, *A Jeffersonian Leader: William Branch Giles* (*Sewanee Review*, January); I. Lippincott, *The Early Salt Trade of the Ohio Valley* (*Journal of Political Economy*, December); M. Bollert, *Ein Brief von Karl Schurz aus dem Jahre 1850* (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, January); L. M. Sears, *Slidell's Mission to Mexico* (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, January); Gamaliel Bradford, jr., *Confederate Patriots*: II. *James Longstreet*, III. *J. E. B. Stuart* (*Atlantic Monthly*, December, January); J. W. Week, *A New Story of Lincoln's Assassination* (*Century*, February); *The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson*: Gaillard Hunt, *The President's Defense*; B. C. Truman, *Anecdotes of Andrew Johnson* (*ibid.*, January); C. O. Paullin, *A Half Century of Naval Administration in America, 1861-1911* (*United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, December); J. B. Bishop, *The French at Panama* (*Scribner's*, January); H. A. Herbert, *Cleveland and his Cabinet at Work* (*Century*, March); Admiral George Dewey, *Autobiography* (*Hearst's Magazine*, January, February, March); G. L. B. Mackenzie, *French-Canadians in 1775 and 1812* (*Canadian Magazine*, March); F. A. Carman, *Our Archives and the National Spirit* (*ibid.*, February).

The  
**American Historical Review**

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL  
STUDIES, HELD AT LONDON

THOUGH the gathering which took place in London in April was in some official circulars designated as the Third International Congress of Historical Studies, it is well to remember that it was only the third of the quinquennial, and we may hope and expect regular, series. A modest beginning of such congresses was made at the Hague in 1898, and was followed by a second international gathering at Paris in 1900, held amid the distractions of a great international exposition. If these assemblages were not fully ecumenical, and were only partially successful, this lay in the nature of first beginnings. With the meeting at Rome in 1903 the Congrès International de Sciences Historiques took on the character of a fully-developed and permanent institution. That brilliantly successful gathering was followed by another at Berlin in 1908.<sup>1</sup> Quinquennial recurrence having now been established as the rule, it was on that occasion decided that the next, or fifth, congress should be held at London in 1913. The functions of government in such matters being more limited in Great Britain than in Germany, it was naturally arranged that the British Academy, in co-operation with universities, societies, and other institutions interested in historical science, should undertake the organization of the congress.

An organization thus based would almost of necessity lack some degree of unity and effectiveness. The general committee of organization, nearly a hundred in number, represented some eighty-four different societies and institutions; the executive committee, upon which presumably the actual work fell, was of the excessive number of sixty. It is to be expected that British individualism, which has had such brilliant results in history, should have its compensation in an organizing power, for such occasions, inferior to that of some

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Haskins's article in volume XIV. of this journal, pp. 1-8.

other nations. The Berlin committee issued the first of its preliminary circulars fifteen months before the date of the congress, and its programme well in advance of that date. The London committee issued its first circular only seven months beforehand, and its last circular, and the programme, did not reach the hands of the foreign members till after their arrival; no provisional list of members was generally available, and there was nothing answering to the *Kongresstageblatt* which proved so convenient in 1908. But while the course of the congress was marked by some *contretemps* that contrasted with the smooth running of the Berlin assembly, and while it is proper, and may be useful, to mention some of these facts of history, there was not a single foreign member, so far as the observations extended on which the present account is based, in whom the sense of such defects was not quite overborne by appreciation of the abounding hospitality, kindness, and desire to make the occasion agreeable in every way to the visitors. Individuals exerted themselves valiantly to do whatever organization had not already effected, and the atmosphere of solicitude and good-will was unmistakable. The individuals whom most members will remember with the greatest gratitude are, naturally, Professor I. Gollancz, secretary of the congress, Professor J. P. Whitney, secretary for papers, and Dr. George W. Prothero, vice-chairman of the executive committee.

All that is best in British hospitality was displayed in the entertainments which were tendered to members, especially to the foreign members, in lavish profusion. Evenings, from half-past four o'clock on, were happily left free for such pleasures. Two evenings before the formal opening of the sessions the Royal Historical Society gave a handsome dinner in the Venetian Room of the Holborn Restaurant, at which Professor Charles H. Firth, president of the society, presided, and at which responses to his address of welcome were made by Professor Eduard Meyer of Berlin, Professor Henri Cordier of Paris, and another address by the representative of the American Historical Association, Professor Charles H. Haskins of Harvard.

On the evening before the first session, the officers of the congress gave a general reception at the Grafton Galleries, which had been made the general headquarters. On the next evening, the British government, represented by Earl Beauchamp, First Commissioner of works, and Mr. Joseph Pease, President of the Board of Education, gave in the imposing banquetting-hall of the Hotel Cecil a brilliant dinner, to some four hundred of the members, at which speeches in response to toasts were made by Count Alexis

Bobrinski, Dr. Felix Liebermann, and the Master of Peterhouse (Dr. A. W. Ward), and which was followed by a more general reception. On the succeeding evening, tickets for a splendid performance of *Hamlet* by Forbes Robertson and his company, at the historic Drury Lane Theatre, were placed at the disposal of the guests; on another, tickets to Professor Geddes's *Masque of Learning*; on another, a large number of members were invited to a very agreeable dinner at the Lyceum Club, the most notable women's-club of London. On the Saturday afternoon the members enjoyed the hospitality of King George at Windsor Castle, though the king himself, on account of mourning for his uncle the King of the Hellenes, was unable to be present.

The list of private dinners, and of entertainments and opportunities necessarily confined to a smaller number, but distributed by the committee with great thoughtfulness, would be a still longer one. The Archbishop of Canterbury and Mrs. Davidson gave a reception at Lambeth Palace; the Dean of Westminster entertained at the Abbey. The Dukes of Westminster and Wellington, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the Earl of Ellesmere, admitted members to an inspection of the art-treasures of Grosvenor House, Apsley House, Lansdowne House, and Bridgewater House. Sir Courtenay Ilbert, clerk to the House of Commons, twice conducted parties through the Houses of Parliament. The Royal Historical Society kept open house. The Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records (Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte), the Director of the British Museum (Sir Frederick Kenyon), the Constable of the Tower, the Master of the Temple, the Master of the Charterhouse, the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Vice-Provost of Eton College, made occasions for exhibiting with much hospitality the historic establishments committed to their charge. The Chilean minister (Señor Don Agustín Edwards), Sir George and Lady Trevelyan, Mr. John Murray and others gave receptions; and on the final evening there was a very pleasant subscription dinner at the Great Central Hotel, where representatives of various nationalities embraced the opportunity to express with warmth and enthusiasm their sense of all that had been so generously done to make the congress enjoyable and memorable.

Even with the ending of the congress, however, hospitality did not end. The next day there were visits to Cambridge and Oxford, where a large number of members were entertained to dinner, at Cambridge by the Master of Peterhouse in the hall of that college, at Oxford by the teachers of history and law, in the hall of All Souls. A certain number also took part in an excursion to Bath, to the Cheddar caverns and Glastonbury under the guidance of Pro-

fessor Boyd Dawkins, and to Wells, and were agreeably entertained by the mayor of Bath and by the Bishop and the Dean of Wells.

Let it not be thought that too much has been made of these social pleasures. It is chiefly through them, on such an occasion, that one obtains that increase of acquaintance, that friendship with other members of one's profession, that constitute one of the chief reasons for the existence of international congresses. In a science in which the human element plays so large a part as in history, to meet and talk with, perhaps, several score of those with whom one has corresponded or whose books one has read, is a long help toward the due understanding of what one reads; and if we hope that the diffusion of historical knowledge will be a powerful promoter of international good-will, it is surely of great importance that those in each country who have that diffusion in charge should have and use the means for personal friendship. To have come into personal contact with Doctors Ward and Mahaffy and Cunningham, Cordier and Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and Lamprecht, to name only some of the elder figures, or even to have seen them and heard them talk, is something more than a mere pleasure. More of that pleasure and profit might have been had if there had been easier means of finding members, inevitably much scattered through a great city, or if it had not been for the English "custom" of not introducing, but they were had in a very rewarding measure.

It is understood that about eleven hundred members were registered. As to the representation of the various nationalities, one's only guide at the present time is the early provisional list existing in proof and embracing 680 names. Of these, 450, two-thirds, are British. Something like 65 are German, 30 from Russia (but including a number of Poles), 25 from Austria-Hungary, and only 22 from France, hardly more than from the Netherlands and Belgium together, and not twice as many as from Scandinavia. Twenty persons are known to have been present from the United States—more than might have been expected in April.

The formal sessions of the congress began on the morning of Thursday, April 3, and continued through Tuesday, April 8, ending with a session for the transaction of business, on the following morning. The opening session took place in the Great Hall of Lincoln's Inn, a noble and historic hall. Here the permanent organization was effected. Mr. James Bryce had been designated as president, but his duties as British ambassador in Washington could not be concluded in time to enable him to be present, and, though he was formally made president, the Master of Peterhouse, Dr. A. W. Ward, was chosen to act in his place as presiding officer. The

long list of vice-presidents, usual on such occasions in Europe, was duly passed, and the organization of sections was provided for. After graceful introductory words, Dr. Ward read the presidential address which Mr. Bryce, with a message of regret for his absence, had sent across the Atlantic.

Mr. Bryce took up first the appropriate topic of the expansion of range which in the last two generations the study of history has undergone. Among the causes of this expansion he dwelt especially upon the opening up of three new fields of investigation, which have not only provided new materials for our study, but have incidentally affected our view of the way in which the old materials ought to be handled. For one, the study of primitive man has given us data which extend the history of mankind from the bronze age back to neolithic times, and from them back into one palaeolithic age after another, and thus through a period each division of which is longer than all the time that has elapsed since our first historical records begin. In the second place, the last sixty years, with their excavations in Egypt, in western Asia, and in the lands about the Aegæan, have added to our knowledge of early Mediterranean civilizations more than did all the centuries that had passed since the days of Macedonian and Roman conquest and thus have given a new aspect and background to the classical history of Greece and Rome. Thirdly, the progress of modern geographical discovery, and of conquest and settlement, by bringing within our ken the habits and manners, the religious ideas and rudimentary political institutions, of a large number of backward races and tribes scattered over the earth, has given us a fuller and more lively idea both of primeval savagery and of the state of those more advanced barbarian tribes whom the ancient authorities describe as they found them lying outside the bounds of the classical world.

Next, speaking from the vantage-ground of his observations as an assiduous traveller, Mr. Bryce adverted to the ethnical changes that are going on in the present-day world outside of Europe—the weaker or more backward races changing or vanishing under the impact of civilized man, their languages disappearing, their religious beliefs withering, their tribal organizations dissolving, their customs fading slowly away, first from use and then from memory—and urged upon historians the duty of seizing betimes these vanishing phenomena, and extracting from them whatever light they can cast upon such obscure historical processes as those by which races have been differentiated from one another, or those by which tribal communities have been formed, or have coalesced into nations.

Finally, the president of the congress—chosen to that position,

we may assume, as best representing the cosmopolitan spirit in the historical thinking of England—drew the attention of his hearers to the rapid process by which the modern world is becoming one. A few languages, a few religions, a few great powers, are taking the place once occupied by manifold diversity. Movements of politics, of economics and finance, and of thought, in each region of the world, become more closely interwoven with those of every other. History tends to become the history of mankind as a whole, and the historian will have increasing need of amplitude of conception and power of combination. Meanwhile the students of history, led by their studies to look further back and more widely around than most of their fellow-citizens can do, and knowing better than most men how great is the debt each nation owes to the other, how essential to the advancement of each is the greatness and the welfare of the others and the common friendship of all, are under especial obligation to become a bond of sympathy between peoples, to reduce every source of international ill-feeling, and to point the way to peace and good-will throughout the world.

The acting president followed with supplementary remarks, chiefly devoted to a review of the improvements made during the last half-century in respect of aids to historical progress—the opening and exploitation of archives, the institution of historical publishing commissions and societies, the growth of historical instruction in universities and schools, the increase of reference-works and of journals.<sup>2</sup> On behalf of the delegates to the congress, Professor von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff of the Prussian Academy made with his accustomed felicity and eloquence a brief address appreciative of the words of welcome, and was followed by M. Henri Cordier of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres and by Mr. Charles Francis Adams of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Sir George Trevelyan, in a happy speech, moved the vote of thanks to the president and acting-president and the proposal confirming their election, and was supported by the Greek minister (M. Jean Gennadios) and the minister of Chile.

Of general sessions for the reading of papers there were two, the first held in the same stately hall of Lincoln's Inn, the second in one of the large halls of the University of London at South Kensington. In the first, the veteran Professor Ernst Bernheim of Greifswald, whose pupil through his *Lehrbuch* we all are, read a closely reasoned paper on "Die Interpretation aus den Zeitanschau-

<sup>2</sup> A pamphlet printed by the Oxford University Press contains Mr. Bryce's presidential address and the introductory and supplementary remarks of Dr. Ward.



ungen". Professor Henri Pirenne of Ghent, in an oral discourse which we hope to be able at a later time to present to our readers in written form, discussed the social stages of the evolution of capitalism from the twelfth century to the nineteenth, but especially those of the medieval period, controverting Sombart, and setting forth brilliantly, with the aid of Flemish and other examples, his views of the origin of medieval cities in northern Europe and of the growth of capitalism in them. An allied topic was later treated by him in a paper read before one of the sections of the congress, on the relations of *grand commerce* to medieval urban economy, in which he urged that current views of medieval *Stadtwirtschaft* had been based too largely on the study of the craft-gild period, too little on considerations derived from the preceding period of capitalistic commerce. In the general session his address was followed by one, of much vigor and breadth of view, in which Professor Otto von Gierke of Berlin discussed the historical development, chiefly in Germany, of the principle of control by majority of votes, which he traced from the conception of unanimity as requisite, through the fellowship-conception (*Genossenschaftsbegriff*) to the corporation-conception, formulated by legists and canonists, to the doctrines based on the theory of the social contract, and to the present time, exhibiting the principle as one of only historical and relative value.

In this same general session Mr. R. J. Whitwell of Oxford submitted proposals for a new dictionary of medieval Latin, a task which would be in an appalling degree an *œuvre de longue haleine*; at a later session it was appropriately relegated to the British Academy for consideration, but it could not be hopefully undertaken with resources less formidable than those of the International Union of Academies.

In the second general session of the congress Professor Eduard Meyer of Berlin gave a conversational account of the work of the past generation in research in ancient history. Professor Lappo-Danilevski of the St. Petersburg Academy read a valuable paper on the evolution of the idea of the state in Russia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, beginning with the religious idea of the state laid down by the Orthodox church in the times before the czar Alexis, and tracing its gradual secularization, through the influence of Renaissance and Reformation and the later doctrines of natural law, and through the infiltration of the views of Grotius, Hobbes, Puffendorf, and other Occidental publicists, down to Peter the Great and the constitutional projects of 1730. Professor Lamprecht of Leipzig followed with a survey of the recent currents of intellectual development in Germany, and Professor Jorga of Bucharest

with an argument, not universally convincing, that the history of the Middle Ages, heretofore related from a false point of view, needed to be remade in the light of generalizations which he deemed both novel and conclusive.

But, as on former occasions, it had been found necessary, in justice to all the various interests involved, to divide the congress into sections, each organized with its presiding officer, vice-presidents, and secretary; and, apart from the papers which have been described, most of its operations went on in sectional meetings. While the arrangement of the sections followed in general the model of the Berlin congress, there were some characteristic variations. The chief of these lay in the increase of the number of sections from eight to nine by substituting, for the one section which at Berlin had embraced the whole of the political history of both medieval and modern times, two sections, one occupied with medieval history, the other with modern. Colonial history, to which it was natural to pay much attention in an historical congress held in the capital of the British empire, and military and naval history, were attached to the latter, but as sub-sections. There were some other instances of organized sub-sections. The general scheme of sections was the following: I. Oriental history, including Egyptology; II. Greek and Roman history, and Byzantine history; III. Medieval history; IV. Modern history, including the history of colonies and dependencies and naval and military history; V. Religious and ecclesiastical history; VI. Legal and economic history (two autonomous sub-sections, which might well on future occasions be made separate sections); VII. History of medieval and modern civilization; VIII. Archaeology, with prehistoric studies and ancient art (the Berlin scheme had provided a section for *Kunstgeschichte* in general); IX. Related and auxiliary sciences. Perhaps it was only the sub-section for military and naval history whose programme can be said to have been organized with a view to promoting a specific practical result. Here a definite purpose was manifest to bring about, on the part of the British naval and military services, a more scientific study of the history of warfare, to bring historians and officers into closer relations and into co-operation, and to encourage, in the history of each war, the habit of combining the study of land and sea operations in one view. It should also be mentioned that two entire sessions of section VIII. were devoted to Russian subjects, making an impressive exhibition of the recent advances and results of archaeological exploration in southern Russia. In the other sections the programmes were made up, as committees on such occasions usually

have to make them up, without much approach to unity, of such papers as can be obtained from those who expect to attend.

Speaking of the sessions in general, it may be said that papers which by extraordinary originality and power were destined to alter signally the maps of their respective fields were not numerous; but the general level was high, and the total contribution to the science much more than respectable in quantity. There were no sections, and even few individual sessions of sections, that were not felt by those who attended them to have been profitable and interesting. The attendance in sections and sub-sections seems to have varied from fifteen to sixty members.

Something of significance might perhaps be derived from classification of the topics treated, but they would hardly be a guide as to present national tendencies, for there was a natural proclivity toward themes that might be of interest to an audience prevalingly English. Not only did forty of the British papers (which constituted more than half of the entire programme) relate to British history, but nearly twenty of the others. It was noteworthy that not more than half-a-dozen of the papers bore on diplomatic history, though it was the Société d'Histoire Diplomatique which brought into existence the first international historical congress and the field is one congenial to such occasions; and that not a sixth of the whole mass of papers related to the old staple field of political history in the conventional sense. An American could not help thinking it to be a strange fact that, of more than a hundred papers presented by British subjects, only one was concerned wholly, and another partially, with the history of the United States, a country embracing nearly two-thirds of the English-speaking population of the globe.

The diversity of languages produced some of the same difficulties it has always produced since the unfortunate experiment of Babel, but of course, in view of the better European instruction in modern languages, much less than would have been experienced in a similar American assemblage. Two-thirds of the papers were read in English, about 35 in French, about 25 in German, two in Italian. These four were the recognized languages of the meeting. The rules of the Berlin congress had permitted the reading of papers in either German, French, English, Italian, or Latin. An interesting episode of the present congress was the presentation to members, in the shape of a pamphlet, in Russian and French, of a formal protest against the exclusion of Russian.<sup>3</sup> This document, prepared by Professor N. Bubnov of the University of Kiev, had been ap-

<sup>3</sup> *Les Titres Scientifiques de la Langue Russe pour l'Admission de la Langue Russe dans les Congrès Historiques Internationaux* (Kiev, 1913).

proved by the philosophical faculty and the council of his university, and forwarded by them to the congress for its consideration. On the general ground, Professor Bubnov maintained that the only defensible course was to leave each *savant* free to speak in what tongue he might choose; good sense and the desire to be understood would form a sufficient check upon vagaries. Speaking specifically for Russian, he argued with great warmth against the slight put upon it by exclusion, against an assumed doctrine that it was not a "civilized" speech, and, more appropriately, that the work of Russian scholars in Russian history, in Byzantine history, and in the whole history of eastern Europe (to say nothing of what they had done in the economic history of the West) had attained such dimensions and quality that to exclude their language from an international historical congress would bar it from any but a most defective and conventional consideration of that whole great field. At the close of the congress, as will be seen, the question quietly settled itself.

To give, in one article of moderate length, an account of two hundred scientific papers is manifestly impossible. The mere desire to hear any large number of them, a desire natural to anyone not hopelessly specialized, was sufficient to induce feelings of despair; but such is, as we all know, the nature of congresses held in sections. No convenient place had been found in London where under one roof so many as nine (and at times thirteen or fourteen) separate sections of historical folk could hold simultaneous meetings. Six of them could however be contained in rooms adjacent to each other in Burlington House, to wit, in the rooms of the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Astronomical Society, and the Chemical, Geological, and Linnean societies. To go from one to another of these sections, if need required, was therefore not difficult; it was harder in the case of sections which met at places so remote or scattered as University College, King's College, the Old Hall of Lincoln's Inn (legal section), or the Royal United Service Institution in Whitehall (colonial, military and naval).

But printed summaries of most of the papers were at hand<sup>4</sup> (a provision, by the way, which much facilitated genuine discussion, and which should be more largely introduced at the annual meetings of the American Historical Association); and while it is not expected that the executive committee of the congress will be able to do much in the way of publication, doubtless many of the more valuable papers will in one way or another find their way into print. Unless the congress exercises its prior rights, this journal expects to

<sup>4</sup> A complete set of these summaries is preserved at the office of this journal, and will be placed in various ways at the service of those interested.

have the pleasure of printing, not only the contribution of Professor Pirenne already mentioned, but also those of Professor Dietrich Schäfer of Berlin on the Sound-Dues as a Source of International History, of Mr. Goddard H. Orpen on the Effects of Norman Rule in Ireland, 1169-1333, of Professor Hume Brown of Edinburgh on the Intellectual Influences of Scotland on the Continent in the Eighteenth Century, of Professor Arnold Meyer of Rostock on Charles I. and Rome, of Dr. A. J. Carlyle on the Sources of Medieval Political Theory and its Connection with Medieval Politics, and in some form that of Sir Charles Lucas on Some Historical Problems in the West Indies; perhaps also others.<sup>5</sup>

Of contributions not already named, one may perhaps mention, as especially notable: in section I., the discourses of Professors A. A. Macdonell of Oxford and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt of Liverpool, on the Early History of Caste and on the Historical Position of Armenia in Ancient Times, respectively; in section II., Professor Otto Seeck on "Die letzte Waffengang des Römischen Heidentums"; in section III., the papers of Professors N. Bubnov and R. Davidsohn, the former on the legend of Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II., the latter on the "spring-time of Florentine culture"; in the legal sub-section, Sir Frederick Pollock on the Transformation of Equity and Professor Esmein of Paris on the maxim "Princeps legibus solutus est" in old French law; and in the economic sub-section, Professor Charles M. Andrews's paper, which won warm commendations, on Anglo-French Commercial Rivalry, 1700-1750.

American readers may be interested to know what were the American contributions to this varied banquet. In addition to the papers of Professor Andrews and Dr. Hazeltine, named above and below, they were as follows: the Government of Normandy under Henry II., by Professor Haskins; the Orgy of Tiberius at Capri, by Mr. T. Spencer Jerome of that island; the Relation of the United States to the Philippine Islands, by Professor Bernard Moses of the University of California, formerly a member of the governing commission of that dependency;<sup>6</sup> Contemporaneous European Action on the Monroe Declaration, by Mr. Dexter Perkins; Historiometry, a

<sup>5</sup> Other papers known to be on their way to publication are, those of Professor Eduard Meyer on the Representation of Foreign Races on the Egyptian Monuments (Prussian Academy), of Mr. H. W. C. Davis on Canon Law and the Church of England (*Church Quarterly Review*), of Dr. Harold D. Hazeltine on the Early History of English Equity, of Dr. Felix Liebermann on the National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon State, of Professor Alexander Cartellieri on "Philipp August und der Zusammenbruch des Angevinischen Reiches"; and a selection, in one volume, from the papers of section IV.

<sup>6</sup> See the *Atlantic Monthly* for May, 1913.

New Method in the Science of History, by Dr. F. A. Woods; and Typical Steps of American Expansion, by J. F. Jameson.

The conviction has not been concealed, in this brief account, that the act and fact of meeting were of more importance than the scientific content of the papers, many of which would in any case have been produced; yet the scientific product was both extensive and valuable. In definite achievements by framing or promoting important international undertakings, these international historical congresses have hitherto borne no considerable fruit, have indeed accomplished much less than, with a more truly international permanent organization, they might easily have done. In the business session with which this present congress was concluded, little more was transacted than the selection of the next place of meeting. Official invitations had been received from St. Petersburg and from Athens. In view of its priority and of the number of Russians present to support it, it was natural that the former should be accepted. The international historical congress of 1918 will therefore take place at St. Petersburg. The vote to that effect was accompanied with a resolution, somewhat gratuitous as it appeared to the transatlantic observer, instructing the executive committee to consider the question of adding Russian to the list of languages permitted for papers and discussions. It is not conceivable that an international historical congress should be held in St. Petersburg without the fullest freedom in the use of the Russian language, and those who think of attending, and wish to derive full profit from doing so, may as well address themselves at once, with such courage as they can muster, to the painful assault upon that formidable tongue.

It was natural for those Americans who have attended this or previous international historical congresses, and has had their shares of what Rome or Berlin or London have done in promoting the success of those gatherings, to wish that it might soon be the good fortune of the United States to entertain one. Doubtless the journey would seem difficult to many historians, and after going to St. Petersburg in 1918 it may be natural to wish to assemble in 1923 in some capital more central to western Europe, and the summer climate of Washington, or any other American city, would seem too hot to even the most philosophical of European historians; but if the spring vacations of European universities continue to be as ample in 1928 as now, we may well cherish the hope of entertaining that spring in our own capital the eighth international congress of historical science.

In the way of preparation for the future, the present meeting

went no farther than to appoint a small British executive committee, to act till a special committee of organization for the new congress should be brought into existence. The executive committee which had been in function during the six days of the congress had been fortified by a certain number of non-British members from the various sections. It is to be hoped, in the interest of proper future development and usefulness of the congress as an institution, as well as in the more immediate interest of catholic judgments on matters concerning the next congress in particular, that in its preliminary organization means may be taken toward creating at least a relatively permanent advisory committee of representatives of various nations, which on each quinquennial occasion may act with the national body entrusted with the immediate proceedings. Such a step, toward which indeed some suggestion was made by the expiring committee, would aid to give continuity of regulations and policy, and might ultimately make the congress a potent means, not merely as now of international friendship but of international achievement.

It was announced that, if more could not be done in the way of publication, at least a volume would be brought out containing the addresses of the president and acting president of this London congress, a general record of its organization and proceedings, and the summaries already mentioned as having been distributed in connection with the reading of the papers.<sup>7</sup> Then the congress dissolved, with many formal and informal words of appreciation for the labor, the thoughtfulness, and the hospitality which had been expended in making it so distinguished a success. None, it is certain, were more cordial in the feeling of gratitude than the Americans, to whom English welcome had been especially abundant, and for whom London and England have stronger associations and richer sources of feeling than they can have for nations who do not owe to England their existence.

J. F. J.

<sup>7</sup> Also, the British Academy will be requested to publish in its proceedings such papers as were presented by fellows or corresponding members of that body. On the papers in modern history, see also note 5, above.

## THE INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

Two great questions front all students of the social sciences: What happened? Why? History attempts to deal mainly with the first. It gathers the scattered traces of events and fills the archives of civilization with their records. Its science sifts the evidence and prepares the story. Its art recreates the image of what has been, and "old, forgotten far-off things" become once more the heritage of the present. Though no magic touch can wholly restore the dead past, history satisfies in considerable part the curiosity which asks "What happened?" But "Why?" What forces have been at work to move the latent energies of nations, to set going the march of events? What makes our revolutions or our tory reactions? Why did Rome fall, Christianity triumph, feudalism arise, the Inquisition flourish, monarchy become absolute and of divine right, Spain decline, England emerge, democracy awaken and grow potent? Why did these things happen when or where they did? Was it the direct intervention of an overruling Providence, for whose purposes the largest battalions were always on the move? Or are the ways past finding out? Do the events themselves reveal a meaning?

These are not simply questions for philosophers. Children insist upon them most. He is a lucky story-teller, whose Jack-the-Giant-Killer or Robin Hood is not cut through, time and again, by the unsatisfied curiosity as to *why* the beanstalk grew so high, *why* Jack wanted to climb, *why* Robin Hood lived under a greenwood tree, etc. Many a parental Herodotus has been wrecked on just such grounds. The problem for the philosopher or scientist is just the same as that brought forward by the child. The drama of history unrolls before our eyes in more sober form; our Robin Hoods become Garibaldis, our Jack-the-Giant-Killer a Napoleon, but we still have to ask how fortune and genius so combined to place southern Italy in the hands of the one, Europe at the feet of the other. Not only is the problem the same, but we answer it in the same way. Here, at once, we have a clue to the nature of interpretation. For anyone knows that you answer the child's "Why?" by telling another story. Each story is, in short, an explanation, and each explanation a story. The school-boy's excuse for being late is that he couldn't find his cap. He couldn't find his cap *because* he was playing in the barn. Each incident was a cause and each cause an incident in his biography. In like manner most of the reasons we assign for our acts merely state



an event or a condition of affairs which is in itself a further page of history. At last, however, there comes a point where the philosopher and the child part company. History is more than events. It is the manifestation of life, and behind each event is some effort of mind and will, while within each circumstance exists some power to stimulate or obstruct. Hence psychology and economics are called upon to explain the events themselves. The child is satisfied if you account for the career of Napoleon by a word "genius", but that merely opens the problem to the psychologist. The child in us all attributes the overthrow to the hollow squares of Waterloo, but the economist reminds us of the Continental system and the Industrial Revolution which made Waterloo possible.

The process of interpreting history, therefore, involves getting as much as possible out of history, psychology, and economics—using economics in the widest possible sense as the affective material background of life. This does not get to final causes, to be sure. It leaves the universe still a riddle. Theologians and metaphysicians are the only ones who attempt to deal with final causes as with final ends. Certainly historians cannot follow them in such speculations. The infinite lies outside experience, and experience is the sphere of history. When we talk of the interpretation of history, therefore, we do not mean its setting in the universe, but a knowledge of its own inner relationships. We confine ourselves to humanity and the theatre of its activities. But within this realm of mystery man exists, acts, and thinks—or thinks he does—which is all the same for historians; and these thoughts and deeds remain mostly understood, even by the actors themselves. Here is mystery enough, but mystery which is not in itself unknowable but merely unknown. The social sciences do not invade the field of religion; they have nothing to do with the ultimate; their problems are those of the City of Man, not of the City of God. So the interpretation of history can leave theology aside, except where theology attempts to become historical. Then it must face the same criticism as all other histories. If the City of God is conceived of as a creation of the processes of civilization, it becomes as much a theme for scientific analysis as the Roman Empire or the Balkan Confederacy. If theology substitutes itself for science it must expect the same treatment as science. But our search for historic "causes" is merely a search for other things of the same kind—natural phenomena of some sort—which lie in direct and apparently inevitable connection. We interpret history by knowing more of it, bringing to bear our psychology and every other auxiliary to open up each intricate relationship between men, situations, and events.

This is our first great principle. What do we mean by the "meaning" of anything but more knowledge of it? In physics or chemistry we enlarge our ideas of phenomena by observing how they work, what are their affinities, how they combine or react. But all these properties are merely different sides of the same thing, and our knowledge of it is the sum total of our analysis. Its meaning has changed, as our knowledge enlarges, from a lump of dirt to a compound of elements. No one asks what an element is, because no one can tell—except in terms of other elements. The interpretation, therefore, of physical phenomena is a description of them in terms of their own properties. The same thing is true of history, only instead of description we have narrative. For history differs from the natural sciences in this fundamental fact, that while they consider phenomena from the standpoint of Space, history deals with them from the standpoint of Time. Its data are in eternal change, moving in endless succession. Time has no static relationships, not so much as for a second. One moment merges into the next, and another has begun before the last is ended. The old Greeks already pointed out that one could never put his foot twice into the same waters of a running stream, and never has philosophy insisted more eloquently upon this fluid nature of Time than in the writings of Professor Bergson. But whatever Time may be in the last analysis it is clear that whereas physics states the meaning of the phenomena with which it deals in descriptions, history must phrase its interpretations in narrative—the narrative which runs with passing time.

Hence history and its interpretation are essentially one, if we mean by history all that has happened, including mind and matter in so far as they relate to action. Any other kind of interpretation is unscientific. It eludes analysis because it does not itself analyze, and hence it eludes proof. So theological dogma, which may or may not be true, and speculation in metaphysics are alike outside our problem. Indeed, when we come down to it, there is little difference between "What has happened?" and "Why?" The "Why?" only opens up another "What?" Take for example a problem in present history: "Why has the price of living gone up?" The same question might be asked another way: "What has happened to raise prices?" The change in the form of sentence does not solve anything, for who knows what has happened? But it puts us upon a more definite track toward our solution. We test history by history.

Now the earliest historical narrative is the myth. It is at the same time an explanation. It is no mere product of imagination, of the play of art with the wayward fancies of childlike men. Myths, real genuine myths—not Homeric epics composed for sophisticated,

critical audiences—are statements of “facts” to the believer. They are social outputs, built up out of experience and fitted to new experiences. The long canoes are swept to sea by the northeast hurricane, and year by year in the winter nights at the camp-fires of those who go by long canoes the story is repeated, over and over again, until the sea is left behind or a new race brings triremes with machinery in the inside. So long as the old society exists under the old conditions the myth perpetuates itself; but it also gathers into it the reflex of the changing history. It therefore embodies the belief of the tribe, and this gives it an authority beyond the reach of any primitive higher criticism. Appealed to as the “wisdom of our fathers”, as the universally accepted and therefore true—*quod semper quod ab omnibus*—it becomes a sort of creed for its people. More than a creed, it is as unquestioned as the world around and life itself. The eagle of Prometheus or of the Zuñi myths is as much a part of the world to Greeks and Zuñis as the eagle seen yonder on the desert-rim. The whole force of society is on the side of myth. The unbeliever is ostracized or put to death. What would have happened to the man who should have dared to question the literal narrative of Genesis in the thirteenth century, has happened in some form in every society. The Inquisition, we are told, was merely a refinement of lynch law. In any case it would never have been effective without popular support. The heretics of all ages suffer because the faith they challenge is the treasured possession of their society, a heritage in which resides the mysterious efficacy of immemorial things.

Now it is a strange fact that most of our beliefs begin in prior belief. It does not sound logical, but it remains true that we get to believing a thing from believing it. Belief is the basic element in thought. It starts with consciousness itself. Once started, there develops a tendency—“a will”—to keep on. Indeed it is almost the strongest tendency in the social mind. Only long scientific training can keep an individual alert with doubt, or, in other words, keep him from merging his own beliefs in those of his fellows. This is the reason myth has so long played so momentous a rôle in the history of the human intelligence—by far the largest of any one element in our whole history. Science was born but yesterday. Myths are millenniums old. And they are as young to-day as in the glacial period. Heroes and victims share the stage of the drama of history with those uncanny Powers that mock at effort or exalt the weak, and trick with sudden turns the stately progress of society. Whenever the marvellous event is explained by causes more marvellous still, where the belief is heightened by basing it upon deeper

mysteries, we are following the world-old method of explaining by the inexplicable.

Now myths are unsatisfactory as explanations for various reasons, but the main one is that human events are subordinated to the supernatural in which they are set. This means that normal events of daily life are generally passed unnoticed, and attention is concentrated upon the unusual and abnormal. It is in these that the divine or diabolic intervenes. They are pre-eminently—as we still say of railway accidents—acts of God. So the myth neither tells a full story, with all the human data involved, nor directs to any natural sequence of events. Sickness and consequent catastrophe are not attributed to malarial mosquitoes—such as filled the temples of Aesculapius with suppliants and depleted Greece of citizens. All misfortune is due to broken taboos. When Roman armies are defeated the question is “Who has sinned and how?” When death comes to the Australian bushman, there is always black magic to account for it. And pontiffs and medicine men elaborate the mythology which explains and justifies the taboos.

That is not to say that myths are the creations of priests. The creation is the work of the society itself. The priest merely elaborates. The initial belief resides in the nerves of primitive men, the fear of the uncanny, the vague apprehension which still chills us in the presence of calamity. Social suggestion is responsible for much of it—we tremble when we see the rigid fear on the faces of those beside us. When someone whispers in the dark, “Isn’t it awful?” “It” suddenly thrills into being, like a ghost. Voltaire was wrong to attribute the origin of these beliefs of superstition to priestcraft. The priest merely took hold of the universal beliefs of his people and gave them form and consistency, as the minstrel wove them into poetry. The scruple about entering the dark wooded slopes beyond the village grain-fields is enough to people it, for most of us, with all uncanny things. If you are the kind of person to have scruples about entering a wood by night, you are the kind to appreciate the possibilities of lurking danger in its shadows and moving presences in its thickets. So on a night, when the moon is high and the wind is still, you may hear the hounds and the wolf-packs of the wild hunters—of Diana and Mars. It needs no priestly college to convince us of that. The wood and the wolves and our own nerves are enough. But the priestly college develops the things of night into the stuff for history; and centuries after the howling wolves have disappeared from the marshes around Rome the city cherishes, to the close of its history, the myth of its founding.

Men first tell stories. Then they think about them. So from mythology, the ancients proceeded to philosophy. Now philosophy is a wide word. For some of us it means keen criticism of fundamental things. For others it is a befuddled consideration of un-realities. But whatever it may be now, philosophy came into the antique world as science, critical analysis, and history was but another name for it. The "inquiry" of those Ionian logographi who began to question Homer, in the sixth century before Christ, was a challenge and interpretation of myth. So, all through its history, history has demanded of its students denial rather than acceptance, scepticism rather than belief, in order that the story of men and empires be more than a myth. But the tendency to believe and accept is so strongly impressed upon us from immemorial social pressures that few have risen to the height of independent judgment which was the Greek ideal. Criticism, in the full sense of the word, is an interpretation. To reject a story means that one constructs another in its place. It establishes that certain things did not happen because certain other ones did. So the Greeks corrected myths, and in doing this made history more rational. Man came into the story more and the gods receded.

One may distinguish two phases of philosophic interpretation of history, that in which the philosophy is in reality a theology and that in which it is natural science. In the first phase we are still close to myth. Myth places the cause of events in Mystery of some sort—deities, demons, the Fates, or Fortune. Early philosophy proceeds upon these assumptions, which also penetrate most antique histories. Even Polybius, hard-headed, much-experienced man of the world, cannot quite attribute to natural causes the rise of Rome. Fortune, that wayward goddess of Caesar, had something to do with it—how much it would be hard to say. Livy had this myth-philosophy to the full; every disaster had its portent, every triumph its omen. This was the practical philosophy of all but the few calm thinkers whose scepticism passed into the second phase, which reached all the way from an open question whether or not the gods interfered in human affairs to the positive denial of their influence. The great source-book for such interpretations of history is Cicero's *On the Nature of the Gods*, where one may find in the guise of a theological discussion a résumé of the various pagan philosophies of history. For the philosophies of history were more frankly philosophy than history; the question at issue was the intruding mystery rather than the circumstances of the intrusion, and one denied or affirmed mainly on *à priori* grounds. The denial was not historical criticism and the philosophy of doubt hardly more genuine historical interpretation

than the philosophy of belief. Its conclusions more nearly *coincide* with the demands of scientific research; that is all. But mythology was not lightly to be got rid of, even among philosophers, and as for the populace, it merely exchanged one myth for another, until finally it could take refuge in theology. The bold infidelity of a Lucretius was too modern for the age which was to give birth to Christianity, and the Voltaires of antiquity were submerged in a rising sea of faith.

Moreover there were two reasons why antique philosophy could not accomplish much. It lacked the instruments by which to penetrate into the two centres of its problem: psychology, to analyze the mind, and experimental laboratories, to analyze the setting of life or life itself. It had some knowledge of psychology, to be sure, and some experimental science, but relatively little; and it never realized the necessity for developing them. It sharpened the reason to an almost uncanny degree, and played, like a grown athlete, with ideas. But it followed the ideas into their ideal world and left this world unaccounted for. Above all, it knew practically nothing of economic and material elements in history. Even a Thucydides has no glimpse of the intimate connection between the forces of economics and of politics. History for him is made by *men*, not by grain-fields and metals. It was not until the nineteenth century—just the other day—that economic factors in historical causation were emphasized as playing a rôle comparable to that of man himself. Thucydides did not realize how commercial and industrial competition could rouse the rivals of Athens to seek her overthrow. Polybius felt that Fortune was a weak excuse to offer for Rome's miraculous rise and fell back upon the peculiar excellence of her constitution. Both were rationalists of a high order, but they never extended their history—and therefore their interpretation—beyond politics. The gods tend to disappear, and mankind to take their place. But it is an incomplete mankind, rational beings moved by ideas and principles; not economic animals moved by blind wants and fettered by the basest limitations. In short, a political man is the farthest analysis one gets. But even Aristotle never knew how many things there were in politics besides politics. The extent of the interplay of material forces upon psychological lay outside his ken.

Upon the whole, then, there is almost nothing to learn from antique interpretations of history. They interest us because of their antiquity and their drift from the supernatural to the natural. But they did not achieve a method which would open up the natural and let us see its working. They are of no service to us in our own interpretations.

Christianity dropped all this rationalist tone of the Greeks, and turned the keen edge of Greek philosophy to hew a structure so vast in design, so simple in outline, that the whole world could understand and none escape. History was but the realization of religion—not of various religions, but of one; the working out of one divine plan. It was a vast, supernatural process, more God's than man's. It was no longer a play of rival forces, the gods of Rome against those of Veii or the Baalim against Jahve. But from all eternity the drama had been determined by the Wisdom that was infinite, and it was being wrought out by an almighty arm. Baal and Jupiter are creatures and puppets, like mere men. History has only one interpretation. Rome—city and empire—is the spoil of the barbarian, the antique world is going to pieces, all its long heritage of culture, its millenniums of progress, its arts and sciences are perishing in the vast, barbaric anarchy: why? There is one answer, sufficient, final—God wills it. No uncertain guesses as to the virtue of peoples, weights of battalions, resources of countries, pressures of populations, wasteful administrations, black deaths, impoverished provinces. There is sin to be punished. The pagan temples of the ancient world, with their glories of art shining on every acropolis, are blasphemy and invite destruction. Philosophers and poets whose inspiration had once seemed divine now seem diabolic. Those who catch the vision of the new faith, shake off the old world as one shakes off a dream. Talk of revolutions! No doctrines of the rights of man have caught the imagination with such terrific force as these doctrines of the rights of God, which from Paul to Augustine were clothed with all the convincing logic of Hellenic genius and Roman realism. It is hard for us Christians to realize the amount of religion which Christianity injected into the world; not merely among the credulous populace, on the religious *qui vive*, but among thinking men. It saturated philosophy with dogma and turned speculation from nature to the supernatural.

The earliest Christians cherished above all other convictions that of the speedy end of the world and lived under the very shadow of the day of doom. As time went on, this millennial hope seemed to grow fainter; but in reality it merely took a more rigid form. It became the structural heart of the new theology. The pageant of history, which had seemed so gloriously wonderful, so inspiring to a Polybius back in the old heroic days, was now a worn and sorry thing. It had no glory nor even any meaning except in the light of the new dispensation. On the other hand the new *patria*, the *Civitas Dei*, transcending all earthly splendor, was absorbing, not merely the present and the future, but the past as well. For all the

tragic lines of war and suffering were now converging. All the aimless struggling was now to show its hidden purpose. In Christianity, the story of nations, of politics, economics, art, war, law—in short of civilization—culminated, and ceased!

Such was the thought which underlay all Christian apologetic theology from the first. But it received its classic statement in the *City of God* by Augustine, written when the city of Rome had fallen, and—if it were not for the heretics and the barbarians—the claims of theology seemed almost realizable. For a thousand years and more it was the unquestioned interpretation of the meaning of history, easily adaptable to any circumstance because it covered all. It still is found wherever pure theology satisfies historical curiosity. That includes—or has included—not merely theologians but most other people, for however slight has been the interest in theology it has been greater than the interest in scientific history, at least until recent times. Religion has supplied the framework of our thought, and the picture of our evolution. The real historians of Europe have been the parish priests. In every hamlet, however remote, for the lowly as for those of high degree, they have repeated the story week after week, century after century. Greek *historikoi* and medieval minstrels, even the modern novels, can hardly match their influence upon the mind of the mass of men. Their tale itself was an unrivalled epic, dark with the supreme central tragedy upon which Christendom itself rested, rising to the keenest voicing of the hopes of life. Its very element was miracle. No fairy story could rival its devious turns, while at the same time the theme swept over the whole path of history—so far as they knew or cared. It was the story of a chosen people, of divine governance from creation to the founding of their own church, guarded in a sacred book and interpreted from a sacred tongue.

Slowly, however, the setting of the Church had changed. The vision of the day of judgment died away almost altogether. Men who dared to dream apocalypses—like Joachim of Flora—or their followers were judged heretics by a church which had planted itself *in seculo* and surrounded itself with all the pomp and circumstances of temporal power. There was still a lingering echo of the older faith, heard most often in the solemn service for the dead. So long as the universe was ptolemaic—the world of Dante and of Milton—the heavy chord of *dies irae* would cut in upon the growing interest in the world itself. But once the crystalline sphere was shattered by Copernicus and Galileo, and the infinite spaces were strewn with stars like our own, the old idea of a world to “shrivel like a parched scroll” had to be revised and readjusted, and with it the simple



conception of the divine purpose, centred upon the centre of things, and working by direct intervention through constant miracle. There was no sudden revolution, the old ideas were too firmly fixed for that. Moreover, science began to challenge the theological history of the universe before it challenged the theological history of man himself. But when geology began to bring in evidence of the age of our residence, and physics achieved the incredible feat of weighing the forces and determining the conditions which held the worlds together, then the details of the scheme of Augustine had to be recast as well. From Augustine to Bossuet one may trace an almost unbroken line of theological interpretations. But some, at least, of the generation which listened to Bossuet were also to watch Bolingbroke and Voltaire whetting the weapons of rationalist attack.

Now what is the weakness of the theological interpretation of history? It is of the same character as that we have seen in the myth. The interpretation is outside of history altogether. Grant all that theology claims, that Rome fell and England arose, that America was discovered, or was so long undiscovered, because "God wills it". That does not enlarge our knowledge of the process. It satisfies only those who believe in absolutely unqualified Calvinism—and they are becoming few and far between. If man is a free agent, even to a limited degree, he can find the meaning of his history in the history itself—the only meaning which is of any value as a guide to conduct or as throwing light upon his actions. Intelligent inquiry has free scope within a universe of ever widening boundaries, where nature, and not supernature, presents its sober phenomena for patient study.

This patient study, however, had not yet been done when the eighteenth-century deists attacked the theological scheme, and their philosophy shares to some extent the weakness of the antique, in its ignorance of data. Natural law took the place of an intervening Providence; history was a process worked out by the forces of nature moving uniformly, restless but continuous, unchecked, inevitable. The process comprised all mankind; no chosen people, implying injustice to those not chosen; no miracles disturbing the regularity of nature. This was an advance toward future understanding because it concentrated attention upon nature and the method of evolution, but in itself it cast but little light upon the problem. For it did not explain details. One sees its failure most where it risked hypotheses with most assurance, in its treatment of religion. It would not do for philosophers to admit that religion—at least of the old, historic type—was itself one of the laws of nature, implanted in humanity from the beginning. Consequently it was for

them a creation of priestcraft. No dismissal of its claims could be more emphatic. Yet the old theologies have since proved that they have at least as many natural rights in society as the criticism of them, and now, with our new knowledge of primitive life, dominated by religion as we see it to be, we cast aside the rationalist conception as a distortion of history almost as misleading as those of the mythology it tried to dispose of.

But the work of Voltaire and his school, in disrupting the old authority of Church and Bible—bitterly denounced and blackly maligned as it has been—is now recognized by all thinking minds, at least by all leaders of thought, to have been an essential service in the emancipation of the human intellect. The old sense of authority could never afterwards, as before, block the free path of inquiry; and the era of Enlightenment, as it was fondly termed, did enlighten the path which history was to take if it was to know itself. The anti-clerical bias of Hume and Gibbon is perhaps all the casual reader perceives in them. But where among all previous historians does one find the attitude so genuinely historical? Moreover, in Hume we have the foundations of psychology, and a criticism of causality which was of the first importance. It would be tempting to linger over these pioneers of the scientific spirit, who saw but could not realize the possibilities of naturalism. Their own achievement, however, was so faulty in just this matter of interpretation, that it was not difficult for the reaction of the early nineteenth century to poke holes in their theories, and so discredit—for the time being—their entire outlook.

Before Voltaire had learned in England the main lines of his philosophy, a Scottish boy had been born in Königsberg, in Prussia, who was destined to exercise as high if not as extended a sovereignty over the intellect of the nineteenth century. Immanuel Kant, however, was of a different type. He fought no ringing fights with the old order. He simply created a new realm in metaphysics, where one could take refuge and have the world as his own. The *idea* dominates. Space and time, the *à priori* forms of all phenomena, lie within us. Mathematics are vindicated because the mind can really master relationships, and the reason emerges from its critique to grapple with the final problem of metaphysics. This at first sight has little to do with interpreting history, but it proved to have a great deal to do with it. The dominance of ideas became a fundamental doctrine among those who speculated concerning causation in history, and metaphysics all but replaced theology as an interpreter.

One sees this already in the work of the greatest historian of the nineteenth century, Leopold von Ranke. To him each age and

country is explicable only if one approaches it from the standpoint of its own *Zeitgeist*. But the spirit of a time is more than the temporal environment in which events are set. It is a determining factor, clothed with the creative potency of mind. Ranke did not develop this philosophic background of history, he accepted it and worked from rather than towards it. His *Zeitgeist* was a thing for historians to portray, not to speculate about. History should concern itself with the preservation of phenomena as they had actually existed in their own time and place. It should recover the lost data of the past, not as detached specimens such as the antiquary places in his museum, but transplanted like living organisms for the preservation of the life as well as of the organs. Now, where else should one look for the vital forces of history than in the mind of the actors? So if the historic imagination can restore events, not simply as they seem to us but as they seemed to those who watched them taking place, we shall understand them in so far as history can contribute to their understanding. In any case this is the field of the historian. If he injects his own theories into the operation he merely falsifies what he has already got. Let the past stand forth once more, interpreted by itself, and we have the truth—incomplete to be sure, but as perfect as we shall ever be able to attain. For, note the point, in that past, the dominating thing was the *Zeitgeist* itself—a thing at once to be worked out and working out, a programme and a creative force. Why, therefore, should one turn aside to other devices to explain history, since it explained itself if once presented in its own light?

Ranke developed no further the implications of his theory than to ensure a reproduction of a living past, as perfect as with the sources at his disposal and the political instincts of his time it was possible to secure. But this high combination of science and art had its counterpart in the philosophy of Hegel. At first sight nothing could be more absurd than the comparison of these two men, the one concrete, definite, searching for minute details, maintaining his own objectivity by insisting upon the subjectivity of the materials he handles, the other theoretic, unhistorical, creating worlds from his inner consciousness, presenting as a scheme of historical interpretation a programme of ideals, unattained and for all we know unattainable. It would be difficult to imagine a philosophy of history more unhistorical than this of Hegel. Yet he but emphasized the Idea which Ranke implicitly accepted.

Hegel was a sort of philosophic Augustine, tracing through history the development of the realm of the spirit. The City of God is still the central theme, but the crude expectations of a miraculous

advent are replaced by the conception of a slow realization of its spiritual power, rising through successive stages of civilization. So he traces, in broad philosophic outlines, the history of this revelation of the Spirit, from its dawn in the Orient, through its developing childhood in Asia, its Egyptian period of awakening, its liberation in Greece, its maturity in the Roman balance of the individual and the State, until finally Christianity, especially in the German world, carries the spirit life to its highest expression. In this process the Absolute reveals itself—that Absolute which had mocked the deists with its isolation and unconcern. And it reveals itself in the Idea which Kantian critique had placed in the forefront of reality and endowed with the creative force of an *élan vital*. So theology, scepticism, and metaphysics combined to explain the world and its history—as the working out of an ideal scheme.

Now as a series of successive ideals the Hegelian scheme may offer some suggestions to those who wish to characterize the complex phenomena of an age or an empire in a single phrase. But it is no statement of any actual process. The ideals which it presents remain ideals, not realities. History written to fit the Hegelian metaphysics would be almost as vigorous a distortion as that which Orosius wrote to fit Augustinian theology. The history of practical Christianity, for instance, is a vastly different thing from the history of its ideals. It is an open question whether the ideal could ever be deduced from the practice, and not less questionable whether we are any nearer realization than at the start. There has been little evidence in outward signs of any such determinant change in the nature of politics or in the stern enforcement of economic laws during the history of western Europe. We find ourselves repeating in many ways experience of Rome and Greece—pagan experiences. Society is only partly religious and only slightly self-conscious. How, then, can it be merely the manifestation of a religious ideal? Surely other forces than ideals or ideas must be at work. The weakness of Hegel's interpretation of history is the history. He interprets it without knowing what it is. His interest was in the other side of his scheme, the Absolute which was revealing itself therein. The scheme, indeed, was a sort of afterthought. But before historians directed any sufficient criticism against his unhistoricity, scepticism in philosophy had already attacked his Absolute. It was the materialistic Feuerbach, with his thoroughgoing avowal that man is the creature of his appetite and not of his mind (*Der Mensch ist was er isst*), who furnished the transition to a new and absolutely radical line of historical interpretation—the materialistic and the economic.

Materialism has a bad name. It has partly earned it, partly had

it thrust upon it. But whatever one may think of its cruder dogmatic aspects, the fact remains that interpretation of history owes at least as much to it as to all the speculations which had preceded it. For it supplied one-half the data—the material half! Neither theology nor metaphysics had really ever got down to earth. They had proceeded upon the theory that the determination of history is from *above* and from *within* mankind, and had been so absorbed with working out their scheme from these premises that the possibility of determination from *around* did not occur to them, until the physical and biological sciences and the new problems of economics pressed it upon their attention. To the old philosophies, this world was at best a theatre for divine or psychic forces; it contributed no part of the drama but the setting. Now came the claim that the environment itself entered into the play and that it even determined the character of the production. It was a claim based upon a study of the details from a new standpoint, that of the commonplace, of business, and of the affairs of daily life. The farmer's work depends upon his soil, the miner's upon the pumps which open up the lower levels. Cities grow where the forces of production concentrate, by harbors or coal-fields. A study of plains, river valleys, or mountain ranges tends to show that societies match their environment; therefore the environment moulds them to itself. So the nature of the struggle for existence, out of which emerges intelligence, is determined by the material conditions under which it is waged.

This is innocent enough. One might have expected that philosophers would have welcomed the emphasis which the new thinkers placed upon the missing half of their speculations. For there was no getting around the fact that the influences of environment upon society had been largely or altogether ignored before the scientific era forced the world upon our view. But no. The dogmatic habits had got too firmly fixed. If one granted that the material environment might determine the character of the drama of history, why should it not determine whether there should be any drama at all or not? There were extremists on both sides, and it was battle royal—Realism and Nominalism over again. One was to be either a Hegelian, booted and spurred, sworn, cavalier-like, to the defense of the divine right of the Idea, or a regicide materialist with a Calvinistic creed of irreligion! The total result was that their mutual opinion of one another brought *both* into ill repute. Philosophies of history became at least as discredited as the materialism they attacked.

Now the materialistic interpretation of history does not necessa-

rily imply that there is nothing but materialism in the process, any more than theology implies that there is nothing but spirit. It will be news to some that such was the point of view of the most famous advocate of the materialistic interpretation of history, H. T. Buckle. His *History of Civilization in England*, published in 1857, was the first attempt to work out the influences of the material world upon the formation of societies. Everyone has heard of how he developed, through a wealth of illustration, the supreme importance of food, soil, and the general aspect of nature. But few apparently have actually read what he says, or they would find that he assigns to these three factors an ever lessening function as civilization advances, that he postulates mind as much as matter, and, with almost Hegelian vision, indicates its ultimate control. He distinctly states that "the advance of European civilization is characterized by a diminishing influence of physical laws and an increasing influence of mental laws", and that "the measure of civilization is the triumph of mind over matter". If Buckle had presented his scheme politely, right side up, as it were, it could hardly have had a sermon preached at it! But he prefaced it with his opinion of theologians and historians—and few, apparently, have ever got beyond the preface. For it was not encouraging reading for historians—a class of men who, in his opinion, are so marked out by "indolence of thought" or "natural incapacity" that they are fit for nothing better than writing monkish annals. There was, of course, a storm of aggrieved protest. But now that the controversy has cleared away, we can see that, in spite of his too confident formulation of his laws, the work of Buckle remains as that of a worthy pioneer in a great, unworked field of science.

Ten years before Buckle published his *History of Civilization*, Karl Marx had already formulated the "economic theory of history". Accepting with reservations Feuerbach's materialistic attack upon Hegel, Marx was led to the conclusion that the motive causes of history are to be found in the conditions of material existence. Already in 1845 he wrote, of the young-Hegelians, that to separate history from natural science and industry was like separating the soul from the body, and "finding the birthplace of history, not in the gross material production on earth, but in the misty cloud formation of heaven."<sup>1</sup> In his *Misère de la Philosophie* (1847) he lays down the principle that social relationships largely depend upon modes of production, and therefore the principles, ideas, categories, which are thus evolved are no more eternal than the relations they express, but are historical and transitory products. From these grounds,

<sup>1</sup> *Die Heilige Familie*, p. 238.

Marx went on to socialism, which bases its militant philosophy upon this interpretation of history. But the truth or falseness of socialism does not affect the theory of history. In the famous manifesto of the Communist party (1848) the theory was applied to show how the Commercial and Industrial Revolutions, with the attendant growth of capital, had replaced feudal by modern conditions. This, like all history written to fit a theory, is bad history, although much nearer reality than Hegel ever got, because it dealt more with actualities. But we are not concerned here with Marx's own history-writing any more than with his socialism. What we want to get at is the standpoint for interpretation. Marx himself, in the preface to the first edition of *Capital*, says that his standpoint is one "from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history". This sounds like the merest commonplace. Human history is thrown in line with that of the rest of nature. The scope is widened to include every factor, and the greatest one is that which deals with the maintenance of life and the attainment of comfort. So far so good. But Marx had not been a pupil of Hegel for nothing. He, too, went on to absolutes, simply turning Hegel's upside down. With him "the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind". The world is the thing, not the idea. So he goes on to make man, the modifier of nature, with growing control over it, but a function of it—a tool of the tool, just when he has mastered it by new inventions.

But strange as it may seem, Marx's scheme, like Buckle's, culminates in mind, not in matter. The first part is economic purely. The industrial proletarians—"the workers", as socialism fondly terms them—are, like capitalism, the product of economic forces. The factory not only binds the shackles upon the wage-slaves of today, it even fills the swarming *ergastula* of city slums by the stimulation of child labor. So the process continues until the proletariat, as a last result of its economic situation, acquires a common consciousness. Then what happens? The future is not to be as the past. Consciousness means intelligence, and as soon as the proletariat *understands*, it can burst shackles, master economics, and so control instead of blindly obeying the movement of its creative energy. Whether socialism would achieve the object of its faith and hope is not for us to consider, but the point remains, that in the ultimate analysis, even the economic interpretation of history ends uneconomically. It ends in directing intelligence, in ideals of justice, of social and moral order.

Now where are we? We have passed in review the mythological,

theological, philosophical, materialistic, and economic interpretations of history, and have found that none of these, stated in their extreme forms, meets the situation. Pure theology or metaphysics omits or distorts the history it is supposed to explain; history is not its proper business. Materialism and economics, while more promising because more earthly, cannot be pressed beyond a certain point. Life itself escapes their analysis. The conclusion is this: that we have two main elements in our problem which must be brought together—the psychic on the one hand, the material on the other. Not until psychology and the natural and economic sciences shall have been turned upon the problem, working in co-operation as allies, not as rivals, will history be able to give an intelligent account of itself. They will need more data than we have at present. The only economics which can promise scientific results is that based upon the statistical method, for, in spite of Bergson, brilliant guesses can hardly satisfy unless they are verified. The natural sciences are only beginning to show the intimate relation of life to its environment, and psychology has hardly begun the study of the group. But one sees already a growing appreciation of common interests, a desire on the part of economists to know the nature of the mechanism of the universe whose working they attempt to describe; an inquiry from the biologist as to the validity of un-eugenic social reform.

Now the interpretation of history lies here, with these co-operative workers upon the mystery of life and of its environment, and their interplay. That does not mean that history is to be explained from the outside. More economics means more history—if it is good economics. Marx, for instance, attempted to state both facts and processes of industrial history, Malthus of population, Ricardo of wages, etc. Both facts and processes are the stuff of history. The statement of a process may be glorified into a "law", but a "law" merely means a general fact of history. It holds good under certain conditions, which are either historical or purely imaginary, and it is only in the latter case that it lies outside the field of history. It is the same with psychology as with economics. It supplies an analysis of action, and action is history. Explanation is more knowledge of the same thing. All inductive study of society is historical.

The interpretations of history are historical in another sense. Looking back over the way we have come, from Greek philosophers to modern economists and psychologists, one can see in every case that the interpretation was but the reflex of the local environment, the expression of the dominant interest of the time. History became critical in that meeting place of East and West, the Ionian coast of Asia Minor, where divergent civilizations were opened up



for contrast with each new trireme from the south and west and where travellers destroyed credulity. In the same way, as we have traced it, the isolated landed society of the Middle Ages, with its absence of business and its simple relationships, could rest complacent with an Augustinian world-view. Nothing else was demanding explanation. When business produced a Florence and Florence a Machiavelli, we have a gleam of newer things, just as Voltaire and Hume mirror the influences of Galileo, and the voyages to China. With the nineteenth century the situation becomes more complicated, and yet one can see the interpretation of history merely projecting into the past—or drawing out of it—the meaning of each present major interest. Kant and Hegel fit into the era of ideologues and nationalist romanticists; and their implications are developed under the reaction following the French Revolution. Buckle draws his inspiration from the trend of science which produced—in the same year—the *Origin of Species*. Marx is the interpreter of the Industrial Revolution.

But this does not mean that interpretations of history are nothing more than the injection into it of successive prejudices. It means progressive clarification. Each new theory that forces itself upon the attention of historians brings up new data for their consideration and so widens the field of investigation. The greater knowledge of our world to-day reveals the smallness of our knowledge of the past, and from every side scholars are hastening to make the content of history more worthy of comparison with the content of science. From this point of view, therefore, interpretation, instead of assuming the position of a final judge of conduct or an absolute law, becomes only a suggestive stimulus for further research.

We have, therefore, an historical interpretation of interpretations themselves. It accepts two main factors, material and psychical, not concerning itself about the ultimate reality of either. It is not its business to consider ultimate realities, though it may be grateful for any light upon the subject. Less ambitious than theological, philosophical, or even economic theories, it views itself as part of the very process which it attempts to understand. If it has no ecstatic glimpses of finality, it shares at least to the full the exhilaration of the scientific quest. It risks no premature fate in the delusive security of an inner consciousness. When you ask it "Why?" it answers "What?"

J. T. SHOTWELL.

## ANENT THE MIDDLE AGES<sup>1a</sup>

THE Calvin quatercentenary has come and gone. Those of us who shrank from jarring by a discordant note the chorus of eulogy for a man we too revere may speak again. Even while it lasted it is gratifying to note—and to note here—that the recent book most singled out for recognition was that noble biography, by an American scholar, which most unflinchingly records the great man's aggressions against liberty. And in the meantime a flood of fresh research has made the clearer how tenuous as a whole is that old claim of Protestantism to the paternity of tolerance. If certain of these studies—like those of Nicolaus Paulus—are somewhat discredited to the cautious by their Catholic authorship, we have at length, since last spring, a careful monograph from the pen of a Protestant theologian—Karl Völker—on *Tolerance and Intolerance in the Age of the Reformation*. Its author indeed seeks to vindicate for Protestant thought (and with reason, if still with exaggeration) an essential part in the rise of tolerance; but not only does he lay bare the divergence of the two movements and relentlessly trace the rise, in theory and practice, of Protestant intolerance, from its beginnings under Luther to its culmination under Calvin, he also frankly undermines the old assumption that all this was only survival from the Middle Ages by illustrating the more tolerant attitude of the age just preceding the Reformation.

Yet there has escaped his notice—or, at least, his use—what seems to me the most startling illustration of all. May I here add it, and make it the text for a discussion of the Middle Ages as a whole?

In the year 1453, a full century before the burning of Servetus on that hillside by Geneva, a prince of the Church, a legate of the pope, Cardinal Nicolas of Cusa, was stirred to write a booklet on *Peace between Faiths, or the Harmony of Religions*—for so, perhaps, we may best translate his title of *De Pace seu Concordantia Fidei*.<sup>1</sup> Moved, he says, by tidings of the cruelties of the Turks at

<sup>1a</sup> A paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, December 30, 1912.

<sup>1</sup> The dialogue is to be found in all the editions of his works: I have used that published at Paris in 1514 by the French reformer Lefèvre d'Étaples. Twice it has even appeared in German translation—once at Leipzig in 1787, with comments by the rationalist Semler, and again in the collection of the "weightiest writings" of Nicolas of Cusa published in 1862 by Scharpff. But it has sur-

Constantinople (then just fallen into their hands), a devout man who had once seen those regions (the devout man was of course himself, who a few years before had visited Constantinople as the envoy of the Latin Church to escort the Greek delegates to the Council at Ferrara) had in grief besought the Creator to set a limit to the persecution, and had been consoled by a vision which led him to hope that through a union of the wise there might be brought about a perpetual peace between the religions of earth. In his vision he had beheld, as it were, a council as to this matter among the departed in the presence of God. Sad tidings, announced the Almighty, had come to him from the realm of earth of those who had taken up arms against each other for religion's sake and were compelling one another to choose between death and the surrender of a long-practised faith. Great was the number of them that brought such complaints, and the celestials recognized them as they whom from the beginning the King of Heaven had set over the several regions and faiths of earth. And now, at the bidding of the King, through their spokesman, an Archangel, they laid before the assembly of the saints their plea: . . . "Thou knowest, O Lord, that a great multitude can not be without much diversity, and that almost all are obliged to lead a toilsome life, filled with cares and anxieties, wherefore few have the leisure in independent research to arrive at knowledge of themselves or to seek out thee, the hidden God. Therefore hast thou given to thy people kings and prophets, and these in thy name have set up religions and laws. . . . Now, it lieth in the earthly estate of man that long custom, becoming a second nature, is cherished as truth. Thus arise no slight dissensions; since every community setteth its own faith above another's. Haste, then, to their aid, thou who alone canst help; for this strife is for thy sake, whom alone they all venerate in whatsoever each may seem to worship. For . . . it is thou who in the various religions in varying wise art sought and by varying names art called on, because in thy true being thou remainest to all unknown and inexpressible. . . . Hide thyself no longer, then, O Lord . . . and, if this diversity in rites can not be ended, or if this be inexpedient inasmuch as diversity causeth devotion the more to abound through the rival zeal of the several lands, yet at least let there be, even as

prisingly escaped the attention of the students of tolerance. Even Moriz Carrière, who almost certainly used it in formulating the views of Cusa for his *Die Philosophische Weltanschauung der Reformationszeit*, has oddly failed to enumerate it among his sources. That it was completed and in circulation before February of 1454 is known from the letter of a friend who then copied and returned it.

thou art one, but one religion and one divine worship (*una sit religio, et unus latræ cultus*)."

But the King made answer and said: "Have I not created man free, and through freedom capable of fellowship with myself? And when he walked not after the inner man, did I not send my prophets to call him back from his errors? And when even the prophets could not baffle the Prince of Ignorance, I sent my Word to put on humanity. . . . What more can be done?" Then the Word that was made flesh, highest of the celestials, made answer for all: "Father of mercies, perfect are all thy works . . . yet, since from the beginning thou didst ordain that man be free, and hence in the unstable world of sense his views and guesses must change with every age, even as his tongues and their interpretations, therefore hath human nature need of frequent visitation, that . . . the truth may constantly shine forth, and, since truth is one and can not but be discerned by every free intelligence, may lead all the differing religions into the one true faith."

So the angels were bidden to return each to the nation and the speech over which he was set, that each might bring back to the Word that was made flesh one man wise above his fellows. And when the sages had been brought, the Word showed unto them how the King of heaven and earth had heard the cry of them that were slain and imprisoned and enslaved because of difference in religion, and how all that do or suffer this persecution are moved thereto by naught save their belief that this is needful unto salvation and pleaseth their creator; wherefore the Lord hath taken pity on his people and willeth that by the common consent of men all religions be harmonized into one.

Then spake, one after another, the Greek and the Italian, the Arab and the Hindu, the Chaldaean, the Jew, and the Scythian, the Gaul and the Persian, the Syrian and the Spaniard, the Turk also and the German, the Tartar and the Armenian, the Bohemian and the Englishman, asking how, then, this oneness of faith may be sought and illustrating each the differing attitude of his people. And with them debated the Word, and likewise Peter the Apostle, expounding unto them how at bottom all religions are one. But last spake Paul, the teacher of the nations. The commands of God, urged he, are very brief, and are known to all peoples; nay, the light that reveals them is created a part of our souls. Love is the fulfilling of the law of God: all laws reduce themselves to this. "Leave, then, to the nations, if only there be faith and peace", said he, "their devotions and ceremonies, in case there be found no way to harmonize these: devotion will gain, perchance, by a certain diversity . . ."

And, the discussion being now at an end, there were brought in many books of those who have written on the usages of the past, as Varro among the Latins and Eusebius among the Greeks, or who have compared one with another the differing religions. And when all these had been examined it was found that all diversity lay rather in rites than in the worship of the One God, whom from the beginning all had ever presupposed and in all forms of worship had honored, though simple folk, led astray by the hostile power of the Prince of Darkness, had not always understood what they did.

And so it was now decided in the heaven of reason that religions should be brought into concord (*conclusa est igitur in caelo rationis concordia religionum*). The King of Kings bade the sages return to their homes and lead the nations to the unity of true worship. Ministering angels should conduct and aid them. And in due time, clothed with full powers by all, they should come together at Jerusalem, as the common centre, and there in the name of all adopt a single faith and swear thereon perpetual peace.

Such in briefest outline is the astounding dialogue in which a cardinal of the Roman Church at the middle of the fifteenth century suggests the substantial equality and the essential identity of all faiths, and makes Heaven itself teach them to settle their controversies by the science of comparative religion. Could anything be more "modern" than this?

What shall we say, then? Must the beginning of modern history be carried back to the middle of the fifteenth century? Or to the fourteenth, to include Marsilio of Padua? Or to the thirteenth, to antedate those inquiries into conscience which Lord Acton would make the deepest cause of modern history? Or to the twelfth, to take in Abelard? Or shall we, as some are coming to do, count the Middle Ages a myth?

So to insist would seem to me a misunderstanding, not only of the "Middle Ages", but of historical periods in general. These are, of course, only creations of our thought. Nature does not classify—in time or space. Genera and species are of our making, and they who fix their eyes on their frontiers will of course behold them shade away into each other. And in history, whose emphasis is less on facts of repetition than on facts of change, what we call periods must never be taken to imply a stagnation or even a mere inertia, but rather as implying lines of progress, or, at least, lines of direction.

If there is one such "period" whose justification would be admitted by us all, I suppose it is that of imperial Rome, with its organization, its unity, its universality. Yet surely, for him who will see it, the "Middle Ages" have from precisely the same point of

view—in organization, in unity, in universality—a warrant equal to imperial Rome's. If we have failed to recognize this, I suspect it is because we have begun our Middle Ages wherever the ancient historians chose to leave off, and ended them wherever the modern historians chose to begin. Now, in history, periods like generations overlap. They are not born from each other full-grown, like Minerva from the brain of Jove. The historians of Rome do well to follow her story till in the West the sceptre drops from her nerveless hand; but how should their majesty-blinded eyes discern betimes the stripling rival destined to supplant her? And why should we, whose eyes are on the stripling, delay our story till the grey-beard totters from his throne?

Not so they to whom we owe the name of "Middle Age". The Thuringian teacher who late in the seventeenth century (1685, 1688, 1696) published the compends which introduced into history the threefold division of ancient, medieval, modern, began his Middle Age, not with Odoacer, but with Constantine. But Christoph Keller had been thus far classicist more than historian, and it may be that he was only importing into history a division he had learned from the philologists: he himself explained it as a conformity to the diction of the learned (*consuetudo loquendi doctiorum*). Yet it is to be noted that Du Cange, when a few years earlier (1678) in his great *Glossarium* he gave to philologists a standard meaning for the division, used other limits, and that Cellarius himself had in an earlier manual of ancient history (1675) made the birth of Christ his stopping-point.<sup>2</sup>

That in any wise the idea of a Middle Age comes to us, as some have thought, from the Italian Humanists, lacks demonstration. Certainly their historians—a Flavio Biondo, a Machiavelli—were far from such a suggestion. What interested these was their own Italy, and it was for its beginnings—the origins of what to them was modern history—that they grasped far back into the centuries. But, three hundred years before them, a bold thinker—that Otto of Freising whom a modern critic has called the widest-visioned historian between Eusebius and Bolingbroke—had not only suggested the division of history at this point, but told withal his reason. It was in that remarkable summary of universal history which just

<sup>2</sup> To modern scholars this was first pointed out by Max Büdinger (in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, VII. 129 ff.), who remained the chief student of the history of periodization till Bernheim took up the matter in the successive editions of his *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode*. Kurth, in the latter editions of his *Qu'est-ce que le Moyen Age?* (first published at Brussels in 1898), asserts that the phrase *medium ævum* was used in print by the Liège scholar Rausin as early as 1539; but that it found attention or imitation does not appear.

after the middle of the twelfth century he addressed to his imperial nephew, Frederic Barbarossa. All its periodization shows insight; but between his third book and his fourth, dividing his earthly story, as he tells us, by a gulf equalled only by that which severs the earthly from that heavenly to which he devotes his prophetic last book, he places the conversion of Constantine. "For", he explains, "as the Kingdom of Christ is other now, while good and bad alike are within it, than when in glory it shall have the good alone, so was it other when the nations still lived under pagan rulers and had not yet entered it."

Such, then, was the Middle Age's thought of its own place in history: till Constantine, the World—since Constantine, the Church Militant—just ahead, the Church Triumphant. The scholar who thus formulated it was statesman as well as prelate. Its theological phrasing must not blind us to its historical truth.

When in the year 313 after Christ the Roman emperor Constantine could by an imperial edict not only grant equality before the laws to a religion which denied his own divinity and that of Rome, but could base that grant on the known will of a "divinity in the heavens", a new day opened not only in Roman religion but in Roman public law.<sup>3</sup> For to Roman public law the Roman state had been till then itself a church. We who for centuries have known both the conception "state" and the conception "church" have grown to think of these as so distinct in essence that, like matter and spirit, they can interpenetrate each other and coexist without mixture or collision. We need to be reminded that then as yet not even matter and spirit were thus distinct, and that religion had always been a function of the Roman state. Divinely founded and divinely sustained, her officials were at the same time priests of her gods. Her citizens were as such plighted to their worship. Her imperial head was likewise her chief pontiff, and even as her head his highest title was a religious one. His very person was sacred, and disrespect to him was both treason and sacrilege—crime and sin. In all that concerned the policy of the state and the public duties of her citizens he was himself the mouthpiece of Heaven. Nor did even

<sup>3</sup> It can hardly need apology to speak still of the Edict of Milan despite the doubts of Otto Seeck, since that scholar seems himself to have forgotten them—or, at least, has not come to their defense against his critics. Hermann Hülle seems to me right in holding that, while the document actually preserved to us is only the rescript of Licinius to a provincial governor, we must from this infer an edict drawn up in similar terms by the two emperors at Milan. How this document, which, whatever its own precise legal character, clearly embodies a grant to the Christians of the fullest equality, could seem to anybody a mere echo or adaptation of the edict of Galerius, which grudgingly tolerates their bare existence, is to me a puzzle.

the Oriental religions which now were supplanting the old faith of the state find it hard to accord a place to the worship of the emperor. The only real exception—for the intensely national cult of the Jews concerned few beside themselves—was Christianity.

But, if the Roman state was also a church, the Christian church was also a state. Its founder had called it, not synagogue, but kingdom. Twice, indeed, if the text of his biographies might be trusted, he had called it by the name of *ecclesia*, the self-governing assembly of a Greek city-state; and one of these passages, by prescribing the arbitration of disputes within the flock, freed his followers from all need of Roman laws and courts, while the other not only guaranteed their stability but foreshadowed a permanent leadership. Simple as was the organization they earliest gave themselves, it proved sufficient for all their needs, secular as well as religious. Their absent lord, whose return they daily expected, they hailed by all the titles used for sovereigns; and when his coming was delayed they adapted to their growing necessities the institutions not only of Hebrew colony and Hellenic town but even of imperial Rome, while their developing priesthood bethought them of that old Jewish theocracy whose heirs they were. True, they rendered unto Caesar the things that were Caesar's; but it was with disdain. True, they were non-resistants; but it was only that their foes were not of the flesh. Against the demons by whom they believed themselves surrounded they urged each other to all the military virtues and cheered each other by every military figure: their baptism was the oath to the standards, their temple the camp of God, Christ their general, their service a warfare. We who have so lately seen the martial zeal of a political convention find utterance in the strains of "Onward, Christian soldiers", will not be too sure that all this is mere figure; and, when we remember that among the demons they fought the Christians reckoned all the gods of their neighbors, the figure grows concrete.<sup>4</sup>

It was, indeed, against the gods of Rome, whom his desperate rival Maxentius seemed to have enlisted against him, that Constantine first turned to Christian aid. And when another imperial rival, Maximin Daza, tried to organize his pagan priesthood after the model of the Christian, there could hardly be doubt that their organization too had its political worth. When the Christian divinity had proved himself the god of battles and Constantine was master of the West, his first ecclesiastical care was to complete that organization

<sup>4</sup> On the Church as a state and as an army see especially Weinle, *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zum Staat* (Tübingen, 1908), and Harnack, *Militia Christi* (Tübingen, 1905). Says Neumann, "Die Kirche wird zum Staat im Staate", *Der Römische Staat und die Allgemeine Kirche*, p. 54.



by calling a general council of his bishops; and no sooner did he later find himself sole lord of the empire than he made the Church imperial by summoning a universal council. Even before it deliberated the result was ominous; for from beyond the frontiers came bishops, and the council called itself not imperial—of the empire—but oecumenical—of the civilized world. Already the Church was absorbing the State.

The steps by which that absorption grew complete I will not follow here. To the sons of Constantine all but Christian worship had grown idolatry. From the days of Theodosius Roman and Catholic were legally identical. From those of Justinian the Catholic was the prerequisite of the Roman.

Late in the fourth century, indeed, a fawning bishop, Optatus, could still argue that "the state is not in the church, but the church in the state". Yet his reason was only that "above the Emperor there is none but God". But, if in the East the emperor's position remained so nondescript that Caesaropapism has there, and even to this day, been often possible, the Latin West, with its legal spirit and its need of clear conceptions, speedily closed that door. Already the great Theodosius had learned from the firmness of Ambrose that the authority of the prince must yield to the devotion of the Christian; and under his feeble son a more eloquent churchman put forth a book which for a thousand years established in Latin Christendom that the State is in the Church, not the Church in the State. That book of Augustine we wrongly call "*The City of God*".<sup>5</sup> To Augustine and his world *civitas* meant *state*; and the book was written precisely to prove that, as truly as Rome's, God's people form a state. "Gottesstaat", God's state, is the happier translation of our German cousins. It was not an allegory—though it used allegory. It was not a mere philosophy of history—though it embodied a philosophy of history. To those for whom it was written it was sober history, based on the most authentic of documents; and for the Christian, as he saw unrolled that record of the heavenly fatherland, which made Rome's proudest memories those of a mushroom of yesterday, it was as when for the Italian of the Renaissance a Villani or a Biondo drew from the dust of the manuscripts the glorious deeds of his ancestors, or as when for the French Calvinist of the sixteenth century a Hotman revealed the free institutions of

<sup>5</sup> This in spite of what Hermann Reuter urges in his *Augustinische Studien*, III. To the Roman, *civitas* meant, of course, both city and state, and no translation can preserve to us all its meaning. Already Ambrose in one of his sermons (*In Psalmum cxviii Expositio*, 35) had declared *Civitas Dei Ecclesia est*, and Augustine himself (in his *De Genesi ad Litteram*, xi. 15) had outlined his theory of the two states and promised a book upon it.

his Frankish sires. But no comparison can suggest what to the humble citizen of that heavenly country was then that revelation of the glories, in heaven and earth, past and to come, of the eternal state whose greatness was his own. And over against it, bringing all its boundaries into relief, even as his God had himself been made unique by sinking all others into fiends, was sketched the story of that other state, born of the fall of the angels, planted on earth by Cain, maintained till the Judgment by the malice of Satan, which, whether it be called Sodom or Babylon or Rome or the World, is the realm of the Devil, the only real state on earth but that of Heaven. And between these two must king and emperor, like humbler mortals, choose. In each their function is only a subordinate's. The Devil may beguile them by show of power, but they are his helpless tools. Yet even the State of God has use for earthly monarchs. Though only laymen, and so shut out from all part in the mediation between earth and her heavenly ruler, yet as laymen they may be the foremost. But let them remember that even their personal hope of a share in Heaven's favor, here or hereafter, depends on their putting not only themselves but all their authority as sovereigns, all their means of persuasion or constraint, at the service of the one true faith and of the Church, its interpreter. Of earthly good government, as we now understand it, Augustine has hardly a suggestion; but of the monarch's part in the preservation of peace, the repression of crime and of sin, the maintenance of worship, the use of the strong hand to punish rebellion against the Church or her unity, his teaching is full. If he still shrank from the death penalty for the heretic, he counted his crime darker than any against the laws of earth; and Augustine had not been a quarter-century in the grave when the firmer hand of Pope Leo had won recognition for the supreme majesty of the Heavenly Emperor by the making of such treason against him the highest of capital crimes. The theocracy was complete.

How, through the centuries which followed, that idea of the State of God developed, we know well enough from the historians of Church and of Empire. What I have sought to urge is only that, if our study of the Middle Ages began a little earlier, we might the better discern beneath all their administrative dualism that great underlying unity, that medieval Christendom, which men called sometimes the Church Universal, sometimes the Commonwealth of Mankind, but oftenest the peregrine city of the State of God.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The phrase, though not Augustine's, was suggested by him ("coelestis civitas dum peregrinatur in terra", *De Civitate Dei*, xix. 17), and later writers did not hesitate to put it into his mouth. Thus, in the twelfth century, Cardinal

But how about the other end of the Middle Ages? Can we date it by the collapse of this conception of the State of God? Not so clearly. Nor has there been agreement of late. If some would carry far back the beginning of modern history, some would bring it far on toward the present. At the late international congress of historians in Berlin one eminent scholar wanted it put in the seventeenth century, while another would put it in the eighteenth. Not a few have urged the French Revolution as a boundary; and there are not wanting those who believe we are still in the Middle Ages. Again, I think, we must discriminate. If a new age may be deemed begun when once it has fairly joined issue for the dominance, surely its predecessor must be counted *functus officio* when it is once fairly deposed from supremacy. There is a sense, of course, in which an age never dies. "Scratch a Russian and find a Tartar!" Has not Mr. Frazer shown us that deep beneath the surface of modern society still roll the turbid currents of even prehistoric life? As for those foregleams, on the other hand, which tempt us sometimes to hail the modern far back amid the medieval, such flashes of insight are so native to human nature as often to be not even a prophecy. And even when they begin to grow continuous and to endanger the old, they may be in the service of minds wholly loyal to the old ideals. It was not Abelard who felt his critical method a danger to the faith. Those first inquirers into the claims of conscience were the great schoolmen themselves, and their aim was not to free it, but to show it the dread responsibilities of freedom. Marsilio's theory

Henry of Marcy, earlier Abbot of Clairvaux: "Tractavit beatus Augustinus mistim de utraque civitate, et peregrinante in terris, et regnante in coelis" (*De peregrinante Civitate Dei*, preface). The wording knew many variations, and *peregrinans* often gave place to *militans*. Such was Augustine's emphasis on the solidarity of the State of God in heaven and earth that he seems to have shrunk from any separate name for its earthly portion. The "earthly city" (*civitas terrena*) was his favorite name for the Devil's state; and with justice, for, though the devils too had their chief abode in the clouds, these according to the cosmogony of the age were terrestrial, not celestial. Whatever phrase was used, churchmen were too prone to identify it with the Church, laymen with the Empire or even with the World. But as to the fundamental unity see Gierke, III. 515 ff. (p. 9 ff. of Maitland's masterly translation, *Political Theories of the Middle Age*). The books which touch on the subject are legion and include almost all the treatises on civil or canon law, the histories of political theory, and those of the relations between Church and State; but beside these I may mention Heinrich von Eicken's *Geschichte und System der Mittelalterlichen Weltanschauung*, Karl Rieker's opening chapter in his *Die rechtliche Stellung der Evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands*, and Imbart de la Tour's in the first volume of his *Origines de la Réforme*. Best in English are the fine chapter of Mr. Bryce (in his *Holy Roman Empire*) on the "Theory of the Mediaeval Empire" and the *Regnum Dei* of Dr. Archibald Robertson (Bampton lectures, 1901), the most careful study of the history of the "Kingdom of God" in Christian thought.

of the sovereignty of the people was largely mere Aristotle; and, even so, it hardly gained a hearing before the sixteenth century. The Nicolas of Cusa who could foreshadow a universal tolerance was the same Nicolas of Cusa who had earlier worked out the most majestic of the schemes for the unity of Church and State in ruling the world. In the years since then, it is true, there had come to him through his intercourse with Byzantine scholars a knowledge of that neo-Platonism which was to prove for medieval thought a door of exit, as to Augustine—and perhaps to Constantine—it had proved a door of entrance. It is true that the thinker who could thus seek for a true tolerance other basis than the complacent pre-eminence of any cult was the same who a century before Copernicus denied to the earth the centre of the universe and who sowed those germs of thought which were one day to ripen in the daring philosophy of Giordano Bruno. Yet Nicolas of Cusa died in the full odor of orthodoxy, the bosom friend of a pope and in his absence governor of Rome.

Nor was it wholly otherwise with that more conscious rebel from whom we have been more wont to date the younger age. As a Dante could stalk through Hell and Purgatory and Paradise with doom for prelate or pope or humbler sinner as his mere layman's conscience might suggest, yet be prepared to demonstrate the absolute oneness throughout all time of the divine authority in State and Church, so a Martin Luther could be so taken captive in his conscience by his own understanding of a sacred book as to be deaf before legate and kaiser to every dictum of its official interpreter, yet sigh more ardently than the pope for the fulfillment of the dream of Augustine, and to his dying day count himself a true son of the one Catholic Church.

True, to Luther that Church invisible no longer needed pope or emperor; and, when these tried to silence him, so bold were his denials of their right to coerce thought that later days have read into his words a championing of what we call the right of private judgment.<sup>7</sup> But to the student it has now grown clear that Martin

<sup>7</sup> Luther, too, had once believed and taught that heretics must be coerced (see his comment on the phrase "Compel them to enter in" in his sermon of June 14, 1523); but after his theses had brought on himself the charge of heresy he swiftly came to other views. Already in the *Resolutiones* for the explanation of his theses (in May of 1518 sent the pope) he maintains that the two swords of the Church are not the power ecclesiastical and the power temporal, but the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, and the sword of learning. Her province, he says, is to refute heretics, not to burn them—for that is contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit, which tells us in the Scriptures how the Canaanites were left in the Land of Promise that the children of Israel might learn war and practise it. It surely is not rash to find pertinent to this change of view

Luther was no conscious champion, even at Worms, of individual liberty. Heresy to him was still the deadliest of sins; nor did he doubt that, if he erred himself, he and his followers were forever damned.<sup>8</sup> For to him the Church, though invisible, was still the State of God, and the behests of her heavenly sovereign no whit less arbitrary because their only channel was a sacred book. The Holy Spirit, the author of that book, was likewise its divine interpreter to the elect of God; and for a time Luther could trust that to all honest souls the one true meaning of that "all-simplest writer" would speedily grow clear. But when experience began to shake that faith, and when to his responsibility as teacher there began to add itself a share in the responsibilities of the ruler, the Middle Age awoke in him.<sup>9</sup>

For to Luther, not less than to Augustine, the powers that be were ordained of God, and the Christian prince, "the foremost member of the Church", His minister who "beareth not the sword in vain". To him the Ten Commandments were still the eternal summary of God's law; and not alone their second table, touching men's duties to each other, was to be vindicated by that sword, but yet more the first, touching the claims of God. Two crimes that table forbade, as insults to the majesty of Heaven—idolatry and blasphemy; and it was for the punishment of idolatry and of blasphemy that Luther first called on the temporal arm. Now, idolatry was a crime long practically obsolete in Christendom, and hence unknown to current codes. Not so with blasphemy; but blasphemy meant to the jurist, then as now, only wanton insult to religion. The medieval doctors, resting on Holy Writ, had held, indeed, that heresy may be so outrageous as to be blasphemous; but jealously had they excluded this heretical blasphemy, like other heresy, from the jurisdiction of the secular courts. Luther himself had heretofore counted it no concern of princes. Yet in his ardor he had long been wont to

his words a few lines later: "My friends have now these many days been calling me heretic, impious, blasphemer, as not holding in the catholic sense the Church of Christ and the Holy Scriptures; but I, relying on my conscience, believe it is they who err, and I who love the Church of Christ, and what befits her."

<sup>8</sup> See, in that very year of the Diet of Worms, his letter to Melancthon, September 9, 1521, and that to his fellow friars, November 25, 1521.

<sup>9</sup> That it was the Middle Age is frankly recognized in that fine essay by Walther Köhler on *Reformation und Ketzerprozess* which in 1901 opened the more thorough study of this theme; and Paul Wappler, whose minuter researches have of late so enlarged our knowledge, takes the same view. Hermelink (in his *Der Toleranzgedanke im Reformationszeitalter*) has raised a doubt; but it rests on a strangely incomplete survey of the evidence and has now been fully answered by Völker's book. Let me here say that, great as is my debt to these and other scholars, my conclusions rest on studies independent of theirs, and may, I trust, add somewhat to the discussion.

reckon as blasphemous the views repugnant to his own; and now from rhetoric to sober charge was but a step. It needed not the Peasant War nor the Anabaptists to stir him to repression. Before the end of 1524 he urged his Wittenbergers against the papists:<sup>10</sup> "If it is permitted you by God", he said, "to punish a reckless brat who blasphemes in the market-place, then let it be permitted you to root out from your town this horrid anti-Christian blasphemy" of the mass; and with their help he drove it out by force. In this the prince had had no part; but when in 1525 the cautious Frederick gave place to John, whose conscience was wholly in the reformer's keeping, that conscience was not left unenlightened. To repress idolatry and blasphemy is the highest duty of a prince—even as Christ with whips drove out the hucksters from the Temple. It is false teaching, above all, that is forbidden by the commandment not to take God's name in vain; and the papist teachings are manifest blasphemies.<sup>11</sup>

Toward the Radicals Luther had been more patient. When, early in 1525, the Nurembergers had asked him how to treat them, he would not yet "rate them as blasphemers"; but, "if they will not recognize and obey the civil power, they forfeit all they are and have."<sup>12</sup> A year later, however, in Saxony, he is not only ready to urge their punishment as blasphemers, but adds another ground—the ground that it is not for any earthly prince to suffer his subjects to be led into division in religion: in one region there must be but one religious teaching.<sup>13</sup> Thus did Luther borrow for the incipient modern state the religious unity of the medieval State of God,<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See his sermon of November 27, 1524; and cf. the fuller statement of the argument in his *Vom Greuel der Stillmesse*. The most careful study of Luther's developing thought in this field is now Karl Müller's *Kirche, Gemeinde und Obrigkeit nach Luther* (Tübingen, 1910). Yet even from this study I fear too early a date may be inferred for Luther's change of view as to the punishment of blasphemy. When in his sermon on good works (1520) he makes it the prince's duty to check false worship, it is only that he may deal with the Church "as with a father who has lost his wits"; and when he tells us that the "function of the temporal power is to protect its subjects from theft, robbery and adultery", he presently adds that "with preaching and faith and the first three commandments it has naught to do". And in his letter to Haussmann (March 26, 1522) it is on the ground, not of blasphemy, but of disturbance of the peace, that he would have the friars silenced.

<sup>11</sup> See his letter to the Elector, July 20, 1525, and especially that to Spalatin, November 11, 1525; also the formal opinion *de jure reformandi*, in Melancthon's *Opera*, I, 763, and the sermons at Wittenberg in which Luther now (as always thereafter) expounded this meaning of the commandment.

<sup>12</sup> See his letter to Spengler, February 4, 1525.

<sup>13</sup> See his letter to the Elector, February 9, 1526.

<sup>14</sup> True, he cites the example of the Nurembergers; but it was his own advice to them that had thus fruited. It must not be forgotten that Augustine himself, though welcoming for the Church the collegueship of the Empire, was an advocate of the petty state: "*felicioribus rebus humanis omnia regna parva essent*".

and thus he launched into the world that doctrine of "Cujus regio ejus religio" which a few months later, at the Diet of Spires, became (and for so long) the basis of German policy.

His theory of repression was full-grown; yet for long he shrank, like Augustine, from crowning it with the death penalty. But his theory, like Augustine's, proved more potent than his scruples; and when, in 1529, at that other Diet of Spires where was born the "Protest" (a protest, let us remember, not for the subject's freedom to choose, but for his sovereign's to prescribe), the Lutherans joined their Romanist colleagues in a law of death against the Separatists, Luther himself held back no longer.<sup>15</sup> From 1530 he was urging on his fellow-reformers its stern enforcement against the Anabaptists; and, could his word have had its way—his word, I say, for the great heart of the man was always more tolerant than his head—every Zwinglian (and, by the same token, later every Calvinist) would in Lutheran lands have shared their fate.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Already by the summer of 1528, replying to another appeal from the Nurembergers, his hesitation was only lest the example might be followed by the heretics themselves. See his letter to Link, July 14, 1528. This letter has been much misdated; but to the student who has followed the development of Luther's attitude, the later dates suggested are impossible. The passage is clearly an answer to precisely the same question that was addressed also to the Swabian reformer, Brenz, and drew forth from him that noble plea for tolerance which continued to be of use long after its author had receded from it. This reply of Brenz, too, has been misdated, and even the learned *Bibliographia Brentiana* of Köhler knows only the date of its first printing (October 21, 1528). From a contemporary manuscript acquired by me for Cornell University I am happy to supply the date of writing—"1528, im siebenden tag dess Heumonats" (July 7, 1528).

<sup>16</sup> It was in the form of a commentary on the 82d Psalm that in the spring of 1530, at the instance of his Nuremberg friends, he published to the world his ripened views. They are tersely summarized by his amanuensis, Veit Dietrich, in an abstract sent to Spengler: "Heretics are of two sorts—some against religion only, not against government. As to those who sin against government, like the Anabaptists, they should unquestionably be punished by the government as seditious, and sharply. As to those sinning against religion only, as now the Sacramentarians or the Papists, they too must not be tolerated: first because, if in a state are those who teach conflicting things, occasion will be given for crowds and tumults, and this the government should avoid; secondly, if the government knows who teach contrary to religion, they should not be tolerated, lest they infect with foreign sins; thirdly, blasphemers must not be tolerated, and everybody of this sort is a blasphemer." (Haussdorff, *Lebens-Beschreibung Spenglers*, p. 192, note.) As printed, Luther's commentary does not so explicitly charge papists and Zwinglians with blasphemy. Manifest blasphemy is it to teach against a recognized article of the faith, clearly grounded in Scripture and believed by all Christendom, such as children are taught in the Creed—as to teach that Christ is not God or that he did not die for our sins or to deny the resurrection and eternal life or hell. But all unauthorized religious teachers he would silence or hand over to "Master Hans"—the executioner. For, even though tyrants should in turn punish Lutherans for heresy and blasphemy, the

Thus, as to persecution, Lutheranism in its first ten years had reached much the same point as the primitive church in its first five hundred. Yet not quite. Though in Lutheran lands men and women might now suffer death for precisely the same offense known elsewhere as heresy, it was under the name, not of heresy, but of sedition or of blasphemy. So much, at least, was due to Luther's consistency with his earlier utterances. And it was much; for in it lay serious surrender of that old medieval theory of the sovereignty of God.

But the brilliant young French refugee who in 1536 worked out in the seclusion of a Swiss attic, and not alone for his French fatherland, but for all Christendom, his text-book of the divine legislation, had no such hampering traditions; nor need he fear from his well-tutored heart interference with the conclusions of his head. Jurist by training, as well as theologian, John Calvin was Augustinian to the core; and well he knew that the political system envisaged by these new Institutes of his was that of the State of God. And that old free city of the Holy Roman Empire where a strange providence soon planted him as adviser, as spiritual head, at last as autocrat, was almost as ideally unhampered for her task. For Geneva knew now no emperor save the Heavenly, and His majesty alone need be the object of her care. When in 1553 there strayed within her walls that fugitive arch-heretic it must have seemed to those who shared the spirit of their leader a God-given occasion to show forth how universal was her Master's realm. Michael Servetus was no citizen of hers, nor had he committed any crime within her borders. It was against all precedent and in defiance of the claims of those French courts from which he fled that she assumed to try him. And when, for high treason to the God of Heaven, she doomed him to the death of fire, it was under no Genevan statute, but the old imperial laws of Theodosius and of Frederick. The Augustinian State of God, reaching her arm adown the centuries, found in that assertion of her monarch's earthly sovereignty her culminating moment. All that followed was reaction.

Calvin's error, say his modern sons in their inscription on the stone which they have erected on the spot where stood the stake of Servetus, was the error of his age. Last summer they deepened that inscription. That does not make it true. Were it true, who like John Calvin shaped the opinions of that age? But true I can not find it. No other can be shown to have gone, even in theory, so far as he; and though, in that time when men must stand to-

commandment that false prophets be stoned must be neither annulled nor obscured. Yet it is only the culprit who can neither be expelled nor silenced whom Luther would hand over to the executioner.



gether, his fellow leaders of Protestantism stood loyally by him, none went so far again. Even from their ranks came protest; and in the ranks which up to now had found no suffrage in the State of God, the ranks of Christian laymen, there began a murmur which has not yet died out. Only those who have given study to the origins of modern liberty in Church and State know in what multitudinous ways the great movements which were to secularize and free the age that followed may be traced to the protest stirred by that reincarnation of the medieval State of God.<sup>17</sup>

Yet this is to see but half. That such protest could be was only because already to multitudes of quiet thinking men that drama at Worms had meant, not, as to Luther, a loyalty to the truth of God, whose official mouthpiece he might now become, but loyalty to the God of truth, who needs no longer an official mouthpiece—was only because to multitudes who now, from near or far, looked on at that Genevan drama the State of God which Augustine had taught to Calvin had brought not patient citizenship alone, but inspiration to visions of their own, and now beyond the flame-lit skies that showed its pettiness their peering sight discerned a nobler vista for the sons of God. And I doubt if anywhere the Middle Ages found a surer ending.

But that we should make our Middle Ages end there I have not meant to urge. That, thus viewed, the "Middle Ages" have still

<sup>17</sup> It has often been urged that "even the mild Melanchthon" approved the burning of Servetus. So he did; and Nicolaus Paulus has given himself the pains (*Protestantismus und Toleranz*, pp. 73-78) to prove that many times he did so. Melanchthon was, in truth, after his early experience with Zwickau prophets, a lifelong leader in the repression of religious error; and despite the doubts of Paulus and of Wappler, I believe that as to this it was he who led Luther, rather than Luther him. But what Paulus fails to point out is that, in his every utterance as to the burning of Servetus, no matter to whom addressed, he makes his approval hinge on the *blasphemy* of the Spaniard. And, even while Paulus was writing (1911), a new volume of the *Supplementa Melanchthoniana* (Abt. II., Teil 1) brought fresh testimony to Melanchthon's point of view: a body of topics for discussion by his students, drawn up by him in 1553, includes the thesis that "heretics are not to be punished with death", and in the outline for its treatment suggests the argument that those who are justly so punished, as were the authors of the Peasant War and the Anabaptists, "are not heretics merely, and not alone by their opinions but also by other offenses violate the extreme commands of God" (*non tantum opinionibus, sed etiam aliis delictis extrema Dei mandata violant*). It is of course only as to the *penalty* for heresy and the theory underlying the penalty that I thus count Calvin severer than Melanchthon or Luther. How central in Calvin's theology and polity was the sovereignty of God has been demonstrated afresh by Gisbert Beyerhaus in his *Studien zur Staatsanschauung Calvins* (Berlin, 1910). He too finds the ideas of Calvin and his fellow-reformers as to the state "a revival of medieval theocratic views". How far from unanimous were the contemporaries in applauding the execution of Servetus, and how much less so the lay than the clerical, has been best shown by Buisson in his *Sébastien Castellion* (Paris, 1892); but there is more to be told.

some warrant as a period, I trust I may have shown. But such a period, even if justified, can be so only for Christendom—only, perhaps, for Latin Christendom—and, even for Latin Christendom, it is but a single phase of the infinitely complex life of men. What I have meant to urge is only that in history our periods, if they are to be intelligible, must overlap. All hail to those who save our thought from petrification by coining us fresh nomenclatures from ever varying points of view.

GEORGE L. BURR.

## THE COURT OF STAR CHAMBER<sup>1a</sup>

THE Court of Star Chamber won enough prominence and enough odium in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to obtain formal abolition by act of Parliament in 1641. It has left its name to later times as a synonym for secrecy, severity, and the wresting of justice. It was the subject of much contemporary description and discussion and indications of its activity meet us at every turn in the records of that period. It has also been described by several modern writers. Yet contemporary writers were interested principally in the technicalities of its procedure and modern scholars have devoted themselves largely to the difficult questions of its origin and authority. Common knowledge therefore remains relatively inadequate and inaccurate. It has gained a name for secrecy whereas its sessions were open practically to all comers. Its action is generally supposed to have been tyrannical and irregular, yet its procedure was quite as formal as that of any other court of equity. It is frequently thought of as in some way exceptional, yet no branch of the government was more clearly an outgrowth of the period in which it flourished.

The object of this paper is therefore to describe in the light of the abundant records in existence the Court of Star Chamber during the seventy-five years in which its place and time of meeting, its constitution, functions, and procedure were all well settled, and to point out its connection with the life of that period.

Star Chamber, the building in which this court sat and from which it took its name was one of that confused group of halls, court-rooms, galleries, chambers, passageways, and chapels that grew up in the course of centuries about the old palace of Edward the Confessor at Westminster. It was built in 1347 and was known from the time of its first construction by the name of Star Chamber, Starred Chamber, or as it appears more commonly in the French and Latin records of that time, *la chaumbre esteillée*, *la chambre des esteilles*, or *camera stellata*.<sup>1</sup> It was just such a building as the Painted Chamber, the White Hall, the King's Oratory, St. Stephen's Chapel, the Bell Tower, or any of the other parts of the old complex

<sup>1a</sup> A paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, December 30, 1912.

<sup>1</sup> W. P. Baildon, *Les Reportes des Cases in Camera Stellata*, from the MS. of John Hawarde, pp. xlii-xlvi, 453-464.

of government buildings; and the origin of its name, like theirs, must be inferred from some peculiarity of structure; doubtless in this case from its ornamentation. It was situated at the extreme southeast corner of the group of buildings, just above the present abutment of Westminster bridge, and its windows looked out on the one side on the Thames, on the other on what is still known as Old Palace Yard. It survived until 1836 when with other adjacent old buildings it was torn down. Its former location is now shown by a tablet in the wall of the Parliament buildings.

In this room on every Wednesday and Friday during term time, and occasionally on one or two extra days at the close of the term, the court gathered. The law or court terms were the four periods in the year when all the courts at Westminster held their sessions. On January 23 began Hilary term, continuing three weeks. Then, after the spring vacation, came Easter term, continuing something more than three weeks, till Ascension Day. Trinity term covered another period of three weeks, falling in June or July according to the date of Easter. After the "long vacation", on October 9 began Michaelmas term, the longest of the year, lasting seven weeks.<sup>2</sup>

During these four periods Westminster Hall and its surroundings took on an activity quite in contrast with the relative torpor of the vacation periods. Judges, men of the law, suitors, witnesses, and all those drawn by their interests into this concourse thronged the old buildings and the adjacent streets. The Court of King's Bench, of Common Pleas, and of Chancery had each its place of sitting in the Great Hall; the Court of Requests and the Court of Wards and Liveries sat in the White Hall, and the Court of Exchequer held its sessions in an adjacent building. Analogous to these courts, and not far away, sat the Court of Star Chamber.

The fact that the Court of Star Chamber sat only twice a week, on Wednesdays and Fridays, not every day in term time, as did the other courts, is explained by the peculiar position of its judges. They were busily engaged on the other days of the week in other parts of the work of government. The Court of Star Chamber was simply a special Wednesday and Friday session of the Privy Council. The difference between the ordinary meetings of the Privy Council and the Court of Star Chamber was not a difference of men, but a difference of time and place of sitting, of procedure, and above all of functions. The Council met usually where the sovereign was, throughout the year, in frequent sessions. It became the Court of Star Chamber when on two days weekly during some sixteen weeks in the year its members betook themselves to Westminster and sat

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, lib. II., chs. 10-11.

in Star Chamber for judicial purposes. The Council exercised a general, widely extended administrative power; the Council at its meetings in the Star Chamber was a court of justice with a settled body of legal precedents and practices.

In addition to the privy councillors there were regularly summoned to the meetings in Star Chamber the chief justices of the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, or two other justices of the law-courts in their place. As a typical session may be taken that of January 30, 1594, in the second week of Hilary term, when the court consisted of Sir John Puckering, lord keeper of the great seal, Archbishop Whitgift, the Earl of Essex, master of the horse, the Earl of Nottingham, lord admiral, Lord Buckhurst, Sir Thomas Heneage, vice chamberlain, Sir John Fortescue, Sir Robert Cecil, the queen's secretary, and Chief Justices Popham and Peryam—ten persons in all.<sup>3</sup> The number present, however, varied from five or six to twelve or even fifteen or eighteen members. The attorney-general was usually present, although only as an adviser or prosecutor, not as a member of the court.

The addition of the judges to their membership and the presence of the principal law-officer of the crown were a great convenience to the councillors. Technical points of law were often referred to the judges for advice, and they freely volunteered their opinions on such points. Occasionally they were written to by the Council before a Star Chamber session, and asked to look up the law on certain matters about to come up there. The Council at its regular sessions often got into deeper legal waters than it felt safe in and was glad to put off something "till the next Star Chamber day, when some of the judges shall be present to give their opinions upon certain points of the controversy".<sup>4</sup>

There was no doubt in the minds of any of those present however that the Court of Star Chamber was a court of justice. In its other sessions the Council might investigate, exercise discipline, subject to torture, rebuke, put under bonds, or keep culprits in prison till they yielded to its commands, but it did not formally inflict bodily punishment or impose a term of imprisonment or a fine. Here however by well established precedent it possessed a power of punishment extending to all lengths short of the death penalty, and a jurisdiction limited only by its own will. In 1598 the court at a full session made a ruling that if any official or any subject of the realm should misdemean himself in any manner the Court of Star

<sup>3</sup> Baildon, *Les Reportes*, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council* (new series), VII. 154, 164, 169; VIII. 234; XVIII. 110, 124.

Chamber had power to examine and punish him. It had an unbounded pride and assurance of power.<sup>5</sup>

At the meetings of the Court of Star Chamber the lord chancellor was the presiding officer. All the other councillors, even though they were noblemen or prelates of the highest degree, as well as the assisting justices, awaited his coming before entering the room and taking their seats. Lord Chancellor Ellesmere had the distinction of never failing during twenty years to be ready and present at the usual hour of opening the court, awaiting the other councillors in the Inner Star Chamber. The great seal and the chancellor's mace were carried before him, he wore his hat even when he spoke in court, though all other councillors removed theirs, he summoned the judges who were to take part in the Star Chamber sessions, he chose the attorneys who should be permitted to speak before the court, he directed the whole progress of suits, he closed the series of sentences, and in case of a tie he gave the deciding vote.<sup>6</sup>

The "Clerk of the Council in Star Chamber" held a position only second to that of the councillors themselves. He sat in the chamber to attend to routine business on days when the court was not sitting, and on days when it did sit he wore his velvet gown and participated in many of the responsibilities, honors, and privileges of the members of the court.

The attendance of the sovereign in person at the Court of Star Chamber was extremely unusual. Elizabeth never attended, and James and Charles only in a few exceptional cases. The royal arms and a vacant chair with the mace and purse lying before it, however, attested the theoretical presence of the king or queen and the dignity of the court as clothed with all the sovereign's power. This dignity was well preserved. The court was a formal and orderly assemblage and all speeches made were in restrained and sober language and in the midst of the profound silence of all present except the speaker. Even when, in the midst of the session of April 27, 1632, some mice came from behind the king's arms and one of them, after running along a beam, dropped on the back of Lord Chief Justice Richardson, the incident, so tempting to careless risibility, only served to point a reference in the speech of the archbishop to the human vermin he was just sentencing to fine and punishment. June 21, 1602, certain ridiculous matter inserted by the plaintiff in his appeal moved the court to momentary laughter. The lord keeper said, "Although it be goode to be merrie some time,

<sup>5</sup> Baildon, *Les Reportes*, p. 98.

<sup>6</sup> Hudson, *A Treatise on the Court of Star Chamber*, pt. 1., sect. 6, in *Collectanea Juridica*, vol. II.

and this be St. Barnabas' daye, the longest daye in the year, yet let us not spende the whole day in this place with wordes to no purpose", and so they returned to work. In respect of sobriety this court bears a pleasing contrast to the Court of High Commission of the time, where the judges, even Bishop Laud, were often noisy, hectoring, coarse-grained and foul-mouthed.<sup>7</sup>

Contrary to prevalent modern opinion and in contrast with the regular meetings of the Council Board, the sessions of the Court of Star Chamber were open to the public. The situation of the Star Chamber itself on the extreme edge of the group of Westminster buildings gave ready access to it to all, except for the control exercised by the usher of the chamber. We hear of that official receiving profitable fees for providing convenient seats or standing-room for young noblemen and gentlemen "which flock thither in great abundance when causes of weight are there heard and determined". At times, when interesting cases were to be before the court, people came as early as three o'clock in the morning to get places. The House of Lords, when Parliament was in session, frequently adjourned over Star Chamber days, principally for the purpose of allowing those noblemen who were also councillors to attend to their duties there, but also doubtless to allow the lords who might be interested in the proceedings to be present. There are many other indications of the publicity of its sessions. When the queen wished to have the misdemeanors of Archbishop Grindal brought to the attention of the public, it is declared that he is to appear and answer thereunto in that public place. When the councillors think certain scandalous speeches that have been reported to them should be punished openly for the sake of example, they send the matter to Star Chamber. The Earl of Essex, in 1601, made it his first petition and looked upon it as his greatest favor that he was not humiliated by being summoned publicly into that tribunal. Sir John Smythe complains that he has been brought "into a public audience in the Star Chamber", when he might fairly have anticipated that his case would have been considered in some more private way. The Court of Star Chamber was as public as any other court.<sup>8</sup>

The usual morning session of the court began at nine and closed at eleven o'clock. Between the morning and afternoon sessions the members of the court withdrew to the Inner Star Chamber for an excellent dinner; for by old established custom a special dinner was served on Star Chamber days to the councillors and judges present,

<sup>7</sup> Manningham, *Diary*, p. 53; Gardiner, *Reports of Cases in Star Chamber* (Camden Society, 1886), p. 138; Baildon, *Les Reportes*, p. 147.

<sup>8</sup> Hudson, pt. 1., sect. 7, p. 48; D'Ewes, *Journals*, pp. 67-68; Strype, *Grindal*, p. 234.

the clerk of the court, and occasionally to the queen's law-officers and one or more other guests. Like all forms of expenditure, the cost of these dinners rose rapidly through the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. While the average cost to the treasury of such a dinner about 1500 was £2, at the accession of Elizabeth, it was about £5; by 1580 it had risen to £8 or £10, while in 1588 it averaged £18 and before the century was over sometimes ran as high as £21. The dinners on the thirty-six Star Chamber days of 1588, the Armada year, cost £622 12s. Calculating the number of persons present and transferring this sum into modern values, this would equal a price of about \$30 a cover for each meal. Numerous itemized accounts survive. A typical menu in Hilary term, 1594, when fifteen members were present, consisted of two hundred pounds of beef, thirteen joints of mutton and nine joints of veal, besides lamb, marrow bones, tongue, bacon, oysters, three kinds of poultry, eight kinds of game, pastry, oranges and lemons, ale, beer, and four varieties of wine. This was for Wednesday. On Friday, which was a fish-day, there were twenty-two kinds of fish, besides lamb, veal, and game, which in these post-reformation days do not seem to have been regarded as meat. All this was set out with plate, napery, perfumes, and various expensive forms of service, all paid for at excessive rates. Much of this wholesale provision doubtless remained over and found its way as perquisites to servants and followers, or as alms to beggars. Yet it is also to be remembered that this gross gluttony, shameful waste, and reckless expenditure on the part of a few favored officials extended through the very period when the queen's soldiers and sailors at sea, in France, the Netherlands, and Ireland were dying without sufficient food or pay; when the salaries of lower officials were far in arrears, and when England was losing golden opportunities to crush her enemies for lack of money to use when and where it was needed. The thrifty soul of Burleigh, it is true, did revolt at these expenditures, as is indicated by his many annotations on the accounts; and as a matter of fact the custom of dining at the Star Chamber was suspended for a time, though it was subsequently resumed and continued to be the custom.<sup>9</sup>

Such being the time, place, constitution, and external practices of the Court of Star Chamber, the next important question that arises is the nature of the cases that came before it. In describing these no better procedure can be adopted than that of a certain writer who practised before the court at the most critical period of

<sup>9</sup> Cora L. Scofield, "Star Chamber Dinners", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, V. 83-95 (1899); *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1601-1603, p. 245; Lansdowne MSS., I. 109.



its history and rose to be its clerk. In his own analysis of its powers he says:<sup>10</sup>

If on the one side I shall diminish the force or shorten the stretching arm of this seat of monarchy, I should incur not only the censure of gross indiscretion and folly, but also much danger of reprehension; and if on the other side I should extend the power thereof beyond the due limits, my lords the judges and my masters the professors of the common law will easily tax me for encroaching upon the liberty of the subject, and account me not only unworthy of the name of my profession, but of the name of an Englishman. . . . Therefore to avoid all offence, I will . . . declare, as briefly as I can, what matters are there usually determined.

Following Mr. Hudson's plan it will be perceived that the cases that are usually determined in Star Chamber, although at first sight of almost endless variety, really fall into two very general classes: first, cases of breach of public order; secondly, cases of violation of royal commands.

Riots, or assaults, which were not very clearly discriminated from them, were perhaps the most familiar, unquestioned, and natural occasions of Star Chamber action. Justice Shallow, stung by Falstaff's reckless beating of his men, killing of his deer, and kissing of his keeper's daughter, protests, "I will make a Star Chamber matter of it; if he were twenty Sir John Falstaffs he shall not abuse Robert Shallow, Esquire. . . . The Council shall hear it; it is a riot." In earlier times riots had occupied much of the attention of the Council both in and out of Star Chamber, but even in the comparatively orderly days of Elizabeth, James, and Charles there were many riotous disturbances connected with hunting, with enclosures, with disputes as to the ownership of land, the use of churches and churchyards, and a score of other occasions, all of which brought their harvest of complaints to the Court of Star Chamber. Such were the cases of Lord Dudley who in 1586 gathered six hundred of his tenants and friends and drove off the sheep and cattle of a rival, or Lovelace who in 1596 took ten men and violently released two of his followers who had been placed in the stocks by Lady Russell, or certain townsmen of Berkshire who used violence in enforcing their traditional right to kill rabbits in a certain warren, notwithstanding the grant possessed by its owner from the queen. Young noblemen and gentlemen and their trains of followers who indulged in private conflicts found their way from the London magistrates or the Marshalsea to the Council and from the Council to Star Chamber, where they were properly fined and otherwise punished or bound over to keep the peace. Such was the case

<sup>10</sup> Hudson, pt. II., sect. I, p. 49.

of a group of young gentlemen who in July, 1600, were punished because they sat up in the Mermaid tavern in Bread Street eating and drinking till two o'clock in the morning and then ran through the streets with their rapiers drawn, beat the watch, and uttered seditious words.<sup>11</sup>

The conception of riotous proceedings as being proper objects of punishment by the Court of Star Chamber was extended to a number of other actions not technically riots or assaults, yet in their nature, origin, or accompaniments analogous to such disorders. Conspiracy, fraud, perjury, subornation of perjury, forgery, counterfeiting, threats, attacks upon men in authority, waylaying, challenges to duels—all shared, apparently, in the minds of the councillors the character of violence, and all were habitually punished in the Court of Star Chamber. The law-officers of the crown were especially inclined to prosecute offenders against the dignity of judges or other persons connected with the courts. An angry litigant who in 1602 attempted to stab a lawyer who had spoken against him was brought before Star Chamber and sentenced to have his ears cut off and to be imprisoned for life. One man had his ears nailed to the pillory at Westminster for traducing Lord Chief Justice Popham, another was sent to the pillory for saying Lord Dyer was a corrupt judge, another for writing a letter to Coke charging him with chicanery in practice, still others for writing a letter to the Mayor of Wallingford charging him with injustice, and for speaking disrespectfully to the Lord Mayor of London in the wrestling place at Clerkenwell. Forgery is also an exceedingly common offense and frequently and severely punished.<sup>12</sup>

A still less tangible form of disorder, yet one which was brought constantly into Star Chamber, was libel or slander. It was a period of libels. When Falstaff threatened Prince Hal and his companions, "An I have not ballads made on you all and sung to filthy tunes, let a cup of sack be my poison", it was not merely an idle old reprobate's vain speech. While he was ranting on the stage, a Sussex man was duly fined and forced to pay damages in Star Chamber for making up some verses about a neighbor: "Her face is long, her browes are black, her high woodden heeles they are in the fault", with a scurrilous refrain, set to the tune of "Tom of Bedlam". He had not only made and copied the verses, but showed them to Mrs. Palmer as he was in her shop "buying of sugar". In 1627 three

<sup>11</sup> Gardiner, *Reports of Cases in Star Chamber*, pp. 145-146; Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vol. III., appendix; Baildon, *Les Reportes*, pp. 49, 114; Lansdowne MSS., vol. LXXXIII., ff. 209-210.

<sup>12</sup> Hudson, pt. 11., sect. 11; Lansdowne MSS., vol. VI., f. 33; Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. III., app., p. 9 [8, 11].

London men were punished because "they did publish, divulge and sing several Libels to the Scandal of the Plaintiff in several ale-houses, and particularly one entitled 'A proper Song of a great Blockhead Woollen-Draper, dwelling in Holborn, who gave a Tailor's Wife a Yard of Old Frieze for a Jerkin', containing further matter unfit to be repeated in Star Chamber."<sup>13</sup> This was but one form of what Hudson calls the "infinite precedents" of libel. They range all the way from a case where horns were set up at the gate of a man unhappily married, to the personating of the Earl of Lincoln in a play; from an abusive letter written to a rival and signed "Tom-tell-Troth" to the action of a poor servant in York sent to buy a quart of wine, who stopped on his way, listened to the reading of a scurrilous paper, laughed at it, and was punished in Star Chamber for sharing in a libel. If a hot reformer was dissatisfied with the conservative party he "putt forth a ballet" against it. Sir John Harington makes a memorandum in his diary of his own somewhat inconsistent intentions. "I will write a damnable storie and put it in a goodlie verse about Lorde A. He hathe done me some ill turnes. God keepe us from lying and slander-worke." The queen's attorney declares in 1602 that there are more infamous libels now than in all preceding ages. Next to riot and forgery it is more frequently punished in Star Chamber than any other single offense.<sup>14</sup>

So much for cases which were in some way connected with public order. Another whole class of cases the Court of Star Chamber seems to have taken up from quite a different motive, the enforcement of royal authority. Punishment for the violation of royal proclamations was a simple form of such cases. Such proclamations or ordinances had been issued and were being issued from time to time on a variety of subjects. In 1580 Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation forbidding any increase in the number of houses or lodgings in London, the opinion being then widely held that the population of the city was already larger than could be properly fed or kept in order. A subsequent edict to the same effect was issued in 1598 and others by James and Charles in 1609 and later. But rents in London were high, and teeming as its narrow streets and alleys already were, there was a constant influx of people and an almost overwhelming demand for houses or lodgings. The royal decrees were therefore frequently disobeyed and in numerous instances this disobedience was punished in Star Chamber. October 28, 1598, two Londoners, Messrs. Griffin and Scripps, were indicted

<sup>13</sup> Gardiner, *Reports of Cases in Star Chamber*, pp. 149, 152; Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. III., app., p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Hudson, pt. II., sects. 10, 11; Harington, *Nugae Antiquae* (1792), II. 210; Baildon, *Les Reportes*, pp. 143, 152.

before Star Chamber and fined £20 each, the former for erecting a new tenement in Hog Lane and renting several rooms to two poor tenants; the latter for dividing an old house in Shoreditch in such a way as to rent it out to seventeen tenants, "base people", as they are described in the charge. As late as 1634 men were still being punished for the same offense, a gentleman named Moor being fined £1000 in that year because he had built thirty coach-houses and stables and twelve new buildings for tenants in the parish of St. Martins in the Fields and refused to pull them down when the proclamation was reissued. A case based on the same principle came up in the Easter term of 1634. Fifteen soap-boilers in London were fined, imprisoned, and forbidden any longer to carry on their trade of soap-making, because, against the king's proclamation that only olive-oil and rape-oil should be used in soap-making, they had used fish-oil, and had further increased their criminality by meeting in a tavern and in quite modern fashion agreeing not to sell their soap at less than a certain price.<sup>15</sup>

In the same year a country squire named Palmer was brought before Star Chamber, fined £1000, and imprisoned for some time in the Fleet. He had violated the successive proclamations of James and Charles requiring gentlemen who owned estates in the country to live upon them by taking up his abode for several years in London. As a result of several unfortunate quarrels, on January 26, 1614, King James issued a decree against duelling. Soon afterward several men were fined £1000 each and imprisoned in the Tower for its violation.

The frequent punishments for engrossing grain and other articles of food, forestalling the market, and in other ways making the prices of the necessities of life higher than they need be were based on the numerous and ancient proclamations of the sovereigns forbidding men to hold back foodstuffs when they were needed by the community. The punishment in this court of those who issued unlicensed books was in the same way based on the decrees of 1566, 1569, and 1586 regulating the censorship of the press.

Closely connected with this guarantee of the force of decrees was the oversight of the validity of royal charters and their interpretation. Any person who disregarded or misinterpreted a charter of the king could be looked upon as a "contemner of the king's broad seal", and therefore was naturally brought to trial in the court one of whose special functions it was to enforce royal authority. Thence came the long disputes of the Staplers and Merchant Adventurers

<sup>15</sup> Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. III., app., pp. 54, 60, 106, 109; *Yorkshire Arch. Journal*, XV, 450 (1899).

before Star Chamber in 1504 and 1510, between certain government monopolists, London merchants, and the German merchants of the Steelyard in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, between different factions in chartered towns, and between various chartered companies during the whole later history of the court.

Such being the principal classes into which the varied jurisdiction of the Court of Star Chamber falls, it becomes necessary to pay some attention to its procedure.<sup>16</sup> Cases came before the court either as matters of public concern or as matters of private relief or satisfaction. Cases of the first kind were introduced by the attorney-general, those of the second by counsel representing the private party interested. The procedure was exactly the same in the two cases. A case might be brought to the notice of the attorney-general who then drew up a bill of complaint against the defendant. Or a private person might wish that someone who had offended him should be punished, and he then through private counsel laid his complaint before the court. The Court of Star Chamber was a criminal, not a civil, tribunal, yet the offenses of which it took cognizance were of such a kind as frequently to serve for the relief of private injuries. Its reputation for granting liberal damages doubtless induced many persons to bring private cases before it.

The procedure of the court was similar to that of the Court of Chancery. It savored far more of the Roman than of the common law. "The civilian's rule" was quoted with approbation by lawyers practising before it; the leading part in it was taken by the lord chancellor; and the more elastic nature of its jurisdiction and its practice was characteristic of a court of equity rather than of the common law. The petition or complaint was known as a bill; it must be written on parchment, signed by counsel, and filed with the clerk. It must allege only offenses properly punishable by the Court of Star Chamber and only such as the complainant held himself ready to prove. Otherwise he was in danger of being punished for bringing a false charge, which was not an infrequent occurrence.<sup>17</sup> A writ of subpoena was then sent to the defendant, requiring his attendance in person on a certain day. In earlier times this appearance was always actually before the court or the council or the lord chancellor in his own house; by the time of James the appearance was made before the clerk of the court only, and somewhat later, since a fee of ten shillings was payable, defendants of any standing were actually waited upon by the under-clerk at their lodgings to enter their appearance.

<sup>16</sup> Hudson; Lansdowne MSS., vol. 639, ff. 1-22, "The Course . . . in the Highe Court of Star Chamber".

<sup>17</sup> Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. III., app., pp. 2, 38.

The defendant must enter into bonds to remain within reach of the court. He now had an opportunity to see and copy the charge against him, and within eight days he must file an answer to it, confessing its truth, demurring to it, or denying it. This answer must, like the complaint, be written on parchment, signed by counsel, and accompanied with an oath to its truth and to the willingness of the defendant to answer truthfully any interrogatories upon it. The formulation of these interrogatories by the plaintiff or his counsel was the next stage of the trial. Upon them the defendant was examined privately by the examiner, an official of the court, neither his counsel nor any co-defendant being present to advise him as to his answer. Nor did he or his counsel have any knowledge of what these interrogatories were to be till they were read to him by the examiner at a private conference. He must simply answer briefly each question as it was put to him, and then sign his answers as they were recorded by the examiner. As a matter of very general favor the interrogatories instead of being put to the defendant by one of the two examiners of the court at Westminster were placed in the hands of four commissioners, two chosen by each party from a list of six submitted by his opponent. These men acting under a formal commission issued under the great seal and provided with all the papers in the case, examined the defendant privately where he lived or at some place agreed upon by both parties and returned their formal written report to the clerk of the Court of Star Chamber. The plaintiff was then allowed to see the answer of the defendant to the interrogatories; and might if he wished put in a reply or a "replication" to this answer; the defendant was then allowed to draw up a "rejoinder" to this replication, and indeed a "surrejoinder", "rebuttal", and "surrebuttal" were provided for, though these last processes at the time of the greatest activity of the court had long become antiquated.

Next came the examination of witnesses; this followed the same general forms as the examination of the defendant. Either the examiner of the court or special commissioners examined such witnesses as were brought to their notice by either plaintiff or defendant, witnesses were then examined on oath and secretly, and their testimony, like that of the principals, written down and returned by the examiner or commissioners to the court. It is doubtless this private interrogation of defendant and witnesses without the presence of counsel that has given rise to the familiar modern expression of "Star Chamber proceedings", as meaning secret and irregular methods of examination and decision.

These examinations concluded the formulation of the case. The

plaintiff then entered his case in a general book kept by the clerk of the court. The lord chancellor from time to time examined this book and selected from it the cases to be brought up at the next Star Chamber day. Prosecutions brought by the attorney-general had precedence, and such others as seemed to the lord chancellor to need most immediate relief were taken in their order, one being usually set down for each Star Chamber day.

When a case was to be disposed of, the defendant was summoned by writ of subpoena to be present at the bar of the court on the appointed Star Chamber day. The case was then opened by the clerk of the court, the documents concerned with it read, or so much of them as the counsel for plaintiff or defendant asked for. Counsel also spoke in prosecution and defense, and answered such questions as were put to them by the judges of the court.

The course of procedure in Star Chamber was intended to be summary and inexpensive, but here as elsewhere court pleadings ran occasionally to very great length. A charge brought in 1596 against the Dean of Worcester and some others, accusing them of libel, "rehearsed all their lives", asked for the examination of 77 witnesses, and required 155 interrogatories on one side and 125 on the other. The Council complained that four subsidies could be paid or twenty cavalry horses provided for the defense of the realm at a less cost than the expense of these proceedings. Lord Burleigh measured in open court a bill charging certain men with perjury. It covered four skins of parchment and was found to be "nine foote longe". Stringent rules for simplicity were issued, but proceedings continued to be of abnormal length, and we hear of sittings from nine in the morning to six at night on one case.<sup>18</sup>

According to this regular procedure neither plaintiff, defendant, nor witnesses appeared before the court itself at any stage of the proceedings until the final appearance of the defendant at the bar at the close of the case. The whole series of proceedings: bill, answer, interrogatories, replication, rejoinder, and examination of witnesses, was carried out by subordinate officials of the court and prepared by them for its consideration. The court dealt only with documentary material. It was not in consonance either with the great position of the councillors as ministers of state or with the disciplinary functions they were fulfilling, that they should come into personal contact with this multitude of offenders, or should have to consider the undigested details of the cases. Their work in the Star Chamber was after all a part of their work as councillors and although it had to do immediately with individuals, its ultimate ob-

<sup>18</sup> Baildon, *Les Reportes*, pp. 11, 54.

ject was the good order of the community and the enforcement of administrative measures. Nor, as busy officials with many other duties, could they have given the necessary time for the hearing of the complaints of plaintiffs, the explanations of defendants, and the testimony of witnesses. But there was one exception to this usual procedure. Occasionally a man was apprehended by some messenger of the government, brought before an official, and examined, though without oath, as to some action. If he acknowledged it he was brought to the bar of the Star Chamber, *ore tenus*, as it was called, to accept his punishment or to make his defense orally. Instances are by no means uncommon. In 1631 a farmer named Archer was brought before Star Chamber *ore tenus*, having confessed to enhancing the price of grain. He acknowledged his confession, submitted himself to the mercy of the court, and was sentenced to pay a fine of £100, to give £10 to the poor, and to stand in the pillory in three places, each for an hour, with a paper on his hat with the words, "For enhancing the price of Corne". Later in the same year nine others were brought before the court *ore tenus* and punished for the same offense. The next April a swashbuckling captain named Kelly was fined £200 and forced to apologize for writing a letter which was intended to call forth a challenge to a duel. During the performance of a play at Trinity College, Cambridge, he had jostled a certain Sir Arthur Gorge who had a lady on his arm at the time. Gorge threatened to cudgel him for the insult. Kelly wrote him a letter saying he was as good a gentleman as he, and would cudgel him when he got the opportunity. The attorney-general getting possession of this letter brought him before Star Chamber *ore tenus*, treating this letter as a confession. The personal presence of this defendant did not prove to be favorable to his cause, for although he pleaded that he was a soldier and did not know the laws and was but lately come home from service abroad, the lord chancellor not only scolded him and declared him guilty, but was scandalized by his "long ruffian-like haire", and wanted to order it cut, though the other councillors voted against this particular form of punishment.<sup>19</sup>

Such cases of personal attendance of culprits and summary settlement of the charges against them were, however, far from the typical form of procedure, which was rather that of the orderly written complaint, reply, and testimony, and the discussion of this written evidence, such as has been described. There was much objection to the *ore tenus* procedure even then, and various safeguards were thrown around it. It is not hard to see that it was

<sup>19</sup> Gardiner, *Reports of Cases in Star Chamber*, pp. 43-49, 82-89, 112-115.



likely to lead to abuses, as does its modern congener "the third degree". A man suddenly arrested and privately and skillfully examined, overwrought, and perhaps entrapped into an unintentional and injudicious confession, then retained in the custody of a pursuivant until he was brought, without counsel, into the presence of the most dignified persons of the kingdom, was but ill provided with even such poor protection as the practice of the common-law courts then gave to a culprit.

The examination of the case having been completed, whether *ore tenus* or according to the more usual written procedure, the members of the court proceeded to give their sentences or "censures", as they were usually called. The councillor lowest in rank or most recent in appointment spoke first. He usually stated his opinion of the nature of the crime and of the degree of guilt of the culprit, speaking often at considerable length, then proposing a punishment which he thought suitable to the offense. Those next in rank above him spoke in order, each speaker stating his opinion and agreeing with the first as to the amount of punishment, or proposing some increase or diminution of it. The archbishop always spoke next to last, if he was present, and the lord chancellor last of all. There were, as has been said, often ten or twelve, sometimes fifteen or eighteen judges to speak and each usually improved the occasion not only to analyze the case and to express his abhorrence of the wickedness of the offender, but to lay down general principles, quote from Scripture, the classics, or the fathers, and grieve over the evils of the times.

There are few better opportunities for insight into the prevailing offenses, opinions, prejudices, and manners of any period than an examination into the scattered records of the proceedings in the Court of Star Chamber. Right from the clear sky of sixteenth-century religion comes the testimony of a man named John Baldwin "who questioned whether there was a God, if there were how he should be known, if by his worde, who wrote the same, if the prophets and the apostles, they were but men *et humanum est errare*, and such like damnable doubts, not suffered to be reade in the hearing of this corte". The very next year, 1596, Robert Fisher uses before the court "the heretical and execrable words 'that Christ was no savior and the gospell a fable'".

When in a time of dearth the government exercised its usual authority to force the selling at a fair price of stored-up grain, a man declared, "My goodes are my owne; the justices nor the queene nor the Counselle have to doe with my goodes. I will doe what I liste with them." His faith in the unrestricted rights of property, however,

did not save him from being fined £100 by the court, put in bonds for good behavior, wearing a paper on his cap acknowledging that he was a regrater of goods, and confessing his fault in public. An evidence of the early odium of the principles set forth in *The Prince* is found in a session of the Star Chamber in 1595 when a scoundrel and turncoat is described as "a most palpable Macchiavellian". The Elizabethan interest in spelling is indicated by the attempt of the attorney-general to prove that a man is "no schollar, for that he wrote false ortography, because he spelled the action of the court 'prossus', whereas every scholler knoweth it should be 'proces', because it comes from *procedendo*". But as the critic spells scholar "schollar" in one place and "scholler" in another it is evident that the rules of etymology and spelling were not yet entirely fixed.<sup>20</sup>

The value placed upon social rank is indicated by the action of the court in transferring a case which threatened scandal to a nobleman to the Privy Council where it could be settled privately, if not so effectually. A regularly adjudicated case declares that if a man called his equal a liar it was a punishable offense, because it was evidently likely to produce a duel. If a man called his inferior a liar it was not punishable because a duel was inconceivable in such a case, and the superior was simply correcting a mistake on the inferior's part. But the strongest impression of the character of the age is drawn not from conspicuous, isolated cases, but from the steady, continuous discipline exercised by an all-powerful paternal government over a restless, contentious, ingenious people during a period of particularly sluggish morals.

No characteristic of the practice of the Court of Star Chamber has left a stronger impression upon posterity than the nature of its punishments. They were of four general types, imprisonment, money fines, public acknowledgment of offenses, and public humiliation. No form of punishment used in Star Chamber was probably unknown in other courts, but the irregularity of the cases that came before it, the absence of definite statutory punishment provided for them, and the disciplinary element involved in its action, of necessity led to a flourishing of bizarre and excessive sentences in the procedure of this court beyond any other tribunal in English history. Examples are only too readily found. For instance, a rogue who in 1629 had falsely accused various noblemen of participation with Felton and himself in the murder of the Duke of Buckingham, on confession was sentenced by the Court of Star Chamber to be fined £2000, to be whipped from the Fleet prison to Westminster, and

<sup>20</sup> Baildon, *Les Reportes*, pp. 16, 19, 41, 104.

there set on the pillory with one ear nailed to its frame. Then that ear was to be cut off, his nostrils slit, and his face branded with F on one cheek and A on the other, for False Accuser. He was then to be returned to the Fleet prison, whence he was later to be whipped to Charing Cross, there to be placed again on the pillory with his other ear nailed fast and subsequently cut off. Thence he was to be sent to the work-house at Bridewell, there to remain for the rest of his life. That such a preposterous punishment differed rather in degree than in nature from others at the time is however indicated by the fact that this same culprit had already been whipped in Sussex and burned on the shoulder at Huntingdon assizes for personating another man.<sup>21</sup> Every conviction in Star Chamber involved imprisonment for a longer or shorter period according to the will of the court or the pleasure of the sovereign. Imprisonment for life was not infrequently ordered, though probably not often actually enforced. Fines were usually of a considerable amount, one hundred, two hundred, and five hundred pounds being very usual sums. The liberal damages habitually given to injured complainants was doubtless one of the principal causes of the popularity of the court with those injured in any of the ways of which it would take cognizance. In 1631 Lord Falkland is given £3000 damages against Sir Arthur Savage for slander; Lord Savile is forced to pay £150 damages to a certain Sir John Jackson, whom he found hunting in a field of disputed ownership, struck with his sword, and pushed into a "plash of water". A man named Martin is forced to pay £100 damages to a neighbor and his wife for circulating libellous words about them.

Humiliating punishments extended all the way from requiring a cozening lawyer to confess his fault and wear a paper on his hat declaring his offense as he walked through Westminster Hall, or another to ride with his face to his horse's tail from Westminster Hall to Temple Bar and to be disbarred, to the most harsh and cruel whippings and suffering on the pillory. Standing in the pillory with a paper on his head stating his crime was a constantly imposed form of punishment. A harsher form required one ear to be nailed to the pillory while the culprit stood there. A still more severe requirement was cutting off one or both ears, or branding on the forehead or cheek letters indicating the offense. "The slavish habit of whipping", as a lawyer of the time calls it, was an increasingly frequent punishment in the later years of the life of the court and was, with the brutality of the time, inflicted upon women with especial frequency. "As to the woman, let her be whipped", "Let her

<sup>21</sup> Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. III., app., p. 18.

be whipped in the open street", "For Katherine, his wife, I hould her fitt to be made an example of so foule an offense. She shall therefore be well whipped at Exeter and Colehampton." "To be whipped and confess her fault", "to be whipped in Bridewell", "to be fined 500 marks, to lose both his ears upon the pillory, to be whipped and imprisoned till he can find sureties for his good behavior", "to stand on the pillory at Westminster with one ear nailed, and at the assizes in Somerset with the other ear nailed, and to be fined 100 pounds", "to walk through Westminster Hall with a paper on his head, and to have his eares nailed to the pillory", "1000 marks fine to the queen, 200 pounds to the plaintiff, imprisonment during pleasure, nailing in two places, to be pilloried at Westminster and whipped from thence to the Fleet", such are typical sentences of slanderers, forgers, and false swearers before Star Chamber between 1594 and 1600. In 1596 three men who had confessed to counterfeiting warrants of the principal members of the Council were sentenced to stand in the pillory, lose their ears, and be branded on the forehead with the letter F for forger, and then serve perpetually in the galleys. Lord Burleigh suggested in this case that inasmuch as such burnings die out in a short time the men should be scarified on the cheeks by a surgeon with the letter F, and that some powder be put in to color it so that it would never disappear. To their credit, the other councillors did not give their approval to this barbarous proposal.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless we hear of a certain false accuser in 1595 who "after long imprisonment lost both ears on the pillory, was slit in the nose, branded on the forehead and condemned to further imprisonment for life". Sometimes the fanciful rather than the painful predominates in the sentences, as in the many cases of ordering men to ride with their faces to the horse's tail, or in the proposition of Lord Burleigh for the further punishment of two cheats, that he "would have those that make the playes to make a comedy thereof, and to acte it with there names".

The amount of money fines was graduated rather according to the need of impressing the community than in proportion either to the immediate offense or to the ability of the culprit to pay it, "*ut poena ad paucos, metus ad omnes perveniat*". In many cases, therefore, the amount was subsequently reduced, or probably in some cases pardoned altogether. Frequently indeed there was no choice. Those punished were so poor as to make the collection of a fine impossible. "It had neede be a hundred pound of wool", as the lord treasurer remarked when a very poor man convicted of forgery was sentenced to a hundred pounds fine. It was obviously futile to fine

<sup>22</sup> Baildon, *Les Reportes*, p. 38.

a group of workmen in London who according to their petition had "no means of livelihood but their fingerends" £500 a piece. Tables still remain showing the proportionate reduction of Star Chamber fines in a number of cases. Nevertheless they were strictly enough enforced to place in some cases a crushing weight on those subjected to them, and to form a not inconsiderable part of the income of the crown. For two of the four terms in 1596 they amounted to £1381, and for two terms in 1598 to £1979.

The number of suits tried in the Court of Star Chamber cannot be determined exactly, because of the imperfection of the records. It can be said however that the number bears full testimony to the litigiousness of our ancestors. Hudson in his quotation of precedents refers by name to upwards of two hundred cases, and says he could count a thousand instances of a certain form of procedure. There were something more than 30,000 cases entered during the reign of Elizabeth.<sup>23</sup> Rushworth in his *Collections* gives details of 160 cases in the early years of Charles I. The Court of Star Chamber meets us everywhere in the life of the closing decades of the sixteenth and the first forty years of the seventeenth century. Great cases and small come before it; the nobleman, the clergyman, the merchant, and the peasant are either plaintiffs or defendants. Its actions are quoted, prosecution before it is threatened, its punishments are familiar spectacles. It is an active, conspicuous, influential, and normal part of the government during that period.

It remains to describe briefly the sudden cessation of this activity, and to discover if possible the reason for the downfall of the Court of Star Chamber. There is but little evidence of any opposition to it till just before the end of its existence. The legal writers of the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles: Camden, Smith, Crompton, Coke, Bacon, Hudson, Lambarde, all speak of the court in terms of the highest praise. Camden, about 1586, says of it, "If we look to its age it is most ancient; if we look to its dignity it is most honorable." Lambarde some five years later speaks of it in terms similar to those habitually applied to the queen herself, "this most noble and praiseworthy Court; the beames of whose bright Justice equal in beauty with Hesperus and Lucifer . . . do blaze and spread themselves as far as this Realme is long or wide". Coke says, "It is the most honourable Court (our Parliament excepted) that is in the Christian world, both in respect of the Judges of the Court, and of its honourable proceeding." Hudson writes as late as 1622, "Since the great Roman Senate . . . there hath no court come so

<sup>23</sup> *Cases before Star Chamber in the Reign of Elizabeth*, Publications of the Record Commission (3 vols.).

near them in state, honour, and judicature as this."<sup>24</sup> The fact is that the Court of Star Chamber was so integral and consistent a part of the system of government in control of the destinies of England during the sixteenth century and the first four decades of the seventeenth, that there could be no opposition to it that was not directed against the whole system of autocratic monarchy. With the extension of this government in Church and State the Court of Star Chamber had grown and developed, and it was destined by the very logic of the case to stand or fall with it. The judges of the court were the ministers of the government. On Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, they were the ministers who carried on the administration; on Wednesdays and Fridays, through much of the year, they were judges who enforced through judicial process their ideals as ministers.

Against this dominant system of government and against these ideals, there was it is true much opposition; opposition from the parliamentarian, from the Puritan, from a few common-law judges, from many lawyers, from a vast number of individuals of all classes in the country. But this opposition did not discriminate the Court of Star Chamber from the Privy Council, from the royalist decisions of the judges, from the high ecclesiastical claims of the bishops, from the autocratic powers of the crown. Yet as time went on, especially during the period from 1629 to 1640, when the antagonism of those in office and those opposed to them and their system was becoming constantly more accentuated; when Laud and the authorities of the established church were exercising all their powers to turn back the rising tide of Puritanism; when thousands of dissatisfied men were crossing the sea to New England to set up their own arbitrary standards in a new world; when the increasing bitterness and rapid development of party feeling can be traced everywhere from the split among the directors of the Virginia Company to the removal of Coke from his position as judge, it is no wonder that this difference of party was reflected in the actions of the Court of Star Chamber. There sat the councillors and the most royalist of the judges. There sat Strafford with his policy of the thorough enforcement of the will of a more or less enlightened despotism irrespective of the wishes of an awakening nation. The leading pleader was the king's attorney-general. Good royalist doctrine was constantly proclaimed there. On the very eve of the downfall of the system we hear the Archbishop of Canterbury quoting Gregory of Nazianzen's aphorism that "kings are living representatives of Almighty God".

<sup>24</sup> Coke, *Fourth Institute*, ch. 5; Camden, *Britannia* (1594), p. 112; Lambarde, *Archeion* (1635), p. 217; Hudson, pt. 1., sect. 1.

During this period there is an obvious increase in the number of cases directed to the punishment of those who opposed or were disrespectful to officials, clergymen, or the sovereign, and a corresponding increase in the savagery of their punishment. Scores of men were prosecuted for resisting or abusing justices, bailiffs, or their clerical superiors. Two knights were fined, imprisoned, and made incapable of bearing office for the future because they had hindered the royal commission on knighthood, appealing to Yorkshiremen to stand for their rights and liberties, declaring that the Council of the North was "but a paper Court", and making other unseemly comparisons. A London merchant who in 1620 before the Council Board had "falsely, maliciously and seditiously said" that the merchants were "more screwed and wronged and discouraged in England than they are in Turkey", was sent before Star Chamber, fined £2000 and sentenced to make an humble apology at the Royal Exchange. In the same year another man who had repeated a rumor he had heard that the king went to mass with the queen, was fined £5000, committed to prison, and ordered to wear a paper on his head declaring his offense, and orally confess his fault in Star Chamber, at the bars of all the courts at Westminster, at Paul's Cross in London, and at the assizes of Suffolk and Huntingdonshire. This sentence does not strike one as a specially effective means of quieting a rumor, but it is typical of the fact that men were now being punished by the Court of Star Chamber not as offending individuals only, but as members of a party offensive to the government.

A few years later its policy was more severe, as may be seen in the well-known case of Prynne. In 1633, Prynne, a lawyer, a graduate of Oxford, and a man of learning, who was already deep in the religious pamphlet warfare of the day, published his *Histrio Mastix: the Player's Scourge or Actor's Tragoedie*. Archbishop Laud, who already knew and hated him, appointed one of his clerks to go through the vast volume of eight hundred quarto pages and cull out objectionable passages. Of these there was such an abundant crop that the author, the printer, and the archbishop's official who had licensed the book were all prosecuted by the attorney-general before Star Chamber. Prynne was charged with publishing a scandalous and libellous book against the state, the king, and the commonwealth. So offensive were his opinions and expressions found to be that after a trial lasting three days he was sentenced to pay a fine of £5000, to be perpetually imprisoned, to be deprived of his degree from the university and expelled from the Inns of Court, to stand in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside, to have an ear cut off

at each place, and to wear a paper declaring his offense. His books were to be called in and all copies publicly burned in Cheapside. This condemnation was accompanied with expressions of horror and contempt from every one of his nineteen judges. Prynne, crushed by his sentence, wrote an humble submission, and petitioned the Council to intercede with the king for a mitigation of his sentence. But nothing was yielded and the only alleviation that came to him was the slight mercy of the hangman who in return for a petty payment only cropped his ears, instead of actually cutting them off. On the other hand, his books were burned so close under the pillory at Cheapside that he was almost smothered with the smoke.

But even in his prison Prynne continued to write, and in 1636 secretly published two more pamphlets abusive of the established church. He was then, together with two other pamphleteers, Henry Burton and John Bastwick, brought before Star Chamber and they were all sentenced to stand in the pillory, to have their ears cut off (in the case of Prynne that part of them which the hangman had previously left), to be fined £5000 each and to be imprisoned for life without the use of pen or paper in three distant castles of Wales and the north. Prynne was also, on the special motion of Chief Justice Finch, ordered to be branded on the forehead with the letters S and L, Seditious Libeller. At this second punishment he fainted in the pillory, when after two hours' exposure the hangman did his work of cutting, as we hear, "very scurvily". Expressions of sympathy were now heard everywhere, and the journey of these men to their various prisons was an occasion for personal attentions from many men whom the policy of the government was fast consolidating into a party. The Council went one step farther and after some months transferred Prynne to the castle of Mount Orgueil, in the island of Jersey, and the others to similar prisons far from the conflicts of opinion in England.<sup>25</sup>

These are only the most famous cases in Star Chamber during these ten years, when no Parliament was in session and the ministers carried everything their own way. When opposition was made to the collection of ship-money, the sheriffs of seven counties were in 1640 summoned before the Star Chamber for malfeasance in office in their neglect to enforce its payment. Wentworth prosecuted there some men who had made ill reports of his action in Ireland. Even a compromising bishop fell into the toils of the law of libel and subornation of perjury, and was fined and imprisoned in Star Chamber.

<sup>25</sup> *Documents relating to the Proceedings against William Prynne* (Camden Society, 1877), pp. 1-69.



In the year 1640 came the reckoning. The Short Parliament of April and May met and was dissolved with no mention of Star Chamber except an isolated complaint against it for helping to enforce royal monopolies and illegal taxation. When the Long Parliament opened in November of that year, and the demolition of the fabric of autocratic government was deliberately undertaken, the Court of Star Chamber received the first blows directed against it. On the first working day of Parliament a petition was presented to the House of Commons from Susannah Bastwick and Sarah Burton, the wives of those two victims of Star Chamber prosecution, and from John Brown, servant of William Prynne, complaining of the injustice of their sentences, the severity of their punishment, and their exile and sequestration. The House of Commons immediately ordered the prisoners to be released and brought by warrants issued in its name to plead their cause before it. Similar petitions soon came from other prisoners and called forth similar action. The introduction of the petitions was the occasion for speeches attacking the recent actions of ministers, councillors, and judges, in which can be clearly seen the intention of the parliamentary leaders to reorganize the government. Pym, Bagshawe, and Grimstone seldom failed to include the Court of Star Chamber in their complaints as they denounced the abuses of recent government. Early in December Prynne and his companions arrived in London from their various places of exile, in the custody of officers of the House of Commons.

A committee of the House was appointed to examine these cases and to take into consideration among other things the general question of the jurisdiction of the Court of Star Chamber. Within the next few weeks reports were made from the committee, in accordance with which many of the decisions of Star Chamber were reversed, declared "bloody, wicked, cruel and tyrannical", and those who suffered by them restored to their estates and honors and given damages against their judges. Early in March a violent speech against Star Chamber was made by Lord Andover in the House of Lords. March 30 a bill "for reforming the Privy Council and the Court called the Star Chamber" was brought by the committee into the House of Commons. June 9 this bill was finally passed and sent to the House of Lords. On July 8 the two houses had a conference on the bill, the Lords asking that the Court of Star Chamber should simply be limited in its powers and regulated, not abolished as proposed in the original bill. They yielded, however, to the pressure of the Commons, the bill was laid before the king, and after two or three days of reluctant delay he called the two houses

before him July 5 and gave his consent to the statute, described as "An Act for the Regulating of the Privy Council and for taking away the Court commonly called the Star Chamber". It appears on the statute book as 16 Chas. I., c. 10, and is still the law of the land.<sup>26</sup>

But the Court of Star Chamber did not fall alone. Strafford was impeached in the same week with the first relief given to its victims. The impeachment of Laud was but a few days separated from the introduction of the bill for its abolition. Secretary Windebank was driven into flight during the progress of the debates. Lord Keeper Finch, after a brilliant exculpatory address in Parliament, was nevertheless impeached, and only escaped an almost certain conviction and execution by a wild journey across the Channel in an open boat. During the same months the judges had been subjected to serious attacks. The three judges of the Exchequer who had given the ship-money decision were arrested. Justice Crawley was impeached, Chief Justice Berkeley was arrested by a messenger of the House of Commons as he sat in his seat in the Court of King's Bench in Westminster Hall. The lesser ministers as well as the greater suffered. The name of Cottington, chancellor of the Exchequer, to whom as the lowest official in the Council it had so often fallen to propose the harsh punishments of Star Chamber, was on a list of proscriptions prepared by the parliamentary leaders.

The old system had fallen and the Court of Star Chamber had fallen with it. By July, 1640, the date of its abolition, of the group of councillors and judges who had sat in this court during the years that preceded the Long Parliament, the ablest, Strafford, had closed his stormy life on Tower Hill, his bitter "put not your trust in princes" scarcely silent on his lips. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Laud, was fretting in the Tower, granted as a concession to his earnest prayers the use of pen and ink he had denied to Prynne and his fellow Puritans, and looking forward to the death on the scaffold that was soon to follow. Windebank was an exile in Holland and Finch in France. The king himself, the centre of the whole system, surrounded by a new and untrusted group of councillors, bound by constantly narrowing bonds of restrictive laws, was already drifting into that fatal policy which was to lead on to civil war, then to the scaffold at Whitehall, only a few rods from the Star Chamber.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

<sup>26</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, V. 110-112.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CABINET, 1688-1760

### PART I

THE English cabinet made its appearance in the seventeenth century at a time when the Privy Council was declining in importance.<sup>1</sup> During the eighteenth century it superseded the Privy Council as the important advisory body of the sovereign. In the long course of its development, which may be traced from the beginning of the reign of Charles I., and more dimly, perhaps, in the reign of his father, its origin in connection with the waning of the Privy Council was understood and acknowledged by contemporaries. "As the offices of the law", says Roger North, "out of clerkships, spawn other offices, so this council was derived from the Privy Council, which, originally, was the same thing."<sup>2</sup> The exact process, however, by which it developed from the Privy Council has not been clear. It may have begun as a secret body of advisers called together by the king rather as intimate friends than officials, and hence have gone on for some time in parallel development with the council; or it may have originated as a standing committee.<sup>3</sup> More probably its origin is to be sought in both of these sources, but until the Privy Council Register has been studied in connection with the sombre piles of state papers and the numerous miscellaneous manuscripts of the Stuart period, no certain conclusion can be drawn.

In 1617 James I. created a secret committee of the Privy Council to deal with questions relating to the proposed Spanish match.<sup>4</sup> Somewhat before this time Bacon had made his famous allusion to "cabinet counsels", excellent, indeed, for secrecy and despatch, yet "a remedy worse than the disease".<sup>5</sup> The Spanish Committee was continued until the end of the reign.<sup>6</sup> On the accession of Charles I., the Foreign Committee was instituted, and continued at least until March, 1640.<sup>7</sup> These committees were not bodies supervising

<sup>1</sup> For the enlargement of the Privy Council under the Stuarts, the consequent division of its work among committees, and the decline of the council itself, cf. E. I. Carlyle, "Committees of Council under the Earlier Stuarts", *English Historical Review*, XXI. 673 ff. (1906).

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of the Norths* (London, 1826), II. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. C. Foxcroft, *Life of Halifax*, I. 59, note.

<sup>4</sup> Carlyle, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 674, 675.

<sup>5</sup> *Essays*, xx., "Of Counsel".

<sup>6</sup> Carlyle, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 675.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 675-677.

or directing the general administration of the government; they had in charge merely Spanish or foreign affairs. They were parts of the Privy Council, and not bodies superseding it. Because of the secrecy of their deliberations, however, and their evident importance, they soon attracted the attention of outsiders. In 1624 the Spanish Committee is spoken of as the "Junta for Foreign Affairs".<sup>8</sup> "June, 1625", writes Walter Yonge, "the King made choice of six of the nobility for his *Council of the Cabinet*."<sup>9</sup> In 1630 Sir Thomas Roe declares that Vane "is of the Cabinet and one of those that Can read whispers".<sup>10</sup> About this time Massinger, the dramatist, makes in one of his plays an allusion which shows clear understanding of the difference between the old council and the new secret body:<sup>11</sup>

"Adorni. May I presume to ask if the ambassador  
Employ'd by Ferdinand, the Duke of Urbin,  
Hath audience this morning?

Astutio. 'Tis uncertain:  
For though a counsellor of state, I am not  
Of the cabinet counsel: but there's one, if he please,  
That may resolve you."

After 1638, when it is the Scottish Committee of the Privy Council which deals with affairs of the greatest current importance, this body attracts attention in the same manner. In 1640 the commissioners from Scotland had a hearing "before his Majesty and these of the private Committy or Cabin Counsell in England".<sup>12</sup> Clarendon refers to it as "that committee of the Council which used to be consulted in secret affairs".<sup>13</sup> He says that Strafford's advice—that advice which brought him at last to Tower Hill—was given in the committee "which they called *the Cabinet Council*";<sup>14</sup> and that the younger Vane found among his father's papers the minutes of this "Cabinet Council", which he communicated to Pym.<sup>15</sup> Clarendon also describes at length "the Committee of State", made up of a few trusted councillors, "which was reproachfully after called *the Juncto*, and enviously then in the court *the Cabinet Council*".<sup>16</sup> In

<sup>8</sup> Carlyle, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 676.

<sup>9</sup> *Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq.* (Camden Society, 1848), p. 83.

<sup>10</sup> St. P. Dom. (State Papers Domestic, Public Record Office), Charles I., CLXX., July 14, 1630.

<sup>11</sup> *The Maid of Honour*, I. 1 (1632).

<sup>12</sup> The Committee of Estates to the Earl of Athole. Athole MSS., *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports*, 12, VIII. 26.

<sup>13</sup> *History of the Rebellion* (ed. Macray, Oxford, 1888), II. 61.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 117.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 131.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 99. Cf. also III. 118.

1644 a Parliamentarian sneers at the Royalist "Cabinet or Junto".<sup>17</sup> Even before this time the opponents of the king had lost faith in the Privy Council, since they understood that weighty matters were decided by a few of his favorites in secret consultation.<sup>18</sup> John Selden and his associates gravely expressed this: "The sense of State once contracted into a *Privy Council*, is soon recontracted into a *Cabinet-Council*, and last of all into a *Favourite* or *two*; which many times brings damage to the publick, and both themselves and Kings into extreme *praecipices*."<sup>19</sup>

After the Restoration a similar part was played by the Committee for Foreign Affairs, stigmatized as the cabinet or cabal.<sup>20</sup> "I hear our carrying the vote for the naming Holland to be an Allie, much displeased the Court, at the Cabinett the D. moved to have us dissolved", writes Thomas Thynne to Halifax in 1677.<sup>21</sup> There now occur numerous allusions to Charles transacting business with the advice of a few of his favorites in private consultation.<sup>22</sup> Francis North, writing of his political experiences in 1679, says: "It was Not long before he was summoned to the Cabinett . . . he was taken in to the Most secret Recesses of the K Councils."<sup>23</sup> Lord Jeffreys was appointed a member of the "Cabanet or cabal" in 1684.<sup>24</sup> For this period North describes the "posture of the Cabinett"; it contained the lord president, the lord privy seal, the two secretaries of state, and, apparently, three others.<sup>25</sup> By the end of the Stuart period the cabinet council in the sense of a secret council was fairly well known to those acquainted with English political life. But there was as yet nothing definite about it except its character of privacy. It might be sometimes one body, sometimes another, with membership depending entirely upon the temporary wish of the king.

After the Revolution of 1688 the existence of a cabinet council was recognized and also the need of having it. An anonymous adviser urged William to make his government strong and at the same

<sup>17</sup> *Mercurius Britanicus*, July 22, 1644 (British Museum).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *History of England* (ed. 1884), IX. 292.

<sup>19</sup> Nathaniel Bacon, *An Historical and Political Discourse of the Laws and Government of England*, etc. (ed. 1739), p. 201. Written about 1649.

<sup>20</sup> Pepys mentions the "Cabinet" on a number of occasions. *Diary*, May 15, 1663; November 9, 1664; August 26, 1666; November 16, 1667.

<sup>21</sup> Foxcroft, *Life of Halifax*, I. 129.

<sup>22</sup> St. P. Dom., Entry Books, LXVIII., January 20, February 25, 1681/2; January 20, February 24, 1682/3; March 31, 1683; LXIV., January 29, 1683/4; April 5, 1684.

<sup>23</sup> Memoranda Historica, Add. MSS. (Additional Manuscripts, British Museum), 32,520, f. 251.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 253.

<sup>25</sup> Add. MSS., 32,520, f. 253; *ibid.*, 32,523, f. 36.

time popular, by gratuitously acquainting Parliament "That he resolves to advise in all Emergencys for this next Year with the Marqu: of H or C. but not both Earl of Nottingham Earl of Maclesfeild Earl of Portland Ld Bp. of Salisbury or any other 5".<sup>26</sup> In 1690, William, reserved though he was and desirous of acting swiftly by himself, yet in a conversation with Halifax, "Agreed the necessity of a cabinet Council".<sup>27</sup> In August, Marlborough communicated to Halifax "a scheme of a Cabinet Council" including, among others, the lord president, the lord steward, and the two secretaries of state.<sup>28</sup> When the king left for Ireland in the same year, Mary wrote: "He had declared in Parliament, that the government was to be left in my hands, and in private had told me, who he intended to leave here as my Cabinet Council."<sup>29</sup> In the next year Nottingham tells the attorney-general to be ready on the Friday following "when the Cabinet Council is to attend the King at Kensington . . . His Maty would have yr Report laid before him".<sup>30</sup> Allusions to the cabinet now become more and more frequent;<sup>31</sup> cabinet meetings seem much a matter of course;<sup>32</sup> the body assumes definite shape and outline; and it is possible to understand something of its duties and functions.

Apparently the membership of the cabinet was not fixed rigidly as yet, but was coming to be regarded so. In 1694, Shrewsbury writes to William that the Marquis of Normanby and some of the other great officers insisted with warmth that they should be admitted as of right.<sup>33</sup> The cabinet could not, however, as yet maintain its existence or power. At this very time William, when leaving England, had left instructions that "there should be no cabinet council", but that instead the lord president, the lord keeper, the lord privy seal, and the secretaries of state should meet for consultation.<sup>34</sup> As late as 1701 Sunderland declared that it would be much

<sup>26</sup> St. P. Dom., King William's Chest, VI. 163.

<sup>27</sup> "Spencer House Journals", Foxcroft, *Life of Halifax*, II. 244.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 129.

<sup>29</sup> R. Doebner, *Memoirs of Mary* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 27, 28.

<sup>30</sup> St. P. Dom., Entry Books, XCVIII., December 1, 1691.

<sup>31</sup> St. P. Dom., King William's Chest, XIII. 10 (1692); St. P. Dom., Entry Books, XCVIII. 434 (1692); St. P. Dom., William and Mary, XV. 177 (1697); St. P. Dom., Entry Books, XCIX. 530 (1698); Cl. 4, 12, 28, 68 (1699), 119, 136 (1700); CII. 33, 83 (1701).

<sup>32</sup> "My Lord President has communicated yr Letter of the 24 instant . . . to the Cabinet Council." Nottingham to Sir John Guise. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, XCVIII., April 29, 1692. "I suppose they will be at the Cabinet Council on Sunday." James Vernon to Lord Chief Justice Holt. *Ibid.*, Cl., March 30, 1699.

<sup>33</sup> Coxe, *Correspondence of Shrewsbury* (London, 1821), p. 36.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 38.

for the king's service, if he brought his affairs to be debated at the cabinet council.<sup>35</sup> Apparently the cabinet met in the king's palace at Kensington, with some regularity, on appointed days, though frequently summoned for special meeting. Most of the meetings seem to have been held in the evening.<sup>36</sup> So far as may be judged from the scanty materials available,<sup>37</sup> the king called in the members not only for advice and deliberation, but also for the mere transacting of routine business. Aside from the fact that this business was of an important and confidential character, it differed scarcely at all from the business transacted at the committee of council presently to be described. In the cabinet the king received petitions and communications, conferred with officials specially summoned, and rendered decisions.<sup>38</sup> It seems certain that at this time no cabinet meeting was ever held except in the presence of the king.

Under Anne the cabinet council continues much as in the reign preceding, but it is evident from the more frequent mention that it is continually becoming more important. The membership seems to have been ten or more; something which De Foe, in 1704, advised Harley to reduce.<sup>39</sup> The meetings took place usually at St. James's, in the afternoon or in the evening. It was very rare that the queen was not present.<sup>40</sup> Matters about which Anne wished to confer before giving a decision were formally presented in cabinet by the secretaries of state, who, after the meetings, communicated the decisions to the persons or departments affected.<sup>41</sup> Those persons

<sup>35</sup> Hardwicke, *Miscellaneous State Papers*, II. 461.

<sup>36</sup> St. P. Dom., *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> Minutes of cabinet meetings occur very infrequently in the period before George I.

<sup>38</sup> St. P. Dom., Entry Books, NCVIII.-CI., *passim*.

<sup>39</sup> He believed that the Privy Council should take an active part in affairs, in which case the queen would need a cabinet composed merely of her treasurer and secretary of state. Lansdowne MSS., 98, ff. 223-246, printed in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXII. 132-143 (1907).

<sup>40</sup> Apparently the first instance of the cabinet meeting without the sovereign occurs in 1711. To examine Guiscard "the Lords of the Cabinet Council met at the Cockpit, at Mr. Secretary St. John's office". The names of those present are given. "The Duke of Shrewsbury and the Archbishop were the only members of the Cabinet that were wanting." Edward Harley, jr. to Abigail Harley, March 22, 1710/1. Portland MSS., *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, 15, IV. 669. It is certain, however, that this was not really considered a meeting of the cabinet, but of the cabinet members. The statute 9 Anne, c. 21 was passed because Guiscard "being under Examination before a Committee of Her Majesties most Honourable Privy Council", made his attack upon Harley. *Statutes of the Realm*, IX. 479. Cf. *Lords' Journals*, XIX. 251. In any event, it is evident that the name of the place of meeting—the king's cabinet or room—was beginning to be attached to those who assembled, even when they did not meet in the "cabinet".

<sup>41</sup> St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CII., CIV., *passim*. Hence it is that the letter-books of the secretaries are such a valuable source for the history of the cabinet at this time.

who were regarded as members of the cabinet council were supposed to attend all meetings; and when the presence of some other official was desired, he was specially summoned.<sup>42</sup> For the most part the day of assembling seems to have been agreed upon from meeting to meeting, or else announced by summons from the office of the secretary of state, although sometimes cabinets are held with considerable regularity. At these meetings the queen received reports and special information;<sup>43</sup> considered memorials and petitions;<sup>44</sup> determined naval, military, and domestic policy;<sup>45</sup> conferred about diplomatic affairs;<sup>46</sup> and sanctioned proclamations and orders in council.<sup>47</sup>

These things lie upon the surface. They afford, however, only a small amount of information about a group of counsellors privately giving advice to the sovereign. Just what this body was, is fairly clear, but how it had come into being, cannot be known positively until the immense mass of sources for the earlier period has been examined carefully throughout. Nevertheless, something can be stated with certainty now, and some confusion, which has pervaded the subject, can be cleared away.

By the end of the seventeenth century the executive council of England was the Privy Council, but the greater part of its importance had been lost, and the work which it did was largely formal in character.<sup>48</sup> The sovereign now received most of his guidance and advice and assistance from two smaller bodies, the cabinet council and the committee of council.

If certain aspects of the history of the cabinet have been misunderstood, perhaps no part has lain deeper under the yellowing

<sup>42</sup> "The Queen desires to speak with Your Grace at the Cabinet Council, which is appointed to meet on Wednesday next at five in the Afternoon at St. James." James Vernon to the Duke of Ormonde. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CII., March 23, 1701/2.

<sup>43</sup> St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CII., April 4, 1702; CIV., June 27, 1702, March 5, 1702/3; CVIII., March 2, 1709/10; CX., August 24, 1710.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, CIV., June 3, 1702.

<sup>45</sup> In 1704 information about the Scotch plot was "laid before the Q Cabt Council, and H of Lds. by E. of N." Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29,587, f. 128. About the same time Sir Cloudesly Shovell was ordered from the cabinet to proceed on an expedition when he had twenty ships. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CV., May 1, 1704.

<sup>46</sup> "The Inclosed seperate article with the House of Lunenbourg, was read at a Cabinet Council on the 8th of this month and her Majty directed her pleasure to be signified to your Grace for yor. signing of it, and that this should be ratified together with the treaty." Hedges to the Duke of Marlborough. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CI., December 18, 1702.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, CIV., February 14, 1703/4; CXVI., April 12, 1714.

<sup>48</sup> E. Southwell, Privy Council Routine, 1692-1695, Add. MSS., 34,349, f. 18.



heaps of official papers than the subject of the committee of council. It has been shown that the work of the enlarging Privy Council was during the period 1603-1640 given over to committees, some of which at times tended to become more important than the council itself; and that some of them, such as the Scottish Committee and the Foreign Committee, attracted a great deal of attention, and, because of the secrecy of their work, were by contemporaries called cabinets, juntas, or cabals. These bodies may properly be regarded as prototypes of the cabinet, though it is not so clear that any one of them is an ancestor. Their work seems to have been much like what we know was the work of the cabinet council of William or of Anne, and this is particularly true as time goes on. In 1679 the Committee of Intelligence was appointed. For more than a year and a half it continued to meet every week or so in Whitehall. Frequently, though not always, the king was present. The attendance ranged from four to eleven, a usual number being nine. Among those generally present were the lord chancellor, the lord president, the lord chamberlain, and such important personages as Halifax, Sunderland, and Sir William Temple. Matters foreign, domestic, and colonial were considered here. Petitions were received, and orders and instructions determined upon. Reports were read from other committees of the Privy Council, and orders sent back. Consuls were appointed, instructions were drawn up for envoys, treaties were considered and approved. Of all these meetings formal minutes were written out, headed by a list of those present.<sup>49</sup> The significance of this body lies not in the fact that it was the most important committee of the Privy Council, but in the fact that it was to some extent taking the place of the Privy Council itself. A committee of the council, it was dealing not merely with important work of one kind, but was tending to take over all the important work of the whole council.

The same result, the essential replacement of the Privy Council by a part of itself, was being brought about in another way. The work of the Privy Council might usually be apportioned among a number of committees, but as time went on, the ablest and most trusted advisers of the king are found on all the important committees,<sup>50</sup> so that gradually the work of all the committees, that is the work of the Privy Council, came to be done by a small group of men. This concentration of work in a few hands becomes marked when presently we find mention not only of committees of the

<sup>49</sup> Register of the Committee of Intelligence, 1679-1682, Add. MSS., 15,643, *passim*.

<sup>50</sup> H. W. V. Temperley, "Inner and Outer Cabinet and Privy Council, 1679-1783", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 688 (1912).

council, but of the committee of council, that is the "Committee of the whole Council".<sup>51</sup>

The development of the committee system can in no wise be comprehended unless the nature of the committees is clearly understood. It seems fairly certain that in the earlier part of the Stuart period the committees appointed were standing committees of definite membership and for the supervision of business of a particular kind.<sup>52</sup> Of limited membership also were the committees planned in 1668,<sup>53</sup> and this was the case with the Committee of Intelligence of 1679, for the members who were to constitute them were named when the bodies were formed.<sup>54</sup> As time goes on, however, it becomes apparent out of much obscurity, that the committees of the Privy Council are not for the most part standing divisions of the council, appointed to take charge of matters of a particular kind, but are rather such members of all the council as are competent or willing to attend to such business, that is to say, that they are committees of the whole Privy Council; in other words, that the only standing committee is the committee of the whole council, a body of varying composition and almost unlimited competence, consisting of the whole council, though attended only by a few members,<sup>55</sup> and that what appear to be different particular standing committees, are really the members of the committee of the whole council working now upon one kind of business, now on another, for the time being.<sup>56</sup> It cannot be stated positively<sup>57</sup> that in the period after 1688 there were no subsidiary standing committees of the Privy Council;<sup>58</sup> yet it can be regarded as certain that most of the council

<sup>51</sup> Southwell, Privy Council Routine, Add. MSS., 34,349, f. 19.

<sup>52</sup> "At least five permanent administrative committees can be traced down to 1640, besides others of a more temporary character." Carlyle, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 675. Bacon, writing in the earlier part of the reign of James I., approves of "Committees for ripening business for the counsel". He adds, "I commend also standing commissions: as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces." *Essays*, xx., "Of Counsel".

<sup>53</sup> Egerton MSS., 2543, f. 205. Cf. C. M. Andrews, "British Committees, Commissions and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675", *Johns Hopkins University Studies* (1908), XXVI. 88-90.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. "Names of the Lords of the Committee of Intelligence. 1679." Add. MSS., 15,643, f. 1.

<sup>55</sup> J. Munro in Sir Almeric W. FitzRoy, *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, II. vi-x.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. C. M. Andrews, *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVI. 120, 121 (1910); O. M. Dickerson, *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765* (Cleveland, 1912), pp. 84-94; Munro in FitzRoy, *Acts of the Privy Council*, II. vi-x.

<sup>57</sup> As to this Munro is clear but uncertain (II. viii); Dickerson positive but obscure (84 ff.).

<sup>58</sup> Southwell, clerk of the Privy Council, writing about 1695, says that most of the council business is first "referred to the Proper persons and offices, in

business was now transacted by committees which, under their various names, were merely aspects of the same committee of the whole council.<sup>59</sup>

The committee of the whole Privy Council soon becomes substantially what the most powerful of the standing committees had been, a small group of the most important, the most trusted, and the most efficient privy councillors, except that it is the essence rather than a part of the council. This result, the superseding to a great extent of the Privy Council by a few of its members, was brought about by two things: first, that most of the councillors ceased attending at the formal meetings of the council;<sup>60</sup> and secondly, that from all the councillors a small group of the abler and more trusted of the king's advisers were the only ones present at most of the committee meetings, and so came to be the actual committee of council. In other words, while there were apparently several different committees, they were actually committees of the whole council working upon particular business for the time being; while the committee of the whole council could be all of the council, it was in reality only a small part, because few of the members attended; and while different members might attend to the different kinds of business, for the most part the same members met to attend to each kind of business. Therefore, the committee of council, whatever it could be or ought to be, was coming to be a small and fairly definite group of the most

order to a full information of the fact by Reports"; and then mentions among others the lords justices of Ireland, the Committee of Jersey, and the committee of the whole council. Privy Council Routine, Add. MSS., 34,349, ff. 19, 20.

<sup>59</sup> In writing to the king in 1694, Earl Mulgrave advised: "The King may be pleased also to order a certain number of Privy-Councillours to be a standing Committee for the Plantations, and of such as are likely to attend it; and that it should meet two mornings in a week on fixed dayes, and not according to the leasure or humour of a President of the Councell . . . The King may settle also a Committee for Ireland to sit once a fortnight; but neither of these Committees will signifie any thing, unless your Maty: tell them solemnly at your going to Flanders, that you expect exact attendance at those Committees and that you have ordered the Cleriks to write in a book theyr names who shall fail any day to come." He adds significantly: "Your Maty. will please to observe that I humbly propose a select number for all Committees, instead of all the Councell, as it is now; because now every body's business is nobody's, whereas the other way, such will be charged with it who are most capable of attending and understanding it." St. P. Dom., King William's Chest, XIII. 10, 10a.

<sup>60</sup> In 1706/7 the Privy Council contained 63 members. From May to May, inclusive, the lord chancellor and the lord treasurer attended 24 times; Harley, 20 times; Prince George of Denmark, the lord president, and Sir Charles Hedges, each 19 times; the Duke of Somerset, 17 times; the lord chamberlain, 16 times; Sunderland and the lord chief justice, 14 times. More than half of the members, 36, attended 5 times or less; while 20 members did not attend a single time. Privy Council Memoranda, 1660-1708, Add. MSS., 35,107, f. 59. Thus it may be seen that the work of the Privy Council was substantially in the hands of about ten men.

important privy councillors, and so was not very different from the Committee of Intelligence whose members were appointed by name in 1679.

In the changing Privy Council, then, two lines of development can be discerned. On the one hand, the important business of the council is taken over by small standing committees or divisions of itself, such as the Scottish Committee or the Committee of Intelligence; on the other hand, affairs of various kinds are managed by various committees which, however, are merely aspects of the one committee of the whole council. These two lines of development converge, obscure each other, and merge into each other, but in the end the Privy Council is seen to have given its power to a smaller body evolved from within.

After the Revolution of 1688 it might seem to observers that the dignitaries who assembled in the council chamber at Whitehall were still the important conciliar assembly of England,<sup>61</sup> but the official records show indisputably that the real work was now done by the committee of the whole council. The planning, the presentation to the sovereign, the deciding, was the work of the committee,<sup>62</sup> little more than the formal procedure remaining to the council itself.

The committee met usually in the morning at the office of the senior secretary of state in the Cockpit at Whitehall.<sup>63</sup> The meetings were held apparently with more regularity than those of the cabinet council, the committee assembling, perhaps, at least once a week.<sup>64</sup> At these gatherings the sovereign was frequently present.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>61</sup> The contrary was clearly seen by some, however. Earl Mulgrave advised William not to insist upon attendance in the Privy Council, "because indeed it is so numerous, as that makes it unnecessary to exact it; especially considering how many of it are as well absent as present, that being ever since Charles I<sup>st</sup> time made rather a place of honour than of use". St. P. Dom., King William's Chest, XIII. 10a.

<sup>62</sup> "The Opinion of the Judges does not answer the Question proposed, and therefore I have sent notice to them to attend Her Majesty in Council at Six a Clock this evening at St. James's, and Her Majesty would have You attend on the Prince's Side at Five this afternoon, Your Letter with the Judges Opinion being to be laid before Her Majesty at that time when the Lords of the Committee of Council will be present." Hedges to the attorney-general. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CV., February 22, 1704/5.

<sup>63</sup> St. P. Dom., Entry Books, *passim*. March 4, 1693/4, the committee was summoned to meet at the lord keeper's house. St. P. Dom., William and Mary, V. 116. For a summons to meet at St. James's, cf. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CV., April 29, 1704.

<sup>64</sup> St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., June 30, 1702.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, LXII., November 30, 1680; XCVIII., July 8, 1690; St. P. Dom., William and Mary, V. 102, 108, 112, 116, 117, 118, 126, 129; St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., December 17, 1703; CV., April 29, 1704; CVI., January 11, 1707/8. In the minutes of these meetings, which are endorsed "Committee of Council", the king's name heads the list of those present.

In addition, such great officials attended as the lord president, the lord chamberlain, the lord keeper, the lord steward, the lord privy seal, and the secretaries, along with others. The attendance varied from three or four up to ten or twelve, for important business the usual number being seven or eight.<sup>66</sup> When necessary, outsiders were called in to give information and answer questions.<sup>67</sup> The meeting is spoken of as "Committee of Council";<sup>68</sup> "Committee";<sup>69</sup> or "Committee of the whole Council";<sup>70</sup> and the members are "Lords of the Committee",<sup>71</sup> or "Lords of the Committee of Council".<sup>72</sup> Formal minutes were taken by one of the secretaries for purposes of record, and also for the information of the sovereign when absent.<sup>73</sup> Much of the business was brought forward by the secretary, who afterward communicated decisions and orders.

The business was of varied character, resembling in general that which was brought before the cabinet council. All sorts of matters domestic, colonial, foreign, military, and naval, were passed in review. Bills were considered,<sup>74</sup> memorials, reports, and petitions were received,<sup>75</sup> business was prepared for the sanction of the Privy Council,<sup>76</sup> instructions were drawn up for the judges going on circuit,<sup>77</sup> and drafts of the royal speeches were made ready.<sup>78</sup> Memorials and representations from colonial governors were considered, and, when necessary, referred to the Board of Trade,<sup>79</sup> while Irish and foreign matters frequently came before the committee.<sup>80</sup> During the War of the Spanish Succession the raising and equipment of troops, the disposition of ships, and the care of prisoners, are matters of constant consideration.<sup>81</sup> Within the purview

<sup>66</sup> St. P. Dom., William and Mary, V. 102 ff.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, V. 103.

<sup>68</sup> St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., May 27, 1702.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, XCVIII., July 8, 1690.

<sup>70</sup> Board of Trade Journals, XXIV., June 9, 1714.

<sup>71</sup> St. P. Dom., Foreign Entry Books, XLVIII., September 26, 1710.

<sup>72</sup> St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CVIII., May 23, 1709.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. "Minutes taken att the Committee of Councill June 29th 1712 and approv'd by her Majesty." St. P. Dom., Anne, XIX., July 8, 1712.

<sup>74</sup> St. P. Dom., William and Mary, V. 134.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, V. 129.

<sup>76</sup> St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., July 6, 1702.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, CIV., May 27, June 5, July 9, 1702.

<sup>80</sup> St. P. Dom., William and Mary, V. 117; St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CI., June 20, 24, July 14, September 6, 1702; CIV., December 17, 1703; CV., May 29, 1704; St. P. Dom., Anne, XVI., September 20, 1711.

<sup>81</sup> St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., May 19, 27, June 2, 3, 9, 30, July 7, 1702; CV., December 7, 1704, April 18, 1705, February 26, 1705/6, August 14, 1706; CVI., November 12, 1708; CVIII., March 18, 1708/9; CX., February 12, 1710/1.

of the lords of the committee came from day to day for deliberation and decision such diverse matters as the affairs of the Levant Company, the despatching of soldiers to Windsor to protect a French dyer from riotous apprentices, the suppressing of disorders in London occasioned by the high price of wheat, the instructing justices of the peace to investigate local disorders, the approval of communications from the mayors of towns, the better securing of dangerous prisoners in Newgate, the approval of suggestions from the Admiralty, the procuring of more seamen for the fleet, the consideration of a memorial from Governor Nicholson of Virginia requesting a supply of firearms, the raising of recruits to serve under the Duke of Ormonde, the bettering of the condition of soldiers serving in the West Indies, the giving assistance to the Vaudois, the consideration of "Estimates for Spain and Portugal", the conduct of Scottish affairs, the settlement of a dispute about the raising of recruits in Edinburgh, advising with the queen whether or not to order the secretary of state to submit papers demanded by the House of Lords, the protection of English merchants, and the recommendation for a pension. It may be remarked that the negotiations leading to the treaty of Utrecht were referred to the committee for deliberation and approval.<sup>82</sup>

Thus it may be seen that the committee of council was supervising a large part of the activity of the realm. Along with the cabinet it decided or directed much that was worked out minutely in the departments, while many details of military and naval administration were attended to in the committee itself. Not only did it prepare and decide things for the Privy Council, but along with the cabinet it did most of the important work which had been done by the Privy Council in the days of its prime. Under the sovereign, the important executive and administrative work of England was now being done by the cabinet and the committee of council.

What, then, was the relation between these two bodies? This it is not easy to answer. An analysis of their activities makes it evident that they were doing much the same work, and doing it in much the same way. So truly is this the case that frequently, in the records, one can be differentiated from the other only because of the specific mention of the name of the body whose work is being described, and where "Cabinet Council" or "Committee of Council" is omitted, it is a matter of conjecture to which body the writer is

<sup>82</sup> Hare, writing to Lewis, says that the lords seem disposed to comply with certain proposals made by the French emissary, though in regard to a certain point "my Ld [Bolingbroke] believes the Committee of Council must be again consulted". St. P. Dom., Anne, XX., November 12, 1702.

alluding.<sup>83</sup> Accordingly, a great deal of confusion has resulted. Some writers have realized that there were two bodies, but have not been able to describe them or distinguish them clearly.<sup>84</sup> Others have attacked this view vigorously, contending that cabinet and committee of council were different phases of one and the same thing.<sup>85</sup> At least one eminent authority has suggested that "committee of council" is but the shortened form of "committee of the cabinet council", and was the cabinet meeting apart from the sovereign, who was always present at a real meeting of the cabinet.<sup>86</sup> This conten-

<sup>83</sup> "His Maty. havinge directed that the Lords who Use to meet at the Secretaries Office, should some time this weeke have a particular meeting about the City Charter, and that My Lord Chief Justice and Yourself should be desired to be present, when the meeting is to be You shall have a Particular Notice from Mr Secretary Godolphin." The secretary of state to the attorney-general. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, LXIV., April 14, 1684. Cf. *ibid.*, XCVIII., September 20, 1689. St. John, writing to Dartmouth, desires that a communication be made to "the Lds of the Council that the necessary precautions may be taken". St. P. Dom., Anne, XVI., August 1, 1711. Numerous rough memoranda and minutes of business occur, *ibid.*, XII., XIII. They concern foreign and domestic affairs which were apparently transacted in some council at which the queen was sometimes present. Cf. also "Minutes" in St. P. Dom., George I., VIII., January 30, 1716/7.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Morley, *Walpole*, pp. 145-148.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. F. Salomon, *Geschichte des letzten Ministeriums Königin Annas von England* (Gotha, 1894), p. 356, note. Salomon, quoting the assertion of the Duc d'Aumont (1712), that the cabinet council met only in the presence of the queen, but that the members of the cabinet also met by themselves in the office of the secretary of state, observes: "Diese Zusammenkünfte sind es offenbar . . . welche als 'Committee of Council' (Lords of the Council) bezeichnet wurden (vgl. Morley, *Walpole*, S. 143-147, gegen dessen Ausführungen ich mich richte)."

<sup>86</sup> W. Michael, *Englische Geschichte im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1896), I. 439, 440, note. This contention is apparently based altogether upon the assertion of Friedrich Bonet, the confidential representative of Prussia in England. In a communication of December 24, 1714/January 4, 1715, Bonet, describing the all-powerful group of men upon whom George I. is dependent, says: "Je veux parler du Comité du Conseil du Cabinet, composé des principaux officiers, qui s'assemblent en l'absence du Roi, et qui minudent toutes choses, pour rendre compte ensuite du resultat à S. M. en Conseil." Michael, I. 440, note. There can be no doubt, I think, that Bonet is referring to the committee of council, so that the only difficulty is the resulting definition of the committee of council as a committee of the cabinet council. I can only say at once that I believe that such a description is incorrect, since not only have I not found any trace of the existence of such a body, but among the hundreds of references to "council", "privy council", "cabinet council", and "committee of council", which occur in the writings of the period 1688-1715, I have found no reference to such a body as "committee of the cabinet council". It may be said, then, positively that whatever be the truth of Bonet's statement, the literal translation of his term was not in use among the Englishmen who composed the body which he describes, or who wrote about it; and it may be supposed that a foreigner, however acute and observant, would be less likely to comprehend the nature of a secret and ill-defined body than the natives themselves. On the other hand, supposing that his statement is accurate, his description need not comprehend

tion, which is based upon a misapprehension, but which in its conclusion is not very far from the truth, is in part responsible for the more serious error, that there was at this time a committee of the cabinet council, in the sense of a part, or inner circle, or "conciliabulum", of the cabinet itself.<sup>87</sup> The committee of council was never a part of the cabinet, and such a cabinet committee or fraction can scarcely be said to exist at this time.

The confusion has arisen from the fact that the cabinet council and the committee of council are so nearly similar both in function and in personnel as to be indistinguishable one from the other unless scrutinized with some care. The things which the committee does are for the most part exactly those things which are done by the cabinet council.<sup>88</sup> That which is considered in the committee in the morning at Whitehall comes up in the cabinet at St. James's or at

all that has been read into it. His expression may be descriptive and not partitive, which would make the term "committee of the cabinet council" equivalent to "cabinet—a committee". And this, I believe, was his intention.

<sup>87</sup> Temperley, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 692, 693. So far as I can judge, Mr. Temperley bases this contention entirely upon Bonet's testimony (*ibid.*, p. 693, note 43) and corroborates it only by quotations drawn from the period 1757 and after (*ibid.*, pp. 696, 697). For the period up to 1714 and apparently for several years following there seems to be no evidence on which to base the assertion that a smaller and more powerful body existed within the cabinet itself. In calling attention to what I believe is an error in Mr. Temperley's paper, I wish at the same time to confess my indebtedness to what is undoubtedly the ablest study of the cabinet which has yet appeared. I must here acknowledge, also, a greater debt. When Mr. Temperley became aware of the studies in which I was engaged, not only did he encourage me in the kindest manner, but he generously put into my hands a mass of notes which he had accumulated in the British Museum and in the Public Record Office. This material has been of service in the composition of the present paper, and will be of greater assistance in the studies which I hope to complete hereafter.

<sup>88</sup> In March, 1703/4, Nottingham found himself obliged to send explanations to the House of Lords concerning McLean and Ferguson in connection with the Scottish plot. Sir John McLean had revealed the conspiracy, regarding which he was examined by the cabinet council. The Lords asserted that in not arresting Ferguson, incriminated by the confession, the committee of council had encouraged the enemies of the queen. Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29,587, ff. 128-131. Somewhat earlier Nottingham writes to the postmaster-general: "This is to let you know that the Lords of the Cabinet Council do approve of the draught of the Letter you have communicated to me, and that it be sent by a small Vessel to the Governor of Calais to further it to Paris. It is also their order that you do give directions for repairing the two old Corunna Packet Boats, which are at Falmouth so as to be in a readiness to sail as occasion shall require." St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., May 26, 1702. At the same time he writes to Mr. Burchett: "The Two Old Pacquet Boats which are now at Falmouth, are very much out of repair, and the Post Masters have received Orders to get them repaired with all speed, that they may be employed in the like Service as they were the last Warre. The Lords of the Committee being made acquainted, that the Admiralty have sent for these Boats, have therefore ordered me to give You this account of them, that you may lay the matter before His Royal Highnesse." *Ibid.*, May 28, 1702.



Kensington in the evening.<sup>89</sup> For the most part the members of the one seem to be the members of the other. So striking is the identity that it almost seems as though the members themselves did not always maintain a distinction.<sup>90</sup> Therefore it is not surprising that observers then and since have taken one for the other,<sup>91</sup> or have seen in the two but two different aspects of the same thing.

That the cabinet and the committee of council were not identical, however, can be proved decisively. Again and again the two are named by the same writer with an undoubted distinction.<sup>92</sup> Indeed,

<sup>89</sup> In 1702, at a meeting of the committee of council, their lordships considered what measures should be taken to procure more seamen for the fleet, and gave directions for carrying such measures into effect. Nottingham to the lord treasurer. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., June 2, 1702. They also deliberated upon the proper disposition of the ships, concerning which they sent directions to the Admiralty. *Ibid.* On the same day disposition of the ships was considered by the members of the cabinet council, following upon a letter of Admiral Rooke read in the cabinet by Nottingham. *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> "Understanding that the Goale at Dover is as full of prisoners as it can hold, I am directed by the Lords of the Comtee of Council to write to you that you receive into your custody such French and Spanish prisoners as shall be brought to you, and that you send an accot from time to time to the Navy board of what prisoners you so receive, whereupon care will be taken to make them the usuall allowance for support as was done the last Warr." Nottingham to the marshal of Dover castle. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., June 3, 1702. "I have read yor Lre of the 30 of May and have read it to the Lords of the Cabinet Council who very well approve of what you have done for her Matys service in relation to the French prisoners. I have also according to your desire writt by their Lops directions to the Marshall of Dover Castle to take into his custody as many prisoners as he can conveniently secure, as he used to do in the last Warr." Nottingham to the mayor of Dover. *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> Dr. Dickerson says that the committee of the whole council "appears to be the one great committee of the British government, the cabinet council". He declares, on what authority I know not, that since the attendance was "never more than six nor less than three, and was most commonly four, the resemblance to a cabinet council is still further emphasized". *American Colonial Government*, pp. 85, 86. Professor Andrews, whose researches in this field entitle him to speak with particular authority, says: "The committee of the whole council was never the 'cabinet council'." *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVII, 842 (1912).

<sup>92</sup> Nottingham, writing to Blathwayt, says that the committee of council having learned that sufficient care is not taken of recruits desires a report in order that "I may lay the same before the Cabinet Council to morrow". St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., February 20, 1702/3. Bolingbroke, writing December 15, 1711, speaks of "the Committee of Council not sitting till to-morrow night, nor the Cabinet till Monday". Morley, *Walpole*, p. 145, note. Methuen in a letter to Stanhope says: "The Lds of the Comee. are to meet at the Cockpit to Morrow, where this Matter [negotiations about Mardyke] will be fully considered, after which, what passes there will be laid before H. R. H. in the Cabinet Council on Thursday." St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CCLXVII., September 11, 1716. Cf. also *The Daily Post*, November 23, 1719: "On Saturday was held a Chapter of the Garter, for electing the Earl of Sunderland a Knight Companion of that most Noble Order; the same Day there was a Committee of the Council at the Cockpit, and a Cabinet-Council at St. James's."

they may be distinguished particularly in three things: their relation to the sovereign, their relation to the Privy Council, and their constitution or membership.

The cabinet was in its origin the confidential council of the king, receiving its name from the fact that it met in one of the royal cabinets or private rooms,<sup>93</sup> while the committee of council was in origin merely the effective part of the Privy Council. Scarcely ever in the period prior to 1714 did the cabinet meet except with the sovereign presiding,<sup>94</sup> but as time went on the sovereign was rarely seen at the committee.<sup>95</sup> The committee of council was undoubtedly a committee of the Privy Council, while it was neither certain nor clear that the cabinet was such. The one was legal beyond question: the other was extra-legal in so far that it was novel and dependent upon the king's prerogative. Theoretically the committee of council merely performed Privy Council business, while the cabinet gave secret advice to the sovereign.<sup>96</sup> The committee of council met occasionally in the royal palace,<sup>97</sup> while the cabinet sometimes assembled in the Cockpit;<sup>98</sup> but almost always the cabinet met at Hampton Court, Kensington, or St. James's, while the sessions of the committee of council took place close to the Privy Council chamber, in the office of the secretary of state at Whitehall.<sup>99</sup> Finally, the most important difference between the two bodies lay in the fact that

<sup>93</sup> Lord Trevor was reported to have been "four hours with the King in his closet. . . but those who were at Hampton Court, and saw him go into the cabinet, assured he did not stay half an hour". Portland MSS., *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, 15, V. 539 (1717).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. d'Aumont in Salomon, *Geschichte des letzten Ministeriums*, etc., p. 352: "La Reyne y est toujours présente." Also *ibid.*, p. 356.

<sup>95</sup> "I have laid yr letter . . . before the Queen at the Committee." Nottingham to Colonel Gibson. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., December 17, 1703. "I am commanded to acquaint Your Lordship, that the Lords of the Committee of Councell attend Her Maty. to morrow at Six a Clock in the evening in the Councell Chamber at St. James's." Hedges to Lord Chief Justice Holt. *Ibid.*, CV., April 29, 1704. In 1729 Queen Caroline attended a meeting of the "Committee of Council". St. P. Dom., George II., XIV., August 19, 1729.

<sup>96</sup> The Duc d'Aumont, writing in 1712, says that in the Privy Council are regulated domestic and routine affairs, "mais c'est dans le conseil du cabinet que se traitent les affaires les plus secrètes". Salomon, *Geschichte des letzten Ministeriums*, etc., p. 352.

<sup>97</sup> St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CV., April 29, 1704; CVI., July 22, 1707.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Portland MSS., *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, 15, IV. 669.

<sup>99</sup> "Le Conseil du Cabinet ne s'assemble en présence de la Reyne qu'une fois la semaine qui est le lundi au soir, à moins que pendant cet intervalle il ne survienne quelque affaire particulière. Les membres de ce Conseil s'assemblent dans le bureau du plus ancien secrétaire d'Etat, et là ils préparent ce qu'ils ont à rapporter devant la Reyne." Duc d'Aumont in Salomon, *Geschichte des letzten Ministeriums*, etc., p. 356.

membership in the cabinet was limited strictly to certain great officers whom the king appointed to be his confidential advisers, while the committee of council was a committee of the whole council, and, though usually made up of the great officials and active workers who composed the cabinet, might also include other members of the Privy Council, if they chose to attend. Strictly, then, the membership of the committee could be more fluctuating and was less rigid than that of the cabinet; but in practice the two bodies were usually as much alike in personnel as they were in other respects.

During the Hanoverian period the committee of council declines in importance as the cabinet waxes great. For some time this is not evident, and the committee continues to be not merely active but busied with important affairs.<sup>100</sup> For a while it seems to remain what it had seemed to be before, a cabinet meeting apart from the sovereign. As such, it continues to do a great deal that is done by the cabinet, from which, in activity and composition, it can scarcely be distinguished. In 1716 the request from the Portuguese minister that an English fleet should convoy the Brazil ships to Lisbon "was read at the Cabinet Council . . . And it appearing to his Royal Highness and the Lords of the Committee . . . that the English Nation was as much concerned in the safety of that Fleet as the Portugueses themselves", the request was granted.<sup>101</sup> About the same time a complaint against Colonel Congreve, lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, was laid before "the Lords of the Committee at the Cockpit". They thought that the matter "should be laid before H. R. H. in the Cabinet Council next day". As a result, Congreve was ordered home. The secretary of state notes that "This Matter is to be kept very secret, and no body yet knows any thing of it, but the Lords of the Cabinet Council."<sup>102</sup> The committee continues to consider foreign and diplomatic affairs before the cabinet assembles, as well as to carry out what is determined upon in cabinet meetings.<sup>103</sup> In 1741, Sir John Norris writes: "At 7 this Evening I was summoned to a Committee of Counsell at the Duke of newcastle office, when a Clark of the Counsell was cald in for severall common orders of Counsell after which it was discoursed how to man the fleete and of the depending bill about seamen."<sup>104</sup> This gathering, which was

<sup>100</sup> St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CXVI., CXVII., CXVIII., CXIX., *passim*; CCLXVII., August 10, 1716; St. P. Dom., George I., IX., June 9, 1717; XV., March 3, 1718/9; St. P. Dom., Various, I., August 19, 1729, and *passim*.

<sup>101</sup> St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CCLXVII., July 17, 1716.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, August 10, 1716.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, September 8, 11, 15, November 17, 1716; January 9, 1716/7; CXX., August 19, 1717.

<sup>104</sup> Journals, Add. MSS., 28,133, f. 76.

attended by the cabinet members,<sup>105</sup> was substantially a cabinet meeting, from which it would be indistinguishable were it not specifically named. Nevertheless, the tendency is now, on the whole, for the cabinet to attend to the important matters of administration, diplomacy, and foreign policy, and for the committee of council, except as regards colonial business, to occupy itself with details, petitions, requests, and specific affairs. By the end of Sir Robert Walpole's administration the committee is largely occupied with routine and subsidiary things, while the cabinet, or rather an inner circle of the cabinet, is the real executive council of the nation.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Newcastle Papers, Add. MSS., 32,993, f. 136; also *ibid.*, 33,004, f. 47.

## DOCUMENTS

### *1. Observations of London Merchants on American Trade, 1783.*

THE original of the document here presented was found by the managing editor of this journal among the Pitt Papers at Orwell Park, Ipswich, the country seat of Captain E. G. Pretymen, M.P., to whose courtesy, and that of Mr. E. H. Hancox, librarian at Orwell Park, we are indebted for an opportunity to print it. The "Observations" were no doubt prepared for Pitt's information when the American Intercourse Bill was under consideration in Parliament in the spring of 1783. They are of particular interest because they set forth in some detail the collective views of a body of men whose interests were much at stake and whose opinions would naturally be consulted by any ministry seeking to determine the commercial policy of the nation.

The provisional treaty between Great Britain and the United States signed on November 30, 1782, had left the question of commercial relations between the two countries unsettled, but it was still hoped both by the American commissioners and also by some in British councils that provision for the restoration of commerce might yet be included in the definitive treaty or else that a separate commercial treaty might be negotiated; efforts to this end were accordingly continued, although without result, almost to the moment of signing the definitive treaty. There was, indeed, as yet no well settled opinion among Englishmen as to the form which the new commercial relations with their former colonies should take. It was inevitable that a strong faction should desire to continue the policy of the Navigation Acts and to retain for England a monopoly of the carrying trade; the mercantile interests on the other hand, while not yet espousing the doctrine of free trade, were nevertheless in favor of important relaxations of the restrictive policy. Between the two extremes there were several shades of opinion. Besides, there were the merchants and planters of the West India colonies, who were vitally interested in the direct trade with the United States. Meanwhile the pressing necessity for some provision for the restoration of trade relations with the United States was keenly felt, although it was generally conceded that any measures then adopted would probably be but temporary. Accordingly, on March 3, Pitt, who was then chancellor of the Exchequer, and at the time a strong advocate of a liberal commercial policy toward the United

States, introduced in the House of Commons a "Bill for the provisional Establishment and Regulation of Trade and Intercourse between the Subjects of Great Britain and those of the United States of North America."<sup>1</sup> The bill provided, in addition to the repeal of the prohibitory acts, that American vessels might enter British ports in the same manner as vessels of other nations and that American goods should be liable only to the same duties as if they had been imported in British vessels; it also allowed the same drawbacks and bounties on exports from Great Britain to the United States as on exports to British colonies in America and permitted a direct trade between the United States and the West Indian colonies on the same terms as to British subjects.<sup>2</sup> The bill was extensively debated during the next few weeks, was vigorously attacked by the advocates of the Navigation policy, led by Lord Sheffield,<sup>3</sup> and was so radically amended<sup>4</sup> that Pitt finally hesitated whether to push it further.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons*, XXXIX. 265. It was Townshend however who made the motion for leave to bring in this bill, urging that, until a general commercial system should be completed, it was highly important that some provisional regulation should be enacted. (See Debrett, *Parliamentary Register . . . of the House of Commons*, IX. 296.) Previously (on January 29) David Hartley had moved for leave to bring in a bill repealing the prohibitory acts (*ibid.*, p. 192; *Journals*, XXXIX. 123).

<sup>2</sup> An abstract of the bill is in the *London Chronicle*, March 6-8, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Sheffield pursued the attack in a pamphlet, *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*, which speedily ran to a sixth and greatly enlarged edition and seems to have had much influence in shaping the policy then adopted. The cause of the mercantile interests was voiced by Richard Champion, who came out shortly afterward with *Considerations on the Present Situation of Great Britain and the United States of America*. The spokesman of the West Indian colonies was Brian Edwards, *Thoughts on the late Proceedings of Government respecting the Trade of the West India Islands with the United States of America*. Numerous other writers aired their views.

<sup>4</sup> During the debate on March 17 "Mr. William Pitt informed the committee, that the American commissioners at Paris, had seen the outlines of the bill, and were highly pleased at the generosity of Britain, and made no doubt but America would do every thing in her power to promote the interests of this country. This was answered by several speakers, who argued, that if the American commissioners liked the bill as originally introduced, their approbation could not be construed to the bill in its present form, as nothing could be more dissimilar than the two bills were in shape and tendency." (*Parliamentary Register*, IX. 501.) Henry Laurens, who was in London at the time and seems to have been frequently consulted by members of Parliament concerning the bill, was rather antagonistic. (See especially his letters of March 6, 15, 17, 26, and April 4, 5, and 10, in Wharton, *Dipl. Corr.*, VI.) Jay, on the other hand, was decidedly favorable to the measure: "Mr. Pitt's bill was a good one, a wise one, and one that will forever do honor to the extent and policy of his views, and to those of the administration under whose auspices it was formed." (Jay to Vaughan, March 28, *ibid.*, p. 349.) Adams was also inclined to like the bill.

<sup>5</sup> The course of the bill in the House of Commons may be traced in the *Journals*, XXXIX. 265, 270, 278, 284, 289, 293, 295, 301, 303, 308, 316, 320, 325, 346, 353, 362, 409, 429. The fullest record of the debates is found in *Parlia-*

If the House, he said on April 2, was agreed in general upon the principle of the bill, he thought they might proceed; otherwise he would approve its postponement to a future day.

On March 20 Sir Cecil Wray said during the debate that the merchants had advertised a meeting upon the subject and that it would be better to wait for their sense of the principle of the bill and of its several clauses.<sup>6</sup> On March 27 Pitt stated on the floor of the House that "the American merchants of the city of London had called a meeting upon the subject, and had since applied to him, desiring a little more time to digest their ideas, and make up their minds upon the business". In order, therefore, to give those who were so deeply interested in the effect of the bill the opportunity of maturing their opinions upon it, he would ask that the consideration of the bill be postponed until Friday.<sup>7</sup> Again, on Friday (March 28),<sup>8</sup>

Mr. Chancellor Pitt informed the House, that there had been several meetings of the merchants of London trading to America, who had come to various resolutions on the different clauses in the bill, which they had thought proper to communicate to his majesty's Ministers: Their report was well worthy of the most serious considerations; but as he had not seen it till this day, he had not had time to consider it: In order, however, to have time to peruse the report before any farther proceeding should be had on the bill, he would move that the farther consideration of it should be postponed till Monday.

On Monday however Pitt announced his resignation from office, and on April 2 a new ministry came into power, and although Pitt's bill was further considered on April 2 and April 9,<sup>9</sup> it thereafter died of postponements. The "Observations" of the London merchants, notwithstanding they bear the date July 22, may be identical with the report that was presented to Pitt on March 28; or they may be a later fruition of the merchants' views;<sup>10</sup> an extensive, though not exhaustive, investigation has failed to discover other mention of such a document at this time.<sup>11</sup> At all events, as *Parliamentary Register*, IX. 296, 409-446, 474-484, 501-503, 504-509, 540, 546, 547, 592-597, 600-603. The more important parts of the debates of March 7 and 11 and April 9 are contained in Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, XXIII. 602-615, 640-646, 724-730.

<sup>6</sup> *Parliamentary Register*, IX. 508.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 540.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 546.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 592-597, 600-603. On April 9 the bill was put over to May 7, then to May 21, then to June 4, and it was not again called up.

<sup>10</sup> Certain similarities between the "Observations" and Champion's *Considerations* (see note 2, *ante*) suggest that there is a possible relation between the two.

<sup>11</sup> Representations of one sort or another from the merchants were frequent during the following years. For mention of one such see Adams to Jay, January 4, 1786 (*Works*, VIII. 360; *Dipl. Corr. of U. S. A., 1783-1789*, II. 558).

journed on July 16, the "Observations" could not have been delivered to Pitt after that date save with a view to possible future use.<sup>12</sup> It should be noted further that on April 5 the "Merchants and Traders of London interested in the Commerce of North America" presented to the king an address, in which they express the hope that the laws for the regulation of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and North America "may be made with that liberality which we conceive to be the true Policy of Commercial States".<sup>13</sup>

The proceedings of the new ministry as to American intercourse may be briefly told. During a discussion of Pitt's bill on April 9, Fox, who was now foreign secretary, and was evidently inclined toward a retention of the old policy, held out hopes that a treaty of commerce between the two countries would soon be consummated. His hopes, however, if such he really had, failed of fruition.<sup>14</sup> Meanwhile he proposed as a provisional measure to repeal the prohibitory act, abolish the requirements of manifests, etc., for American vessels, and empower the king in council for a limited time to regulate commerce with the United States. These measures were pushed rapidly to a conclusion (May 12),<sup>15</sup> and on May 14 an order in council was issued opening trade with the United States to a limited extent, somewhat further extended by order in council, June 6. On July 2, however, trade in American ships between the United States and the West Indies was practically prohibited.<sup>16</sup> Of the subsequent proceedings of the British government it is not necessary here to speak. It should be added however that, besides, the economic influences which affected the attitude of the ministry and

<sup>12</sup> After the change of ministry the merchants presented their case also to Fox. See Laurens to Livingston, April 10: "I have conversed with Mr. Fox, from whom the body of merchants by deputation had just retired. Their errand, as I learned, was on the business of opening the communication between Great Britain and the United States. There is a general and pressing eagerness to that point." Wharton, *Dipl. Corr.*, VI. 366. For other interviews of Laurens with Fox see *ibid.*, pp. 358, 360, 493, 637.

<sup>13</sup> London *Gazette*, April 1-5, 1783; Almon's *Remembrancer*, XV. 274. The address is signed by Edward Payne (whose name is attached to the "Observations") and about one hundred and fifty others. A similar address from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, on February 26, contained this passage: "We beg Leave to declare it to be our firm Persuasion, that the great Commercial Interests of this Country and of North America, are inseparably united." London *Gazette*, February 25-March 1, 1783.

<sup>14</sup> These negotiations are recorded in Wharton, *Dipl. Corr.*, *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> See *Commons Journals*, XXXIX. 362, 365, 368, 370, 377, 384, 386, 390, 392, 393, 394, 395, 409, 410, 411, 414, 415; *Parliamentary Register*, IX. 600-603, 603-607, 614-618; X. 1; *Parliamentary History*, XXIII. 724-730, 762-767, 894-896.

<sup>16</sup> These orders in council are in the *Lords Journals*, XXXVI. 15, and in the issues of the London *Gazette* for May 13-17, June 3-7, and July 1-5, respectively; that of May 14 is conveniently found in Wharton, *Dipl. Corr.*, VI. 428; that of July 2 is in *ibid.*, p. 541.



Parliament at this time, there were three potent political factors: the commercial agreement between the United States and France, the treatment of the Loyalists, and the internal weakness of the United States.

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TRADE, WHICH BEFORE THE LATE WAR SUBSISTED BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THAT PART OF AMERICA NOW COMPOSING THE UNITED STATES WITH SUCH REGULATIONS AS APPEAR PROPER TO BE ADOPTED FOR THE RECOVERY AND RETENTION OF A CONSIDERABLE PART OF THAT COMMERCE.

The Balance of Trade and the Wealth of Nations depend on the exportation of their Manufactures and produce, and on the Importation of Raw Materials to be used in those Manufactures, Bullion and such other Goods as may again be exported with profit to a foreign Market. The Commercial Regulations which the wisdom of our Ancestors established between this Country and the Colonies in North America were calculated to procure these advantages. Great Encouragement was given to the Importation of American produce and Great Britain secured a sure Market for the Vent of its various Commodities, a constant Nursery for its Seamen and consequently a perpetual Source of maritime Strength. As the Restraints on the Trade and Navigation of the Americans now cease, it is to be considered how our future Commerce with them, which must rest on the broad and firm Basis of mutual Interest, may be best secured;—For this purpose it will be necessary to bring into a comparative view the Encouragements formerly given to the Americans with the advantages derived from their Trade, the better to determine in what Instances the soundest National and Commercial Policy will furnish motives for a continuance of the same System.

Ships built in the United States being now deemed Foreign the use of which has always been held injurious to the national Interest, they cannot become British Bottoms, but when taken as Prize, and are prohibited in many instances to be employed;—It is therefore necessary to observe that shipbuilding was carried on in several provinces, but in Newhampshire and Massachusetts Bay extensively. Such Ships were either sent directly to England for Sale or to the West India Islands with Lumber, Fish and other Articles and being there laden with produce, They were with their Freights consigned to the British Merchants in payment for Goods of which the greatest part were British Manufactures. This Branch of Business was carried on to a large annual Amount and contributed to increase the Shipping and Navigation of Great Britain, but must now cease unless the Legislature should consider it an advantage to exchange British Manufactures for American built Ships, which were a staple Article in those Provinces and a considerable means of Remittance.

Fisheries in various Branches were carried on to a great Extent by the people of New England, and nearly the whole produce to a large Annual Amount centered in this Kingdom. Spermacoeti Oil must still continue to be sent to this Market, if not discouraged, because the consumption of it in other Countries has hitherto been inconsiderable, and the prices consequently lower. The other Species of Whale Oil except what the States retain for home consumption and what they may export

to the West India Islands, will be brought to this Market, because the Dutch Hamburgers and others who carry on the Daviss Streights and Greenland Fisheries supply the Continent with this article at moderate prices, except when they have an unsuccessful Season, in which Case Exports have been made hence. Oil was one great Source of remittance, more than 5000 Tons of both kinds having in some years been imported from Massachusetts and Rhode Island into the Port of London.

Whale Fins were likewise another article of Remittance, and deemed so necessary for various purposes that the Exportation of them from America was restricted by the 4th of Geo: 3d to Great Britain only. As it has been the object of the Legislature to give every encouragement to the Fisheries of British Subjects when the Americans were considered under that description, Whale Oil and Fins the produce of their Fisheries were imported under very light Duties, Train Oil being subject only to 11/8 $\frac{3}{4}$  per Ton and Whale fins to 47/6. P Ton, while the produce of Foreign Fisheries was burthened with heavy Duties, Train Oil paying £15. 16. P Ton and whale Fins £84. 2. P Ton which were tantamount to a prohibition.

Under these Circumstances should it be advisable to encourage the Importation of Whale Oil and Fins from the United States, the Interposition of parliament will become immediately requisite; For otherwise the next Importation will feel the whole weight of the Aliens Duty, which the Articles cannot bear, It is therefore presumed it will be deemed expedient to admit them on a low or moderate Duty, which as is generally understood will fall upon the consumer.

Pot and Pearl Ashes made in different parts of America may by the 24th. of Geo: 2d. be imported thence Duty free on producing a Certificate that they were of the Product and Manufacture of the British Plantations, and being so useful and even necessary in some of our Manufactures their Exportation was by 4th. Geo: 3d limited to Great Britain yet a late Importation has been charged for want of a Certificate with a Duty of near £30. P Cent on the value of the Goods; This heavy Impost cannot be borne and should Government persist in exacting it we could not expect any Ashes immediately from America, but they would be carried to a foreign port and there shifted, which the difference of Duty would enable the American Trader to do with considerable advantage, so that it will be good policy in the Legislature, if not to grant an entire exemption from Duty as formerly, at least to lower it from 7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$  P Hund: with which these Articles are now chargeable to 2/2 $\frac{3}{4}$  paid on European Ashes; This appears a moderate Impost, and what these articles it may be presumed will bear, yet even this Duty will fall upon our own Manufactures.

Furs have been sent hither from the first settlement of America and upon exportation Bonds were given that they should be imported into Great Britain; affected as this Trade is expected to be in its Circuit by Canada a great Part of what heretofore came that way will most probably be now inverted into New England and New York, in which States as well as in Pennsylvania much Beaver was manufactured and even exported to the West Indies, until upon repeated Complaints from our Hatters the Legislature judged it expedient to forbid the Exportation of Hats under a heavy Penalty, and to restrain the carrying of them by Land or Water into other Provinces; The French it is to be feared will rival us in the manufacture of Furs; It is therefore presumed that

Beaver Skins and other Furs should be received Duty free, as the only means to render Great Britain the Mart for these articles, or should they still continue subject to any Duty, the whole should be drawn back on Exportation. It will moreover be necessary for the better security of this Trade that all the carrying places, Lakes Rivers and other Waters and all ways and passes by land be open to his Majesty's Subjects to pass and repass freely to and from the Indian Country, as well as to the Indians in like Manner from and to the Province of Quebec.

Naval Stores. The Navy and Navigation of England depend on the due supply of necessary Stores which formerly were brought from foreign Countries in foreign Shipping and paid for at exorbitant and arbitrary Rates with Money or Bullion to the great prejudice of the Commerce of this Kingdom. To remedy such great disadvantages as well as to encrease our Shipping and to employ our Seamen, it was found expedient to encourage the Importation of Naval Stores from the Colonies by the following premiums Masts, Yards and Bowsprits 20/- P Ton, besides being Duty Free, Tar fit for Cordage the Barrel of 31½ Gallons 5/6, But if made from green Trees as described in the Act 10/, Pitch the Hundred Wt. 1/, and Turpentine the Hundred weight 1/6.

Parliament having found it the Interest of this Country to give such Encouragement, and to confine the Importation of these articles to Great Britain, it appears highly proper to admit Naval Stores from the United States Duty free, and by preserving a Rival Market keep down the Prices that would otherwise be charged by the northern Nations, the Balance of Trade with which would thereby be rendered less disadvantageous.

Pig and Bar Iron has been imported from America Duty free by the 23. Geo: 2 Chap: 29. and with good policy, being only in its first Stage of manufacture, and serving as Ballast for our Ships; whilst the erecting of Slitting and rolling Mills has been discouraged because they interfered with the Manufactures of this Country; It seems highly expedient to continue the free Importation of Pig and Bar Iron.

Lumber has in like manner not only been imported Duty free but a Bounty was formerly given to encourage the Importation of square Timber Deals, Planks Boards and Staves; It is apprehended that it would be adviseable to allow the free Importation of these Articles and of Mahogany, Lignum Vitoe and all unmanufactured Wood, because they serve for Remittance, and do not interfere with any British Produce.

Logwood Fustick and all other Dying Woods being indispensably necessary for the use of our Manufactures should likewise be admitted Duty free,

Hemp and Flax were not only permitted to be imported free of Duty but a Bounty of £8 Sterlg. P Ton was originally allowed on the Importation of them; It appears therefore proper not to subject them now to any Duty.

Wheat, Flour and various sorts of Grain are shipped in very considerable Quantities from New York and Pennsylvania as well as from other Provinces, but on their future Importation they must be subject to our Corn Laws.

Beef, Pork, Gammons etc. are for the most part exported to the West India Islands; a free Importation of salted Provisions from America has heretofore been allowed.

Flax Seed is exported from America in large quantities to Ireland and it appears proper to leave to the Legislature of that Country to make such Regulations as may encourage its Importation.

Chocolate and Spermacoeti Candles, have hitherto been prohibited by excessive Duties, and are so likely to interfere with our own Manufacture that it is deemed impolitic to alter their Duties, unless by Draw back of the whole on Exportation.

Bees Wax has been frequently imported in considerable quantities, and being an Article of great use should be admitted as heretofore.

Tobacco the great Staple of Virginia and Maryland has heretofore been confined in its Exportation to Great Britain; The high Subsidy now paid down upon its Importation operates as a great Impediment to the restoration of the benefit of importing that Commodity for the Supply of foreign Markets because tho' the Duties are drawn back on Exportation yet the present Deposit of £25 P. Hogshead is so large as to require a Capital much more than adequate to any benefit that can accrue to the Merchant and because the wastage and shrinkage in the Warehouse between the Importation and Exportation will under these Duties subject the Importer to a very considerable Loss, which after deducting the 10lb. P. Hogshead usually allowed for such Wastage will not on the most moderate Computation be less than 20/-P. Hogshead.

The present Duties likewise discourage the consumption at home, and afford a great temptation to smuggling and it is presumed it will be found that from these concurrent Causes the Increase of Revenue since the Year 1775 has borne no proportion to the Augmentation of Duties on Tobacco.

It is apprehended for these reasons that a general reduction of the whole Duties to the Standard of 1775 must be highly expedient, as such a Regulation would be productive of the most salutary Consequences in inviting the return of a considerable part of that Commerce, which has for years been lost to this Country; And at the same time that it would discourage Smuggling, would make ample Amends to the Kingdom for any diminution of Revenue by the additional number of Ships which would then be employed and the encreased Export of our Manufactures.

From the many Rivals this Country now has for the Commerce of America it becomes the more necessary to remove every obstruction to our Exportation to the other European Markets; To effect this it is to be considered whether it may not be sound policy to admit the Importation of Tobacco of the Growth of the States to an Entry without any Deposit upon the Importers giving Bond for the Duties, and putting the Tobacco under the King's and Merchants Locks as heretofore practised.

Should not some such regulation take place it is much to be feared that many of the British Merchants, who have Debts Interest and Connections in these States will be led to establish Houses in Foreign Ports to the great prejudice of the Commerce of this Country.

Rice is a principal staple of Carolina and Georgia and being chiefly destined for foreign Markets it will be proper in order to remove Inconveniencies that may attend its Conveyance through the Medium of Great Britain, that Ships arriving with Cargoes of Rice from America in any of the Channel Ports, should be permitted to remain in Harbour for a limited time, without being obliged to report at the Custom house, to give the Correspondent of the proprietors of such Cargoes residing at a distance, a reasonable time to fix and declare the destination of the

Voyage And that the Master should not open his Hatches, so as to break Bulk nor be obliged during that Period to make any other Report of his ship or Cargo than "that he is arrived with a Cargo of Rice, and that he puts in for Orders" but at the expiration of such stipulated Period the Master should be obliged to make a regular Report of his Cargo, or depart for such other Ports as he may be destined for.

Rice under certain Regulations should be permitted to be reported Inwards for Exportation in the same Ship or Ships within a limited time (say 12 Months) free of all Duties, and for the better securing the payment of the Duty on such part thereof as may be consumed in Great Britain, the whole Cargo should be warehoused under the King's and Merchants' Locks, as is now practised with respect to bonded Rum, and if the whole Cargo, after making a reasonable allowance for screening and separating the damaged if any there be, which the Merchant shall have liberty to do for its preservation when necessary, shall not be exported in 12 Months before mentioned, the Merchant should be obliged to pay such Duties upon the same as the Legislature shall impose upon Rice consumed in Great Britain.

But if any part of the Cargo so warehoused shall be required for home consumption during the 12 Months aforesaid, the Collector of the Port where the Rice shall be deposited should at the Merchant's desire be obliged to allow his taking the whole or any part thereof into his own possession upon payment of the Inland Duties, and the quantity so applied for and taken from under the King's Lock should be endorsed off the Quantity originally bonded and be applied in Discharge thereof.

And if after payment of the Duties it should be the Merchants Interest to export such Rice or any part of it to any foreign Market the whole of the Duties should be drawn back provided it be exported within the usual period.

But should the arrival of a Cargo of Rice into any of the Ports of Great Britain from America happen at a time like the present, when it may be lawfully imported free of Duty these Regulations should be dispensed with and the Importer be permitted to keep the same on board his Ship for such length of time as he shall think fit or take the same into his own Warehouse without any Control whatever.

Indico a very necessary Article for our Manufactures has formerly been confined to be brought to Great Britain, and a Bounty of 4d. P. lb. was granted on the Importation of it. It should therefore at least continue to be imported free of Duty and if any part of such Indico should be afterwards exported the present Duty of 1d. P. lb. payable on Exportation should be discontinued.

Deer Skins being chiefly consumed in Great Britain the Importation of them as heretofore will of course in a great measure be confined to this Country and therefore as a better Market cannot be found by the American Merchant the Duties as they now stand are not deemed too high, but the whole ought to be drawn back on Exportation.

Upon a full Review of the various Branches of which our Import Trade from America consisted, it appears that Goods of the growth and product of that Country have been for the most part admitted Duty free; The Revenue therefore can suffer little or no Diminution by still receiving them in the same Manner; Tobacco is the only Article that can properly be considered an object of Revenue.

It appears also that many Articles of Produce such as Tobacco,

Indico, Fustick and all other Dying Woods, Hemp, Beaver Skins and other Furs, Pitch Tar and Turpentine, Masts, Yards and Bowsprits, whale fins, Raw Silk, Hides and Skins, Pot and Pearl Ashes, were confined to be brought to Great Britain only, But to encourage the Importation of them and other raw Materials, and to give them a preference in our Markets they were not only in most Cases exempted from Duties but even Bounties were granted on many of them, because they were essential to our Manufactures and beneficial to the Naval and commercial Interest of the Kingdom.

From the foregoing Considerations it appears expedient that all such Goods of the growth and produce of America, as have been imported Duty free, or on which Bounties have been allowed should still be admitted free of Duty, And that all Goods liable to Duty, should if declared for Exportation be also imported and exported Duty free, allowing a liberty to the Importer within a certain Time to vend them for home Consumption paying home Duties, the Articles remaining under the Care of the Custom house limiting the charges or to charge Duties only upon such parts as shall be declared for Inland Consumption For unless every difficulty in the way of Great Britain being the Medium thro' which the Produce of America is to be conveyed to foreign Markets, be removed, the Navigation of this Country will receive a most essential Injury by the Ships of other Countries being made the Carriers of it to Ports where it is ultimately consumed, and the Merchants of Great Britain will be deprived of receiving their Remittances from America in the principal Staples of that Country.

#### Exports.

It has been stated that the Importation of Goods of the produce of the United States ought by all means to be encouraged in some cases by exemption from Duties, in others by very moderate Duties being charged And if these Goods should be exported to other Nations of Europe that the whole of those Duties ought to be drawn back in order to render Great Britain the medium of that Trade; Upon the same principle unquestionably ought our Export Trade to be regulated whereby this Country has derived great Riches and become the Envy of other Commercial Nations.

Among the misfortunes that have attended the late unhappy War we have to lament the Wound our Commerce has received by the Introduction of the Manufactures of other Countries into the United States of America.

Formerly we exported to America various Articles imported from other Nations, but the Manufactures of our own Country formed the principal part of our Exports. Both these Branches will, under the present Circumstances require the encouragement of the Legislature.

Many of our manufactures are subject to an Excise Duty which is drawn back on Exportation, and Bounties are allowed on others when shipped to certain places. The Motives which induced the Legislature to grant such Bounties will point out the expediency of extending the same to those Articles when exported to the United States.

The necessity of granting liberal Bounties on our Manufactures will appear if we consider what will be the situation of many of them particularly those of *Silk Lincn Cordage* and *Sail Cloth*, should not such Bounties be granted.

The Silk Manufacture has a claim to particular attention as being one of the most valuable, as furnishing Employment for a very considerable number of our poor, and as being in great Danger from the Rivalship of France.

Linens are a very considerable manufacture in this Country and are exported to America not only plain, but in large quantities when further manufactured by printing. A continuation of former Bounties will appear highly proper when it is considered that many foreign Markets for plain and printed Linens are now open to America.

The Manufacture of Cordage has long been carried on by the Americans to a considerable extent and it cannot be doubted but that they will still industriously apply themselves thereto unless the price of British Cordage should be so reduced in consequence of a Liberal Bounty being granted thereon, as to render the Manufacture of the Article an Object of less Importance to the United States.

Sail Cloth is also a very considerable Manufacture in this Country and requires every attention to preserve it. Holland and Russia have extensive Manufactures of this Article, and will prove very formidable Rivals at the American Market. The Bounty formerly granted must be continued if not increased, or this Branch of our Manufacture for Exportation will be lost.

Ireland also has a considerable Manufacture of Sail Cloth and will of course extend their Bounty on Exportation. It is proper to be observed that the Bounties on Silk Cordage and even Sail Cloth, are actually no more than the Drawback of the Duties paid on the Importation of Raw Silk and Hemp.

It cannot be supposed that America will apply to us for Foreign Goods unless the Duties paid here on their Importation should be drawn back when exported to the United States. If this Plan should not be adopted, they will have the strongest Inducements to procure such Goods from the first Markets; and Great Britain will no longer be the Emporium of that Branch of the American Commerce.

It is reasonable to expect that the Superiority of our Manufactures will insure them a preference to those of other Countries and if our future Trade with the United States should be carried on upon a liberal System, it is not likely that they will at present make new Attempts to rival us in those Manufactures, but will turn their principal attention to an object of far greater Importance to their Interest, The clearing and cultivation of their Land.

If in our past commercial Intercourse with North America we had not experienced what great advantages arise from giving Encouragement to Trade, If we had not been convinced that by the operation of this Principle both Countries were advanced to their late flourishing situation, we might draw a profitable Lesson from the States of Holland, which in consequence of a liberal System of Commerce, have, without the advantage of any Staple Commodities, rendered themselves the Emporium of the Trade of Europe;

The Committee having stated their observations upon the Trade with North America beg leave to recommend that Provision be made in the Treaty with the United States for the securing and recovering of British Debts upon principles similar to those of the Act of 5th Geo: 2d

22nd. July 1783. By Desire of the Committee of American Merchants.  
EDWD. PAYNE.

[Endorsement.]

Observations

on the Trade of North America  
by the Committee of American  
Merchants.

2. *George Rogers Clark to Genet, 1794.*

THE following letter of General George Rogers Clark to Genet, the minister of the French Republic, recently came into the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia, and it is through his kindness that we are enabled to offer it to the readers of the REVIEW. Little explanation of the letter is necessary beyond referring it to its proper place in the collection of the correspondence of Clark and Genet concerning the proposed French expedition against Louisiana in 1793-1794, which was published in the report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission for 1896.<sup>1</sup> At the time when this letter was written Clark had for several months been active, under a commission from Genet, in organizing the expedition; Michaux, an agent of Genet, who had spent the autumn in Kentucky engaged with Clark in intrigues and preparations, had returned to Philadelphia, ostensibly for funds; Lachaise, another agent, who had been busy in Kentucky since the preceding December,<sup>2</sup> was now taking his departure. Genet, meanwhile, had been recalled by his government, Fauchet, his successor, had revoked all commissions and ordered the expedition stopped,<sup>3</sup> and Washington had issued his proclamation against it.<sup>4</sup> Clark had learned of Fauchet's proclamation, but the news of the President's proclamation probably had not reached him.

A peculiarity of this letter as written by Clark is that every line

<sup>1</sup> American Historical Association *Report*, 1896, I. 930-1107. The commission's report for 1897 (*Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1897, pp. 569-679) included the Mangourit correspondence, relating primarily to an allied expedition to be conducted by General Elijah Clark against Florida, but bearing also upon the Louisiana project; and the report for 1903 (*Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1903, II.) comprised the correspondence of the French ministers in the United States, 1791-1797, much of which is concerned with the Louisiana part of the scheme. Some related documents were published in the issues of this journal for April, 1897, and April, 1898 (II. 474-505, and III. 490-516). Attention may also be called to Professor Frederick J. Turner's article on the initial stages of the Genet episode: "The Origin of Genet's projected Attack on Louisiana and the Floridas", published in the issue of the REVIEW for July, 1898 (III. 650-671).

<sup>2</sup> See *AM. HIST. REV.*, III. 512.

<sup>3</sup> March 6, 1794. *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1897, p. 629. See also *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1903, II. 306.

<sup>4</sup> March 24, 1794. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, I. 157.



(with two or three exceptions) begins with a capital. This form has been preserved in the printed text.

E. C. B.

Geo R Clark  
Citizen Genet

LOUISVILLE Aprill the 28th 1794

Citizen Leshais<sup>5</sup> will hand you this and will also inform You of the Situation of affairs in this Country. on the Receipt of your Letter<sup>6</sup> by Citiz Michaux<sup>7</sup> we agreed to Set about the intended Buisness on the Mississippi (In the Compition of it there was no Doubt) amediatly. As no Doubt you have Larnd from him, it was found Nessecerry for him to go to Philedelphia to see you on Money Matters and return as soon as possible.<sup>8</sup> in the Meane time I was to Set eavery wheele in motion in This Quarter which hath been so Completely Done By Emecerrys etc in Louisana that the appearance of a Small force in that Country wold cause a Genl. revolt And upwards of two thousand men have been waiting With impatiance to penetrate into that Country<sup>9</sup> Declare them selves Citizens of France and Give freedom To their neibours on the Mississippi, and we have Actually had a Small Camp Fortifyd within fifty Miles of the Enemys Lines and four hundred advance of This place, for four months past. add to this the univesal Applause of the people throughout those back Countrys in Favour of the Enterprise, the arristocratical party Excepted. the Democratick Society of Kentucky<sup>10</sup> have made Some advances in amunition and Given all the encouragement In their power, and the whole have been impatiently Expecting Mr Michaux with Supplies of money. But since that agent left this I have receivd but one Letter

<sup>5</sup> Auguste Lachaise, who went to Kentucky in December, 1793, as agent for Genet. His own statement of his connection with this affair is found in *AM. HIST. REV.*, III. 511-515. See also *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1896, I. 1002, 1078, 1088, 1102; Gayarré, *Louisiana under Spanish Domination*, p. 341; Martin, *Louisiana*, II. 223; and *Am. State Papers, For. Rel.*, I. 455.

<sup>6</sup> The letter, dated July 12, 1793, is in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1896, I. 986. Cf. p. 1007.

<sup>7</sup> André Michaux, a botanist, who was Genet's principal agent in Kentucky. His activities are elucidated by numerous documents in the Clark-Genet correspondence (*Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1896, vol. I.). See also *AM. HIST. REV.*, III. 666, and Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of Biography*. The Journal of Michaux is printed in the *Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society for 1889.

<sup>8</sup> See *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1896, I. 1009, 1010, 1012, 1013, 1016, 1024.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the statement of Lachaise, in *AM. HIST. REV.*, III. 513.

<sup>10</sup> An account of the activities of the Democratic Societies at the time is given in a letter of the French commissioners, Fauchet, La Forest, and Petry, December 5, 1794, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1903, II. 500-502. There is a chapter on Democratic Societies in G. D. Luetscher, *Early Political Machinery of the United States*. See the farewell address of Lachaise to the Democratic Society of Lexington, *Am. State Papers, Misc.*, I. 931; cf. *AM. HIST. REV.*, III. 513.

From him Dated in December<sup>11</sup> last but under the  
 Expectation of his arival buisness have gone on rapidly and the  
 Intrest of the republick Continually in our view untill the  
 Declaration of your Successor Mr Fauchet<sup>12</sup> of the 6th of March  
 Made its appearance which hath Damp't the whole and inflam'd  
 The minds of a great number of people  
 When the report of the failaur Shold reach the inhabitants  
 Of the Mississippi they will be miserable. Great number  
 Of Friends Doubt the authenticity of this Declaration  
 But if it is real, I hope Sir you will use eavry means  
 In your power to have the expences we have been at  
 Refunded. though it is not Considerable it is Suffisiant to  
 Ruin me, and hurt many others you are sensible that  
 So extensive a Corispondance that I must have had  
 Throughout those extencive western Countrys as to  
 Bring over the whole of them to the intrest of the  
 Proposed plan must have been attended with expence.  
 Could the republick procecute the war in other quarters  
 Of the world on the same terms that I have Done it  
 For them on the Mississippi, by paper only, for six  
 Months past they might as I hope they Do Laugh at  
 Their enemies. From the most moderate Calculation  
 the Spanards have expended on the Mississippi, within  
 these last Six months four Million of Dollars,<sup>13</sup> when  
 But a few thousands was Spent by us in keeping them in  
 Such Continual Dread and now with a small Suply  
 Of money and orders to persue the plan all  
 their preparations would prove fruitless.  
 I wright to you Sir as you was at that time  
 At the head of this buisness and hope that you  
 Will use your influence in Getting things so aranged  
 As to undemnyfy us.<sup>14</sup> the Great intrest that France have  
 In this Country I think is worth their attention. the  
 People in General yet Look up to them for something  
 To be Done as they are out of all hopes of Congress eaven  
 Favouring them in their negociations with Spaine respecting  
 The Mississippi.<sup>15</sup>

I refer you to Genl Lashaise for information

<sup>11</sup> The letter, dated Philadelphia, December 27, 1793, is in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1896, I. 1024.

<sup>12</sup> Jean Antoine Joseph Fauchet. See the account of his career in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1903, II. 288. What purports to be a copy of his proclamation of March 6, 1794, is in the Mangourit correspondence (*Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1897, p. 629). Mangourit, in Charleston, also doubted or affected to doubt the authenticity of Fauchet's declaration. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 645-647, 659-661.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the statement of Lachaise, *AM. HIST. REV.*, III. 514.

<sup>14</sup> Concerning Clark's claims against the French government and his efforts to collect upon them, see *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1896, I. 1067-1077, 1084-1089, 1095-1098, 1101.

<sup>15</sup> See the address of the Democratic Society of Kentucky, December 13, 1793, and the remonstrance of the citizens of Kentucky to the President and Congress, in *Am. State Papers, Misc.*, I. 929-931; also the Lexington resolutions, June 23, 1794, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1896, I. 1056.

On eavey Subject that you may wish to Inquire about as  
He hath Takeing paines to Inform himself

I am Sir with much a Steem

*Yours etc*

G. R. CLARK.

3. *Despatch from the British Consul at Charleston to Lord  
John Russell, 1860.*

THE following despatch from Robert Bunch, British consul at Charleston, to Lord John Russell, foreign secretary, describing a conversation with R. B. Rhett, is drawn from the Public Record Office, "Foreign Office, America", series II., volume 745. The interest of the letter lies not so much in the exposition of Rhett's views, which are well known, but rather in the fact that it reveals an effort to test the attitude of the British government toward a Southern confederacy before such a confederacy had been formed, and in the further fact that Rhett not only indicates the course which South Carolina would pursue but endeavors to forecast the policy of the Southern confederacy in several important particulars as well as to predict the action of the federal government in the event of secession.

Rhett could assume to speak for South Carolina with some authority. He had for some time been prominent in the councils of the state, and he took an important part in the convention which assembled on December 17, and which on December 20 passed the ordinance of secession. In the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, as chairman of the committee on foreign relations, he had opportunity to further the commercial policy which, in the interview with Bunch, he sets forth as the probable policy of the confederacy. His notion, however, of the easy acquiescence of European nations in the system of slavery proved to be erroneous, and his forecast of the position which the Confederate government would take in regard to the reopening of the African slave-trade was likewise incorrect, for the Confederate constitution prohibited the traffic.

The writer of this despatch, Robert Bunch, had been consul at Charleston since July 5, 1853, having been stationed (since 1848) first in New York and afterward in Philadelphia.<sup>1</sup> He sustained cordial relations with Southern statesmen, but his despatches of 1860 to his secretary of state, examined in London by the managing editor, do not bear out the opinion held at Washington that he was partial to slavery and the Southern cause. The negotiations conducted by

<sup>1</sup> Bunch's official career is chronicled in the *Foreign Office List* for 1879 and preceding issues.

him (under instructions) for obtaining the assent of the Confederate government to the Declaration of Paris of 1856, and the subsequent capture of his mail-bag, led to a diplomatic controversy between the governments of Great Britain and the United States. His *exequatur* was revoked by President Lincoln, nevertheless he continued to exercise his functions as consul in Charleston until, in the early part of 1863, the Confederate authorities also found fault with the British consuls in Southern ports and refused to recognize their *exequaturs*.<sup>2</sup> Bunch subsequently occupied important consular and diplomatic posts at Havana, Bogotá, and Carácas. E. C. B.

No. 51.

*Confidential.*

BRITISH CONSULATE,  
CHARLESTON,  
December 15, 1860.

*My Lord,*

I received to day a visit from the Honourable R. Barnwell Rhett, with the particulars of which it may not be inexpedient that Your Lordship should be made acquainted.

I must premise by saying that Mr. Rhett is a person of very considerable distinction in this State, he has filled the Offices of Attorney General, of Member of the House of Representatives and of Senator of the United States, and has always been the consistent advocate of State Rights and the formation of a Southern Confederacy out of the present Union. In these respects he has generally been in advance even of his State, and, at one time, suffered much unpopularity from his persistence in these views. He, in fact, resigned his Seat in the Senate of the United States because his Constituents would not go the length that he deemed necessary. Now, however, he enjoys the triumph of seeing the entire State a convert to his doctrines, and his influence is, at this moment, very great, I am inclined to think that he desires the appointment of Commissioner to England from the new State or Confederacy that is to be. I enter into these details in the hope that Your Lordship may concur with me in thinking that the Conversation which I am about to relate is worthy of Your Lordship's notice.

Mr. Rhett commenced by asking me a few questions respecting the probable action of Great Britain and other foreign Nations in the case of Vessels which might arrive in their Ports from the seceding States, without Clearances from a Collector of Customs of the United States' Government. He wished to know my opinion as to such Vessels being admitted to Entry should the Federal Government throw no impediment in the way of their sailing, and give no evidence of seeking to coerce the Seceders back into the Union. His idea of the course most likely to be

<sup>2</sup> The entire affair is well set forth in Milledge L. Bonham, *British Consuls in the Confederacy*, pp. 20-47. For the affair of Bunch's mail-bag see also Moore, *Digest of International Law*, V. 20. Cf. Callahan, *Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, pp. 117-119, 176; and Bancroft, *Life of Seward*, II. 197-203. For the correspondence see *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1861, *passim*, and 1862, pp. 1-12; *Official Records of the Rebellion*, second series, II. 643-645; *Sessional Papers*, 1862, vol. LXII.

pursued by the President is that He will not acknowledge the right, as an abstract question, of a State to secede, but that He will, practically, not interfere with it for so doing, but will surrender the Forts and Custom Houses upon receiving an official intimation that the State has left the Union.<sup>3</sup> Under these circumstances, he thought that foreign Nations would be at perfect liberty to consider the Secession as an accomplished fact, and to use their own discretion as to recognizing or making Treaties with the new State.

To this I replied that I was in no way in possession of the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government upon such a subject, and that I could not undertake to pronounce an opinion respecting it. That, to my mind, a great deal would depend upon the view of Secession to be taken by the President and by Congress, by which view foreign Nations would, in a great measure, be guided.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Rhett then came to what was, evidently, the real object of his visit, *viz.* an exposition of the probable policy of the State of South Carolina, after Secession; a policy which he believed, would be in the main that of a Southern Confederacy, the formation of which, (at any rate as far as the Cotton States were concerned) he regarded as certain within sixty days from this date.<sup>5</sup> He stated that the wishes and hopes of the Southern States centred in England; that they would prefer an Alliance with Her to one with any other Power; that they would be Her best customers; that free trade would form an integral portion of their scheme of Government, with Import duties of nominal amount and direct communication, by steam, between the Southern and British Ports. Thus, he hoped, that with Great Britain dependent upon the South for Cotton, (upon which supposed axiom, I would remark, all their calculations are based) and the South upon her for manufactured goods and shipping, an interchange of commodities would ensue which would lead to an unrestricted intercourse of the most friendly character.<sup>6</sup> He did not conceal from himself that the feeling of the British Publick was adverse to the system of Slavery, but he saw no reason why that sentiment should stand in the way of commercial advantages. Great Britain traded largely with Brazil, which was a Slave-holding Country, and was, moreover, the largest customer of the Southern States for the productions of Slave labour.

<sup>3</sup> See Buchanan's message to Congress, December 3, 1860, Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V. 626.

<sup>4</sup> On December 27 the South Carolina authorities took possession of the custom house at Charleston, and Bunch at once notified Lord Lyons, British minister in Washington, and asked what course the consul should pursue in regard to the entry and clearance of British vessels. In the end he was instructed to remain at his post. See the correspondence in *Sessional Papers*, 1861, vol. LXV.; *British and Foreign State Papers*, LII. 1179-1182; cf. Bonham, *British Consuls in the Confederacy*, pp. 20-23; Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell* (first ed.), II. 352; (second ed.), II. 341; and Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, third series, CLXI. 814, 821.

<sup>5</sup> The Provisional Congress of the Confederate States met in Montgomery on February 4, and a provisional constitution was adopted on February 8.

<sup>6</sup> See Toombs to Yancey, Rost, and Mann, March 16, 1861, Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II. 3; cf. Callahan, *Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, pp. 79-91; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III. 415-417, and citations.

In replying to Mr. Rhett's observations, I stated, in the most explicit manner, that I had no authority to speak on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, so that any remarks which I might make respecting the views he had propounded would be altogether my own; that I had, of course, no objection to talk the matter over with him, as one friend might with another, but nothing more. I then said that, so far as I could judge, there seemed to be no reason why his ideas should not be carried into practice; that Great Britain was much interested in the success of free trade, in the benefits of which She was a firm believer, and that if the South would carry out that idea, and perhaps open their Coasting trade to British Ships, I thought that such a movement would be acceptable to the British people. As regarded the question of domestic Slavery, I really saw no reason to apprehend an interference with it on their part, as it was a matter with which they had no direct concern; that they could indeed wish that their own example might act favourably upon the South in its estimate of the moral wrong of such a system of labour, but that beyond this they were not likely to go. Thus far, I agreed in the main with him, there was a point he had not touched, which appeared to me to offer a difficulty of considerable magnitude, and respecting which I should be glad to hear his opinion, I alluded to the revival of the African Slave Trade, which Great Britain viewed with horror, and which, so far as I was informed, was likely to be tolerated, if not encouraged, by the new Confederation. I expressed my opinion that Great Britain would require from that Body some very distinct assurance of a satisfactory nature on this subject before She could be brought to enter cordially into communication with it.

Upon this question Mr. Rhett took a very decided stand.—He said that no Southern State, or Confederacy, would ever be brought to negotiate upon such a subject; that to prohibit the Slave trade was, virtually, to admit that the Institution of Slavery was an evil and a wrong, instead of, as the South believed it, a blessing to the African Race and a system of labour appointed of God. He expressed his opinion that a requirement on the part of Great Britain that the Slave trade should be prohibited would render any understanding impossible. In that case, he continued, we should go to France, and offer her Commercial advantages of the most liberal character, provided She would not interfere with us on that question. Our place, he said, is to commence by levying a duty of 15 per Cent on all importations of foreign goods, which duty may be diminished to 5 per Cent, or withdrawn altogether, on the Manufactures of such States, as will fall into our views and make Treaties with us on our own terms. He had no doubt that France and Germany would gladly avoid the question of the revival of the Slave trade for this consideration, in which case, England would be left behind and lose the advantages which would, otherwise, accrue to her.

I remarked to Mr. Rhett that he seemed to me to be a little hasty in reckoning with such certainty upon the readiness of France and other European Nations; that apart from the universal detestation of the African Slave Trade felt by all Civilized people, he could not forget that nearly all the Powers of Europe were bound by Treaty to repress it, and that it was hardly likely that they would tolerate in one Nation, for the sake of Commercial gain, that which they had systematically and continually reprobated in all others.

Mr. Rhett then said that, altho' he personally, and nearly all the

Politicians of the Older States were opposed to the introduction of fresh Slaves from Africa, he felt assured that the newer States of the present Union, such as Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana, would insist upon the revival of the traffick; that they required fresh labourers, in view of the increasing demand for cotton, and that such labour could only be obtained from Africa. He thought, however, that a compromise might be effected, to meet the objections of the European Nations, and the new Confederacy be allowed to import Slaves for a limited period of five years, after which the traffick should cease. This, he remarked, was done by the Government of the United States in the early days of its existence.<sup>7</sup>

I repeated my belief that some satisfactory arrangement on this point would be essential to the recognition of the new Confederacy, and our conversation terminated.

I trust that Your Lordship will not disapprove the language I have held. I could not well avoid a discussion of the matter, and from the position of Mr. Rhett I deemed it wise not to discourage his approaches. There is, just now, a very strong feeling in favour of Great Britain, which is unusual, and may prove of advantage.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most Obedient

humble Servant

ROBERT BUNCH.

The Lord John Russell, M.P.

etc. etc. etc.

[*Endorsed.*] 1860

Charleston, December 5th.

Mr. Bunch.

No. 51.

*Confidential*

No Inclosure.

By R. M. Steamer from Boston.

Recd. Dec. 24.

Respecting a conversation with  
Mr. Rhett respecting policy  
of South Carolina after  
Secession; possible revival  
of the African Slave Trade

<sup>7</sup> Both the provisional and the permanent constitution of the Confederate States prohibited the importation of slaves from any foreign country other than states and territories of the United States. Toombs wrote, March 16, 1861, to the Confederate commissioners in Europe: "We have prohibited the African slave trade and we intend in good faith to prevent it in our country." Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II. 3. For a full exposition of the policy of the Confederate government in the matter of the slave-trade see Benjamin to Mason, Slidell, and Lamar, January 15, 1863, *ibid.*, II. 401.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*La Campagna Romana, Antica, Medioevale e Moderna.* By GIUSEPPE TOMASSETTI. Volume III. *Vic Cassia e Clodia, Flaminia e Tiberina, Labicana e Praenestina.* (Rome: Ermanno Loescher and Company. 1913. Pp. xii, 583.)

THE death of the author soon after the appearance of the second volume has left the completion of this notable work in the hands of his son. This will cause no change in the plan or character of the book, which will remain for many years the standard work of reference for the Campagna of the Middle Ages and the present.

In the reviews of the earlier volumes in this journal (XV. 831, XVI. 339) the general characteristics of the book were pointed out, and the third volume presents no new features. It deals with those parts of the Campagna that are traversed by the four roads, Cassia, Clodia, Flaminia, and Tiberina, to the north of Rome, and two of those running to the southeast, the Labicana and Praenestina. This involves the description of about eighty *tenute* and forty communes, some of them of special interest, like Bracciano, Nepi, Sutri, Paliano, and Cave. As the territory traversed by the Clodia and Cassia was largely under the control of the Orsini, and the Colonna had their headquarters in Palestrina, this volume contains much important material for students of the history of these great families.

In general the inadequate treatment of the ancient period, noticed in the preceding volumes, is somewhat more striking here. This, however, is partly intentional, and due to the publication of Ashby's excellent papers on the Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna in the *Papers of the British School at Rome*. Where Ashby has already published his material, as in the case of the Labicana and Praenestina, Tomassetti simply refers to him for the discussion of the remains of antiquity, and seldom differs with him except in the identification of some ancient sites, *e. g.*, Scaptia and Passerano (p. 506), Pedum and Gallicano (p. 516). In these cases Ashby's doubt is quite justified. In this part of the book there are some errors and some statements that might easily be challenged, as that the Porta Maggiore carries five aqueducts (p. 380), that Gabii is derived from Cabum (p. 496), that the Porta Ratumenna in Rome was between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills (p. 200), that the Ponte Lupo served only to carry the Claudian aqueduct (p. 522), and that the Ponte di Nona was built by Sulla (p. 477). The removal of Fidenae from its traditional site to a point considerably



farther north on the west bank of the Tiber near Ponte Storta is not supported by cogent arguments.

It is, however, with the medieval and modern periods that the author is chiefly concerned, and it is here that the great value of the book lies. In this third volume the reader is again impressed most forcibly with the astonishing amount of detailed information furnished, and with the labor that has been expended in toilsome and painstaking investigation of documents and archives. Only infrequently has the author been able to avail himself to any great degree of the work of others. To handle satisfactorily material of this amount and kind is no light task, and the book is far from being easy reading. It is ponderous in form and content, perhaps unavoidably so, but a little more care and skill in arrangement would have made it much more useful and attractive. An elaborate index will now be doubly necessary. There are some misprints, and one can not help wishing that the author would decide to be consistent in writing either *monastero* or *monistero*.

S. B. P.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Canute the Great, 995 (circ.)-1035, and the Rise of Danish Imperialism during the Viking Age.* By LAURENCE MARCELLUS LARSON, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, University of Illinois. [Heroes of the Nations, edited by H. W. C. Davis.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912. Pp. xviii, 375.)

THIS is the first treatment of the subject in English which takes into sufficient consideration the Scandinavian sources and literature. As a consequence the figure of Canute is placed in a new perspective against the Scandinavian background. Canute stands forth as the best representative of the viking age and movement (p. vii), and his career in Professor Larson's hands becomes "the history of Danish imperialism carried to a swift realisation" (pp. 2-3).

This point of view not only affects the apportionment of the narrative, but also leads to significant new conclusions concerning the policies of Canute. More than half the book is occupied with Scandinavian affairs. A chapter (I.) containing a brief survey of the position of Denmark in the northern world during the tenth century, which explains the heritage of imperialistic ambition received by Canute from his ancestors, two chapters (VIII., XIII.) on Scandinavian institutions, and three chapters (IX.-XI.) on Canute's conquest of Norway, are concerned almost solely with this aspect of the subject, and it receives a prominent place in four chapters (VI., XII., XIV., XV.) on the empire as a whole. Only three chapters (II.-IV.), dealing with the Danish conquest of England (1003-1016), and two (V., VII.), covering the early years of Canute's

rule in England, are devoted primarily to English history. But, while Professor Larson thus places England in a relatively less important position in relation to Canute's career than is customary with English historians, yet it is in his account of Canute's policies as king of England, which is an expansion of an earlier article printed in this journal (XV. 720-743), that he makes his most notable contribution by developing the close connection between Canute's imperial aims and his English policy. He points out, for example, that Canute before his acquisition of the Danish crown in 1019 was an alien ruling England without the possibility of securing support from external sources. This led him, contrary to the generally accepted opinion, to rule England with a heavy hand and with little regard for the feelings of his Anglo-Saxon subjects. Not until the possession of Denmark provided him with forces which could be used to put down possible English revolt did he adopt a deliberate policy of conciliation. His ecclesiastical policy was similarly affected by his relations to Norway. Canute entered upon a lukewarm alliance with the Church in 1020, but he carefully refrained from any attempt to make Christianity compulsory. Already he had visions of adding Norway to his dominions, and one of the principal forces on which he relied for support against King Olaf consisted of those Norwegian nobles who were discontented with the effort of their king to establish Christianity as the sole religion throughout his realm. Hence it was not until Norway had been conquered in 1028 that Canute took a decided stand against the old pagan faith.

These aspects of Professor Larson's work are generally excellent from the viewpoint of both the general reader and the historical student. For the latter, however, the value of the work is limited in some respects. The major portion of the narrative appears to be Professor Larson's independent estimate of the sources tempered by comparison with the opinions of the best English and Scandinavian historians, but three chapters (I, VII, XIII.) are little more than summaries of secondary authorities, and the treatment of both English and Scandinavian institutions seems somewhat inadequate. Some details also are open to adverse criticism. It is disappointing to be referred to the *Danmarks Riges Historie* as authority for an important statement (e. g., p. 192) since no references are cited in that work. More regard for the conclusions of recent writers, on the other hand, would have improved the treatment of a few topics. It is indiscreet, for example, after the researches of Chadwick (*Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 355-366), to say without qualification that "the Old English kingship was elective" (p. 85). Occasionally an assertion is made more positively than the evidence appears to warrant. If, for example, Gunhild, wife of Ealdorman Pallig, was killed in the massacre of St. Brice's day, 1002, it is important because she was the sister of King Sweyn. Previous historians, except Munch and Steenstrup, have regarded William of Malmesbury as insufficient authority for asserting positively that she was, but Professor Larson makes the statement without explanation (p. 39) on the no

better authority of Richard of Cirencester's *Speculum Historiale*. But these criticisms do not impugn the fundamental soundness of Professor Larson's critical interpretation of the sources. The materials available for the study are difficult to evaluate rightly, and, so far as the reviewer can judge, they have been used in the main with care and discriminating judgment.

W. E. LUNT.

*Les Origines de l'Influence Française en Allemagne: Étude sur l'Histoire comparée de la Civilisation en France et en Allemagne pendant la Période Précurtoise (950-1150).* Par LOUIS REYNAUD, Docteur ès Lettres. Tome premier. *L'Offensive Politique et Sociale de la France.* (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1913. Pp. xxxix, 547.)

It is a pity that a work as large as this is should be of so little historical value. Beginning with the thesis that France has had greater influence upon Germany than any other country, with magnificent scorn of actual history, the territory between the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, is assumed to have been "France" from all time and anything and everything emanating from it, no matter what the epoch, to have been of "French" influence.

"L'image de la France", we are told, "est le spectre obsédant qui hante l'histoire de la vie de société, de la littérature, de la philosophie, de l'art germanique depuis leurs origines jusqu'à notre époque. . . . Sur la plus reculée des cimes que nous avons reconnues dans l'histoire de l'influence française en Allemagne plane encore la brume matinale qui recouvre les horizons de la jeune civilisation occidentale. Elle se dresse pourtant, majestueuse et distincte, dans les impressionnantes solitudes de la primitive Europe." The Teutonic mythology is of Celtic origin; the German nations in Gaul were "Gallicized", not Romanized; the Franks were "Gallo-francs"; the very names of their kings are "partiellement ou totalement celtiques" (M. Reynaud cites Childebert and Dagobert among other names as examples, though by the same token Ethelbert must also have been "partly Celtic"); Charlemagne was a "Gallo-franc"; the Niebelungen is "Gallo-franque". In fact, "historiquement il est impossible de découvrir quoique ce soit en fait de civilisation germanique primitive, une fois qu'on a retranché les emprunts contractés auprès des Celtes. Ce qui reste ce sont les déclamations sans importance de quelques Romantiques." Alas for Waitz and Dahn and Roth and Giesebrecht! They have all read history as did Sancho Panza.

After thirty-nine pages of rodomontade like this, which fills the introduction, one has little patience left when he reaches the body of the book. But in justice to the author it must be said that he occasionally gets on somewhat more tenable ground. The influence of French monasticism upon Germany through the Cluniac and Cistercian orders was great. But M. Reynaud adds nothing to what Sackur and Winter have

already written. Nor does anyone deny the social and literary influence of French chivalry upon Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But no one of these factors more than colored the history of medieval Germany. The depth and content of German history during the Saxon, Franconian, and Hohenstaufen epochs, the great achievements of the German people apart from the monarchs who were ruling, the national genius of men like Henry the Lion, Albert the Bear, and a host of bishops like Bruno of Cologne, Bernward of Hildesheim, Wiclin of Lübeck—all this utterly escapes the author. His political thesis is singular. It is that Germany never institutionally progressed beyond the Carolingian system, while France was born anew in the terrible crucible of the ninth and tenth centuries and so was able gradually to develop a real feudal monarchy (see pp. 157-158). M. Reynaud is very fond of applying the words "incomplète", "archaïque", "rudimentaire", "pas progressé", etc., to medieval German institutions. As a whole the work is a phantasmagoria of vain imaginings and historical distortions, all the more difficult to read with patience because of the author's cocksureness. Not content with using ordinary type, time and again he employs italics—sometimes half a page at a stretch—to advertise his ideas. Page after page (*cf.* pp. xxxvi, 54, 63, 101, 131, 157, 158, 179, 180, 184, 205, 221, 241, 245, 252, 257, 268, 271, 291, 364, 369, 370, 428, 438, 508, 525, 531, 536, etc.) flares with categorical affirmatives which have little or no historical weight in spite of a brave display of erudition.

J. W. T.

*The Minority of Henry the Third.* By KATE NORGATE. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1912. Pp. x, 307.)

THE period of a trifle more than ten years included in the minority of Henry III. is not a great period. There is very little in it, either upon the constitutional or the political side, that can be said to be of unusual significance. Probably, in permanent influence upon the future, the most important thing in these years is the development which is given to the newer methods of taxation. Into this subject Miss Norgate does not go. The reissues and the final settling of the form of Magna Carta are also of considerable importance. It would be very interesting if we could investigate fully the relation of the small council to the great council, to determine if a peculiar aspect was given to that relationship by the fact of a minority. Still more interesting would it be if we could establish the existence at this date of a council of regency. But these things we cannot do with the material now at our command. We cannot even determine conclusively the facts about the election, by the great council, of Ralph Nevill as chancellor, as asserted by Matthew Paris, though we may be reasonably convinced that no such election occurred. There is also a development going on in the law-courts during these years which as yet it is not possible accurately to describe. On the side of the political history, questions connected with the expulsion of the

French, the movements of discontented barons, relations with Louis VIII., and the termination of the minority, hardly equal in importance the constitutional problems of the period, but they admit of more confident assertion. It is in the political history that Miss Norgate is most interested. Upon the constitutional questions of the period she has little to say, and her comment upon the reissues of Magna Carta is hardly abreast of current opinion. I find no reference to the work of McKechnie.

The book presents all the characteristics of Miss Norgate's earlier volume on the reign of John, which was noticed in this REVIEW (IX. 352), and what was there said may be briefly repeated. The narrative is sober, straightforward, and very careful, based on a wide study of all the available printed material, and may be declared with confidence to be the most thorough study of the period yet made. The author has studied the Close and Patent Rolls more minutely than any earlier writer, and as a result is able to throw new light on many points, usually concerning minor matters, and to rectify some points of chronology of greater importance. For example, she assigns the first demand for a confirmation of the Great Charter, of which Archbishop Stephen Langton was the spokesman, to January, 1224, instead of 1223 as stated by Roger of Wendover, and shows that the three letters concerning the termination of the minority, ascribed to Gregory IX. in April, 1227, were from Honorius III. in 1223. The case seems to be made out satisfactorily in both instances. In general Roger of Wendover comes out rather badly from the minute examination to which he is subjected, though he would certainly fare better in a testing of his account of the troubles connected with and following the fall of Hubert de Burgh, 1232-1234.

Miss Norgate's estimate of William Marshal is interesting; it is carefully considered and sympathetic, and puts great emphasis deservedly on his character, but to the reviewer it hardly seems to do justice to his intellectual abilities. The account raises some questions as to the ordinary estimate of Hubert de Burgh, to the extent at least of making necessary a careful reconsideration. Difference of opinion arises of course on some points, but they are minor ones. The connection of the partial ending of the minority in 1223 with the financial difficulties of the time seems fairly obvious, but is not referred to. The meeting of a county court of Yorkshire in 1220 (p. 159) is not apparent in the evidence cited. In the comment on the pope's letter of April 29, 1221 (p. 167, note 5), the letters of the day before seem to have been overlooked (Pressutti, *Regesta*, I. 537; Bliss, *Calendar*, I. 80). The meeting of January, 1222 (p. 181), seems to have been a great council, not a synod. The composition of the king's council as described on page 178 does not differ from that of the small council during the preceding century. Professor Cannon's very thorough study of the battle of Sandwich, published in the *English Historical Review* for last October, was probably not accessible to Miss Norgate when she wrote.

G. B. ADAMS.

*The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century.* By R. H. TAWNEY.  
(New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1912. Pp. xii,  
464.)

IN this volume Mr. Tawney, of the University of Oxford, combining both the results of his own investigations and the conclusions of other students, interprets the great agricultural changes transforming Tudor England with relation to the general course of European economic history. The field for such a study has long been open, but until now no one has essayed a complete explanation of the new factors in agrarian development that caused so much activity on the part of the government and such a reaction on state and peasantry.

Armed with the sharp analysis of economic theory as well as a scientific historical method, the author approaches a field of mooted points wherein such scholars as Nasse, Professor Ashley, Mr. Leadam, and Professor Gay have broken lances. The value of the study and its justification lies in the economic interpretation that is given to the agrarian revolution—for we are informed that it is worthy of the name "revolution". The coming of the enclosures, it is demonstrated, turned the English peasantry (protected by the Tudors as their source of power) from the broad highway of increasing prosperity that they had travelled during the fifteenth century, to a path of dwindling fortune that marked the entrance of competitive capitalistic agriculture. The abolition of labor services, at a time when money was decreasing in value and rent was held stationary by custom, that marked the prosperity of the small landowners in the fifteenth century, is neutralized in the century following by capitalistic farming of the most profitable kind, wool-raising. In a word the struggle is between the decaying yet protecting bulwarks of custom and the grinding forces of competition. The brunt of the shock falls on the small tenant. The tenure of copyhold is shown to be by no means inviolable, as Mr. Leadam has inferred from his legal studies; for the copyholder held "by copy of the court roll according to the custom of the manor". It was custom, not mere copyhold, that dictated the legal standing of the land title. That the copyholder had likewise no legal protection against ejection or increased fines and rents, unless he could prove he held by custom of the manor "out of the memory of man", is shown clearly by Mr. Tawney's citations of petitions and surveys.

While fullest praise should be given to the economic interpretation that the study presents, and to the admirable chapter on the Agrarian Problem and the State, some of the author's statistics—those which he uses to suggest that the enclosure movement, though it cannot be estimated accurately, was in this century of much more moment than Professor Gay would assert, statistics taken from different counties of England under widely varying conditions, make his conclusions in this instance of little value.

The rise of competitive rents is the subject of a concisely written

chapter. The new higher rents were occasioned chiefly in two ways: the extension of cultivation over the fringe of waste land surrounding the manor, and the allotting to tenants of fresh portions of the demesne land, afforded the lord a chance to fix a rent unhampered by custom. Another closely related subject that is discussed here for the first time, it is thought, is the growth of a land market. Such a development was going on quietly during the centuries preceding the sixteenth, preparing the way for the rapid shifting of tenures that was to occur after 1500. This new land market was due to petty peasant transactions tolerated by the lords, and to the chance for small speculation afforded by the cultivation of the waste land; it was accelerated by the vacant tenancies left by the Black Death. A lucid explanation of the status, legal and economic, of the freeholders, adds a mite to the worth of the book.

Though a deep insight into English history, afforded by the discussion of the social revolution brought about by the agrarian changes and their reaction on the state, makes the book one of greatest value to the student of the sixteenth century, yet one lays it down with the impression that as yet not even the approximate extent of the enclosure movement, as to either acres or ejected tenants, is known or is likely to be. Mr. Tawney's exhaustive treatment of the subject, in spite of an occasional statistical discrepancy will stand undoubtedly for years as the most complete and generally the most cogent explanation of the great agricultural changes of the century of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.

S. F. BEMIS.

*Historiographie de Charles-Quint.* Par ALFRED MOREL-FATIO.  
[Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études: Sciences Historiques  
et Philologiques, Fascicule 202.] Première Partie. (Paris:  
Honoré Champion. 1913. Pp. 369.)

THE lack of scientific historical works on the reign of the Emperor Charles V. in Spain forms a painful contrast to the wealth of accurate information available on almost every phase of his rule in Germany. Rightly recognizing that a thorough and painstaking analysis and criticism of the writings of the more important contemporary or nearly contemporary Spanish and Italian authorities on the period is a *sine qua non* of any permanent progress towards a satisfactory redressal of the balance, M. Morel-Fatio has given us the first installment of a really notable work on this important and almost completely neglected subject.

Whatever the precise date of the beginning of the employment of an official salaried historian in Castile, it is clear that under the emperor the importance of that position greatly increased, owing largely to the fact that the representatives of the nation in the Cortes began to take a vital interest in the matter and to demand a voice in the appointment of the *cronistas*. Of these official historians in the reign of Charles V., M. Morel-Fatio counts eight, who succeeded each other in the following order: Antonio de Guevara, bishop of Mondoñedo, better known to the

literary than to the historical world, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, the opponent of Las Casas, Pedro Mexía, Florian de Ocampo (M. Morel-Fatio has terminated a protracted dispute by proving that he was still living in 1558), Barnabé Busto, tutor to the emperor's children, Juan Paez de Castro, critic of Zurita, Lorenzo de Padilla, and Alonzo de Santa Cruz, cosmographer rather than historian (Peter Martyr is omitted because he devoted himself solely to the history of the Indies). Limitations of the space forbid even the most meagre summary of the author's conclusions concerning these writers: we can only pay a passing tribute to the thoroughness and accuracy with which he has accomplished his task. It will probably be of interest to American readers to learn that by no means all the works of these chroniclers have been printed. Of Mexía's *Historia de Carlos Quinto* only the chapter on the Comuneros has seen the light: Ocampo's *Sucesos Acaecidos desde el Año 1521 hasta 1549* and *Succsos desde 1550 hasta 1558* remain in manuscript, as do also the historical writings of Barnabé Busto and Alonzo de Santa Cruz. Some of them at least thoroughly deserve careful editing and publication. The manuscripts await the enterprising investigator at Madrid or the Escorial.

An entire chapter is devoted to the material concerning Charles and the Spain of his time which may be found in the various works of Jovius, and the influence of that "creator of modern journalism" on the historical writing of his day and generation. The *Vita di Carlo V.* by the Italianate Spaniard Alfonso de Ulloa, who did so much to render closer the literary relations of the two nations, and the lesser works about the emperor by Lodovico Dolce, Bernardo Tasso, and Francesco Sansovino are also fully described. The remainder of the volume is occupied with a careful edition of the Portuguese version of the Memoirs of Charles V., now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which has never been published before, and a new French translation of it, far more accurate than that put forth by Kervyn de Lettenhove in 1862. Both these translations, by the way, are really retranslations, because, despite Ranke to the contrary, the Memoirs were first dictated by the emperor, in 1550, in the French language.

M. Morel-Fatio promises us a second volume devoted to Sandoval's *Vida y Hechos*, and a third comprising the historians of special events in Charles's reign. Only those who have themselves ploughed wearily through the mazes of Spanish historiography, ancient and modern, can appreciate the extent of the services he has rendered. We have found only a few trifling misprints: page 42, in the heading, "Jinés" should be Ginés; page 137, eight lines from the bottom, "*langage*" should be *langages*; page 151, line 9, "III" should be IV. Credit might have been given to Señor de Laiglesia for his bibliography of Charles V. in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Vol. LV., pp. 520 ff.); it is, to say the least, less cumbersome and incomplete than that in his *Estudios*. But it is almost an impertinence to mention blemishes like these in a work which will prove indispensable to students of the sixteenth



century, and which is typical of the very best in modern French scholarship.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

*The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum.* By LOUISE FARGO BROWN, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Wellesley College. [Prize Essays of the American Historical Association.] (Washington: American Historical Association; London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press. 1912. Pp. xi, 258.)

AMONG the most interesting phenomena of the historiography of the Puritan Revolution is the steady appearance of monograph after monograph upon particular phases of that important and, as it is beginning to appear, many-sided period. So far from having exhausted its possibilities, as many persons supposed not so very many years ago, Professor Gardiner's work has been but the introduction to study at once more detailed and more extended. Like the elucidation of the French Revolution which has gone along not dissimilar lines, the English revolutionary epoch is developing a literature which will presently make the rewriting of the whole history of the period imperative. The contributions of Professor Firth to the military and political side of the great struggle, with his promised contribution to its social and economic phases; the work of Bischoffshausen, Prayer, Bowman, and Jones in its foreign relations; of Inderwick and Notestein on the legal and superstitious side; of Rannie on the major-generals; of Hoenig and Baldock on its tactics and strategy; of Miss Hickson and Prendergast and Father Murphy on Ireland and of Douglas on Scotland; with others too numerous to mention here, has served not merely to illuminate the dark corners and supplement the monumental survey of Professor Gardiner; it has, slowly but surely, tended to alter our general view of the period.

In this long category of investigation the present work of Miss Brown occupies an unusually interesting and useful place. We have long since passed the time of abuse written by the Royalist enemies of Cromwell; we have gone through the Republican condemnation; we are still not quite out of the era of democratic praise; it is but natural that we should, especially at this present time, find historians of those other opponents of the Cromwellian régime who were not Royalist and for whom the term Republican is less than adequate. The Levellers and Diggers have found a chronicler, John Lilburne an apologist, Harrison and John Rogers, among others, their biographers. It is peculiarly appropriate, therefore, that the millennial sects, Anabaptists and Fifth Monarchists, should, as a body, have their day before the bar of history, as they had their share in the events of their time. How considerable that share was, Miss Brown has well indicated in her closing pages. But she has laid so much stress upon their opposition that one is apt to forget that it was their support which enabled Puritanism to reach its

"high water mark" in the nominated Parliament. Nor is it, perhaps, always safe to judge a body by the utterances of its professed leaders, especially when they are of the type of Feake. The "fighting Baptists", in short, like the "fighting Quakers", perhaps never bore such a proportion to the "praying brethren" as the noise of their preachers or the fears of their opponents might lead one to believe. That the body as a whole played no such part in the Restoration as in the earlier period is due perhaps as much to the causes which led most other men to acquiesce in settled government as to any which related to particular religious bias.

For her work Miss Brown, whose study of parties in the Convention Parliament showed her ability in such a field, is well qualified. There are few tasks more difficult than tracing the history of a minority which, like an undiscovered star, must be judged rather by its effect on other bodies than by direct observation of its own activity. "Apparent", "probable", "must have", these are the terms which, of necessity, continually occur. But, had she done no more, and she has done much, she lays us all under obligation for the light she has shed on the "fire in the rear" which so harassed the Cromwellian rule.

W. C. ABBOTT.

*The Old Colonial System, 1660-1754.* By GEORGE LOUIS BEER. Part I. *The Establishment of the System, 1660-1688.* In two volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. xvi, 381; vii, 382.)

WITHIN recent years the focus of interest in the field of American colonial history has shifted from the colonies as independent products of evolution to the colonies as dependencies and integral parts of a great empire. The new attitude has led to a patient examination of a formidable aggregate of manuscript sources in English repositories where they have long remained undisturbed or lightly touched. As a result many dark spots in the history of the old British empire have been illuminated, and customary, one-sided, and superficial generalizations have been forced to yield to knowledge and conclusions based on sound historical scholarship. Mr. Beer has taken a prominent and profitable part in this movement. In a series of volumes he has undertaken to describe the very fundamental and complex subject of the old British colonial-commercial system. The period of origins of British colonial policy from the days of Raleigh to the close of Cromwell's ascendancy, and the period of disintegration during the critical decade which preceded the Stamp Act, were subject to critical study in volumes presented five and six years ago respectively. The author now turns attention to the Restoration period when the colonial system was formally created.

The words of praise which welcomed the appearance of Mr. Beer's earlier works, thorough, clear, judicial, may well be offered again. His studies are models of historical scholarship and workmanship. With

great patience and thoroughness he has handled a multitude of sources, much in the form of manuscript, drawn from British official records, pamphlets, family papers, and diaries. In the selection of information and its criticism and arrangement, he has shown extreme caution and care. The style is sober and clear, the text is reserved for essential data and the bearing and meaning of evidence, while the broad margins of foot-notes hold a wealth of illustrative material and references to the sources.

The essential merit of the first volume is the convincing analysis and description of the forces, conditions, and ideas which shaped and crystallized into a comprehensive and cohesive colonial system economic theories of empire enunciated and applied only occasionally in point of time and place during the troubled years of the early Stuarts and the Puritan revolution. Social differences, which hampered and colored colonial enterprise in the earlier period, were now yielding to the important issues of commerce and colonization and to substantial unity of thought and action along these lines. The Restoration period witnessed the passage of the acts of trade which laid down in a comprehensive manner the principles of colonial control; the development of a system of colonial administration and administrative policies for the sake of imperial unity; and the rapid expansion of commerce and colonies by conquest and private or semi-public enterprise. All these matters are brought out with keen insight and a fund of information. There is revealed not only the essential features of a self-sufficient commercial empire and the unity of its various parts, but also the underlying theories of colonization as reflected in the writings of statesmen and economists of the day, the political and administrative processes by which the system was created and applied, and an interpretation of the intrinsic character of the colonial system. The chapter on the organs of control, central and local, is purposely confined to administration only as it is concerned with the enforcement of economic regulations, and is therefore incidental and incomplete. The author has given too little attention to the merchants whose influence and activity in the colonial movement were factors of no small importance.

The second volume draws the interest from England as the centre of the system to the colonies as the field of operation. It gives to the plantation colonies, especially the West Indies, and to the fishing station of Newfoundland, the proportion of treatment they deserve as the most valuable of British possessions over sea. They realized the chief end for which colonization was undertaken, that of supplying the commodities which England herself did not produce or which might be used as articles of exchange with Europe. Customarily too much attention has been fixed upon the northern colonies, especially New England, the least prized of all, because as competitors they seriously interfered with British plans. Mr. Beer critically examines the complaints from Barbados and Virginia that the British colonial system was responsible for economic depression, statements uncritically accepted by older writers,

and comes to the conclusion that Barbadian discontent and Bacon's rebellion were due to factors inherent in the colonial situation and not in British policy. It is the author's firm conviction that the policy of centralization which culminated in the vacation of Massachusetts's charter and the creation of the Dominion of New England was forced upon the home government by the stern logic of events and proceeded not from motives of oppression and tyranny. The author fails to note the importance of King Philip's War in the long and bitter struggle between Massachusetts and the Stuarts. The strength of Puritan New England before the Indian conflict and England's fight with the Dutch called for caution on the part of the home government in dealing with the defiant and refractory colony before 1677. The exhaustion of New England after the domestic war and the close of the Dutch war may account in large part for the energy shown by the crown and the final submission of Massachusetts.

In conclusion, it may be said that the work is frankly one-sided and based upon records which reflect this attitude. The first volume, with information taken largely from British official records, is a signal and authoritative contribution to the history of the rise and development of British policy. But in the second volume we do not feel that the final word has been said on the interaction and interrelation of British policy and colonial economy. The author confesses with candor that various fundamental phases of colonial development have been ignored and subordinated, but the confession raises a serious doubt whether the economic relations of the old empire will be fully elucidated until the basis and development of colonial economy have been studied in the same scholarly and exhaustive manner in which Mr. Beer has dealt with British policy. A knowledge of colonial economy will not be found merely in British sources, but must be searched for in sources of varied description scattered through many different colonies. The very excellence of Mr. Beer's work, the extent of the period covered, the mass of material, sufficiently imposing in bulk to frighten one not endowed with the stout heart of the historical pioneer, are proof that much remains to be done before the subject is fully exploited.

W. T. ROOT.

*Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series.* Volume VI. *The Unbound Papers.* Edited through the direction of the Lord President of the Council by JAMES MUNRO, M.A., Lecturer in Colonial and Indian History in the University of Edinburgh, under the general supervision of Sir ALMERIC W. FITZROY, K.C.B., K.C.V.O., Clerk of the Privy Council. (London: Wyman and Sons. 1912. Pp. xlv, 686.)

THE last volume of the *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, contains a selection of all documents relating to colonial history from the large

mass of unbound and uncalendared papers in the Privy Council Office that had accumulated in the eighteenth century, chiefly during the period of the Board of Trade. The series covers the years from 1700 to 1783, with scattering papers of earlier and later dates, and represents, as regards its origin, the papers which came into the hands of the council as the result of its official relations with the Board of Trade. The papers stand, therefore, in the light of collateral documents, supplemental to the Register and illustrative of the regular business of the council as far as the colonies were concerned. Taken in conjunction with the Register and the Board of Trade Journal, they make clear the routine of procedure between the council, the board, and the secretary of state, and furnish us with the evidence upon which the reports of the council as committee were based and the orders in council issued. As the greater number of papers here calendared are reports and representations of the Board of Trade, made up originally in the Plantation Office from written papers and oral statements and depositions, the student will soon be in a position to follow with considerable exactness the history of every important matter that came before the Privy Council on appeal or petition from the colonies. When the results of such an investigation are presented chronologically and comparatively, we shall be in a position to determine with some certainty the part taken by the council in colonial affairs, the efficiency or inefficiency of its methods, and the extent to which the board, though a subordinate body, was able to give, in fact if not in law, the final decision in colonial cases. When such conclusions are made definite, writers on colonial history will be able to generalize safely, as they cannot do at present, regarding the character of British control as far as the methods and decisions of the highest executive authority are concerned. Such conclusions will be an important and necessary contribution to that larger study of British departmental efficiency in the eighteenth century of which we stand so greatly in need.

The contents of this volume are valuable from another point of view. They furnish a list and in part a calendar of a large number of reports and representations of the Board of Trade. Though such reports were entered in the Register as parts of the orders in council and so have been printed more or less completely in previous volumes of this series, the present versions are more full and satisfactory. Some of the reports are here given at great length and cover a number of extremely interesting colonial questions. In a few cases the amount of new information is very considerable, although in all probability the same information can be obtained from the Colonial Office papers. But the accompanying expressions of opinion cannot be obtained so readily unless the report happen to be entered, as is of course frequently the case, in the entry books of the Board of Trade. A number of the more important of these reports have been printed in full elsewhere, such as the three drawn up in 1768, 1772, and 1773 regarding the grant of the Vandalia territory, which have appeared in the *Documents relative to the Colonial History*

of *New York* and in *Franklin's Works*. But others not so well known and relating to less conspicuous matters have not been hitherto presented anywhere in print and stand therefore as definite additions to our collection of printed material for American colonial history. In this volume is entered also a very interesting "Course of Office between the Secretary of State's Office, the Council, and the Board of Trade, as proposed by Mr. Sharpe", embodying a scheme for expediting business that is by implication condemnatory of practices previously in use.

In an appendix are certain "Addenda" and various precedents governing the phraseology to be employed in orders in council, complaints against governors, commissions for the trial of pirates, and other official documents. At the end of the volume are reproductions of seven maps or plans found among the unbound papers, of which the most important are those covering Indian trade in New York, Lake Champlain, and the New York-New Hampshire land grants. Mr. Munro's preface is an excellent summary of the leading features of the volume and leaves nothing to be desired, except that occasionally opinions might differ as to the relative importance of the subjects discussed. From the standpoint of the American student the documents relative to the *Winthrop v. Lechmere* case deserve more than the few lines of comment allotted to them. There are occasional misspellings of names, such as "Courand" for Couraud, "Franklin" for Francklin, "Tomlinson" for Thomlinson, "Quarry" for Quarry, and some manifest misprints, such as "Bellamont" and "Montague". Mr. Munro has adopted the forms "Montgomery", "Abercromby", "Loudon", "Micaiah" (Perry), which are contrary to the best usage, and in the index has entered the names "Dr. Spry" and "Gov. Spry" separately, whereas they belong to the same person. He has, furthermore, indexed the "J. Walcot" mentioned on page 227 as if he were Roger Wolcott, governor of Connecticut, but I doubt if the identification is correct.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

*Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution.* By ERNEST F. HENDERSON, Ph.D., L.H.D. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912. Pp. xxxii, 456.)

THE main purpose of this work is to furnish the student or reader a valuable source of information hitherto accessible only to those who could visit the Paris collections of prints. Dr. Henderson's 171 plates were obtained chiefly by photographing the originals, most of which belong to the Collection Hennin of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The task was well worth the effort and the result is a distinct addition to the literature of the subject. Dr. Henderson has accompanied the plates by a narrative, in chronological form, to make clear the place each print or cartoon has in the revolutionary movement.

The first impression from an examination of the plates is surprise at the lack of humor in the cartoons. What there may be is mostly of

the grim kind. One of the few which show lightness of touch represents Louis XVI. in the act of signing the constitution. He is seated in a large cage the top of which is surmounted by a royal crown. Before him is a table and his hand holds a quill. The Emperor Leopold approaches with an air of astonishment and asks, "Que fais tu là Beau frère?" and Louis replies "Je sanctionne". Many of the pictures carry symbolism to an extreme, producing a composition that is more complex and pedantic than suggestive.

Dr. Henderson remarks that almost all the cartoons are anonymous. This seriously reduces the value of the collection from the point of view of the student. That *some one* produced a cartoon or symbolical representation of a certain event does not throw a clear light upon the direction or the strength of currents of public opinion. It is true that engravers and dealers during the Revolution sought to please their public, having an eye to their own profits. They were all doubtless much like Anatole France's Citoyen Jean Blaise who objected to Évariste Gamelin's symbolical reform of playing cards on the ground that it would not be to the taste of his patrons, not even of the *sans-culottes*.

It is to be regretted that Dr. Henderson did not include some treatment of the relations of this political art to the artistic movement of the time. Among the plates one notes reminders of the delicate work of Fragonard, possibly also of Watteau, and other pictures in absurd pseudo-classical style. An account of tendencies of such art in the latter part of the eighteenth century would have been in point. It would not have been amiss also to have said something of the use of the cartoon in other countries at the same period.

The author's decision to accompany the plates with a narrative, instead of separate historical statements, is not free from question. The narrative is more interesting to the general reader, but it is less useful to the serious student. The plan is beset with difficulties. The pictures must be described and commented on, and yet the main threads of the Revolutionary narrative must be followed. This is almost a case of attempting to serve two masters.

The narrative contains statements which may fairly be questioned. The author expresses surprise that the constitution of 1793 went so far as to declare that insurrection was "a sacred duty under certain circumstances", although the American Declaration of Independence had said the same thing. The comments on the French Declaration of Rights on page 75 are beside the mark. The ideal principles set forth in the declaration were sound, even if French mobs or the Terrorists of 1793 failed to live up to them. It is also unfortunate to be obliged to say anything about the Maximum legislation of 1793 in six sentences, especially the six inserted in the paragraph on page 375. Some minor errors of fact have also escaped the author's attention; for example the statement that Brissot had taken part in the American Revolution, that Lafayette was removed from the command of the National Guard after

August 10, and that the Duke of Orleans became Philippe Égalité in the summer of 1793.

*Wellington's Army, 1809-1814.* By C. W. C. OMAN, M.A., LL.D., Chichele Professor of Modern History, University of Oxford. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company; London: Edward Arnold. 1912. Pp. viii, 395.)

To evolve out of an incident as commonplace as the taking of a woman's hair a poem like Pope's "Rape of the Lock" is an achievement possible to a genius only and, similarly, none but a master-writer like Dr. Oman could have clothed in such charming guise the many bald facts and dry statistics contained in his latest work on Wellington's army. The general reader as well as the military student will find this book of unusual interest. Not even Napier gives a better picture of the motley English force that for six years held head against, and eventually expelled from the Peninsula, the Napoleonic legions so long irresistible in Europe.

Dr. Oman's first two chapters deal with the literature of the Peninsular War, classifying the books and assigning to each the value it deserves as historical reference. He very aptly lays down the rule that narratives written after the events described must be scrutinized with care before their evidence be accepted as trustworthy and that one "must begin by trying to obtain a judgment on the 'personal equation'—was the author a hard-headed observer, or a lover of romantic anecdotes?" (p. 26).

Chapter III. treats of the Duke of Wellington—the man and the strategist. Capable the "Iron Duke" unquestionably was, but utterly devoid of sympathy for others, unloving and unloved, "a hard master, slow to praise and swift to blame and to punish" (p. 42). "Anything that seemed to Wellington to partake of the nature of thinking for oneself was an unpardonable sin in a subordinate." Habitually ignoring to mention in his official despatches the names of any save the senior officers present—unless some subordinate had committed a mistake, in which case the error was invariably chronicled—he was constantly currying favor with the aristocracy; in a word the duke was a thorough snob (p. 48). On the other hand, his genius was truly prophetic—as illustrated by his memoranda of September 5 and October 26, 1809—his powers of calculation careful and long-sighted, his insight into the enemy's probable move extraordinary, and frequently, as at Salamanca, his mastery of the offensive both unexpected and remarkable (pp. 53-60).

Chapter IV. deals with Wellington's infantry tactics, especially the line versus the column, and contains material of extraordinary interest to the military student. The reasons for the efficiency of the French column or mixed formation are admirably set forth (pp. 61-73) as well as their influence on British tactics (pp. 74-75) following on the lessons of the American Revolution (pp. 75-77). The problem of how



best to meet the French formations had long been interesting to Wellington who, before he left Calcutta in 1805, announced that "he was convinced that the column would, and could, be beaten by the line" (p. 78), and Professor Oman goes on to show the system by which he established the soundness of his contention in many a hard-fought fight (pp. 79-93).

Then follows a chapter devoted to the tactics of the British cavalry and artillery as well as the French. In these two arms Wellington's inferiority was very marked. That he did not entertain a high regard for his own horsemen is evidenced by his letter to Lord John Russell twelve years after the war was ended:

I considered our cavalry so inferior to the French from want of order, that although I considered one of our squadrons a match for two French, yet I did not care to see four British opposed to four French, and still more so as the numbers increased, and order (of course) became more necessary. They could gallop, but could not preserve their order (p. 104).

With the hand of a master Dr. Oman depicts in chapter VI. three of Wellington's lieutenants, in word-portraits instinct with life and personality, which must be read to be fully appreciated. The first is Sir Rowland Hill, the Duke's trusted and most responsible lieutenant, a man of "beautiful combination of intelligence and executive power", unsurpassed in "fierce driving energy" by any officer in the British or French armies, "capable of the highest feats in war, who might have gone far, if he had been given the chance of a completely independent command" (pp. 115-118). Next is William Carr Beresford, well "pushed" by family influence, unpopular but loyal and obedient to his chief, who organized an almost hopelessly demoralized force of Portuguese into a very fair fighting body (pp. 119-122). Last is Thomas Graham of Balgowan, later created Lord Lynedoch, "in one way the most typical figure of the epoch", picturesque, quick of eye, sudden of resolution, a splendid leader in times of crisis, of whom no unkind word was ever uttered by one of his subordinates, a man *sans peur et sans reproche* (pp. 122-128).

Of other lieutenants chapter VII. treats, beginning with Sir Thomas Picton, a typical eighteenth-century soldier, a Welshman with the manners of the barrack-room which wholly belied his gentle birth. "A rough, foul-mouthed devil as ever lived" was Wellington's estimate, and yet a fine soldier, cool of resolution, unlimited in self-confidence, and with the courage of ten bulldogs, whose Spartan courage the last three days of his life so splendidly attested.

Of a different stamp was Robert Craufurd, one of the few scientific soldiers in the army, "undoubtedly the most brilliant lieutenant that Wellington ever owned", as Busaco fully demonstrated, but one who was too prone to think for himself and whose reputation has suffered by reason of the animosity of the Napiers (pp. 139-150). Dr. Oman

very properly refutes Napier's slip of memory in ascribing to his Light Division a march of sixty-two miles to Talavera in twenty-six hours—a physical impossibility. The actual distance covered was forty-three miles (p. 141) which was three miles less than Friant's division made in the twenty-four hours following its departure from Leopoldsdorf to join Napoleon for the battle of Austerlitz where it performed such prodigies.

Cole, Leith, Spencer, Slade, and Erskine occupy less than three pages—probably all they deserve—and Professor Oman rightly emphasizes the fact that "Wellington never trained a general who proved himself a first-rate exponent of the art of war" (p. 151), doubtless for the extremely good reason that the duke was not one himself and furthermore could brook no possible rival in his own army.

The six succeeding chapters are devoted to the organization of the British army in Spain and to its auxiliaries, the Germans and Portuguese, into the details of which it would be superfluous to enter here. Of the staff corps, one in particular deserves every encomium. "The much-cursed and criticized Commissariat succeeded in doing its duty, and the length of time for which the British army could keep concentrated was the envy of the French, who, living on the country, were forced to disperse whenever they had exhausted the resources of the particular region in which they were massed." If, as Yorck von Wartenburg has asserted, "It is indeed a characteristic, uniformly noticeable in the strategy of all the greatest generals, that they knew how to utilize their cavalry to the best advantage", Wellington cannot be included in this category since he "never used his cavalry in mass for any great separate manoeuvre" (p. 176).

Although "professional training for officers had perforce been non-existent in the early years of the French war", no less an authority than the French General Foy "considered the general mass of the British officers excellent" (pp. 203-204), his opinion contrasting markedly with that of the Iron Duke who, no less petty and unjust on one hand than he was great on the other, often denounced everyone in his army—"the officers as ignorant of their duty, the rank and file as little better than a rabble" (p. 205). It must be confessed that he did have a choice collection of *mauvais sujets* under him—jailbirds, pickpockets, footpads, *et id omne genus*—attracted by the enormous bounties offered for volunteers. Small wonder that Professor Oman is obliged to devote an entire chapter (xiv.) to the discipline and court-martials of gentry of this sort, insomuch as "for the rank and file flogging was the universal panacea"—the number of strokes ranging from a minimum of twenty-five to a maximum of 1200, sufficient to kill most men but, luckily, only awarded nine or ten times during the entire six years of the war (p. 237). Growsome as are the details of this chapter, they are relieved by several sprightly stories, one of which is quite worthy of repetition, illustrating the business acumen and ready wit of a corporal and private

belonging to the 88th regiment who formed part of a detachment sent to St. João da Pesqueira for wine for the soldiers. They started with a pair of fine white bullocks and brought back two scrawny blacks. At their court-martial they were confronted with this fact and asked what they had to say. Whereupon

Private Charles Reilly, noways abashed at this, which every one thought a poser, and ready with any excuse to save himself from punishment, immediately exclaimed, "Och! please your honour, and wasn't the white beasts lazy, and didn't we bate them until they were black?" The court was not quite satisfied of the truth of this wonderful metamorphosis, and they were condemned to be punished (*see* General Order, Freneda, January 22, 1812)—the corporal to be broke and get 700 lashes, Reilly to get 500. But in consideration of the great gallantry displayed by the 88th at the storm of Ciudad Rodrigo a few days before, the culprits were in the end pardoned (p. 247).

Chapter xv. cites the anonymous introduction to the second edition of *Selected General Orders* published by Gurwood in 1837, and one may search in vain for a better or more comprehensive picture of a British army on the march in Napoleonic times. It is followed by another on Impedimenta of which Wellington's forces certainly had a superabundance. General Foy pithily remarked that,

To look at the mass of impedimenta and camp-followers trailing behind the British, you would think that you were beholding the army of Darius. Only when you have met them in the field do you realize that you have to do with the soldiers of Alexander (p. 268).

Some twelve pages are devoted to notes of sieges, followed by a chapter on uniforms and weapons, and it is interesting to learn that the Tommy Atkins of that day carried a kit weighing some sixty pounds (p. 295) and a Tower musket—familiarily known as "Brown Bess"—the effective range of which was about three hundred yards only, while real accuracy was questionable over one hundred yards (p. 301). Of swords the variety was well-nigh infinite, the rifleman, devoid of bayonet, having as his second weapon "a very short and curved sword, more useful for wood-chopping than anything else" (p. 303).

The final chapter treats of things spiritual and the "fighting parsons" of various creeds, whose rôle was oftentimes difficult in that motley aggregation of unruly spirits which fought under the Iron Duke.

To the military student and to the general reader interested in the armies of those stirring Napoleonic times, or in vivid pictures of gallant leaders and of a rank and file which, notwithstanding many defects, have left an imperishable name in the annals of war, the reviewer, judging from the pleasure and profit that he has derived from Dr. Oman's unique work, can give no better advice than the scriptural exhortation, "Go and do thou likewise".

FREDERIC LOUIS HUIDEKOPER.

*The Girlhood of Queen Victoria: a Selection from Her Majesty's Diaries between the Years 1832 and 1840.* Published by authority of His Majesty the King, edited by Viscount ESHER, G.C.B., G.C.V.O. In two volumes. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company; London: John Murray. 1912. Pp. xiv, 398; xii, 382.)

THE diary of Queen Victoria, commenced in 1832, became, before completion, a very extensive personal history. In all, the manuscript runs to one hundred bound volumes. What portion after this may be made available, and how soon publication would be advisable, rests with the present sovereign to determine. The preparation of the first installment, which appears under the editor's title of *The Girlhood of Queen Victoria*, was sanctioned by the late King Edward. It contains selections from the queen's journal written between 1832 and 1840—from the Princess Victoria's thirteenth year to the time of her marriage.

Upon what principle the portions preferred for publication were chosen, the editor has not explained. Without meaning to be ungracious, for Viscount Esher's solicitation in procuring the manuscript puts us under obligation, it must be said, nevertheless, that some reference to the omitted portions ought to have been made. The method of editing was conditioned presumably by the class of readers for whom these two volumes seem to have been intended. Students of English history were not in the editor's mind; but rather the large section of the English reading public that finds an especial interest in royal families and in the personalities of court life. This would account for much that otherwise calls for criticism; as, for example, the number of superfluous biographical foot-notes, often of a commonplace character. Perhaps it might explain also the ill-advised choice of title, misleading as to the form of the text. When the simple and less personal expression—*Journal of Queen Victoria, 1832-1840*—would have been sufficient, and obviously more intelligible, it is not easy to see why *Girlhood of Queen Victoria* should have been put forward so infelicitously. The editor shows a similar lack of discrimination when he allows himself to speak of Charles Greville (I. 15) as a "persistent eavesdropper"—an unpardonable phrase.

It is more agreeable to turn from this mistaken zeal of editorial activity to the substance of the journal itself; difficult though it is to appraise it adequately. With so much material for the early-Victorian period bearing directly or indirectly upon the queen, there cannot but be a strong interest attaching to the queen's own version of incidents, some of them of constitutional importance, with which she was associated. The diary is mostly narrative, written in a plain, straightforward style. The first half confirms the prevailing impression that the queen received from her tutors an education of very middle-class limitations. The second half reveals the decision of character with which she adapted

herself to her position subsequent to 1837. But, after all, the historical value of this early part of the journal lies not in the light thrown upon the queen, but upon Lord Melbourne, and his position as constitutional adviser. The memoirs and biographies of the period all bear witness to the nature of Lord Melbourne's task; but nothing more complete could be desired than the queen's own record of the tact and wisdom Melbourne displayed day by day in his advisory capacity. References to Peel, Wellington, Brougham, the King of the Belgians, to Baron Stockmar and to the prince consort are not without value as contemporary material. To some, perhaps, it will be new to know that the letter concerned in the "Bedchamber Question" of 1839, in which the queen declared it "repugnant to her feelings" to part with certain Whig ladies of her court, was not composed by the queen herself, as is implied rather loosely in May and elsewhere, but was copied from an original draft furnished by Melbourne, which the members of his cabinet had approved. A few minor points such as this comprise all the material distinctively new that these volumes have to offer. Their value consists in the additional evidence which they afford, from an unusual source, of much that has already appeared in other forms.

It is to be hoped that a further installment may soon be forthcoming.

C. E. FRYER.

*La Giovinezza del Conte di Cavour: Saggi storici secondo Lettere e Documenti inediti.* Per FRANCESCO RUFFINI, Professore ordinario nella Regia Università da Torino. In two volumes. (Turin: Fratelli Bocca. 1912. Pp. xlviii, 376; 422.)

OF the many publications upon Cavour which have appeared since 1910, the centenary of the great Italian statesman's birth, this is by far the most important as a contribution of new biographical material. Professor Ruffini is the author of valuable works upon ecclesiastical law, but he now enters the field of the Risorgimento for the first time, having been drawn into it by investigations of Cavour's famous formula, "A free church in a free state". By chance some years ago Ruffini happened upon an unpublished group of letters addressed by Cavour to his cousin Baroness Adèle Maurice and her husband, 1828-1845. This formed the nucleus of the new documents given in the present work; to them were added important letters from Cavour's papers now preserved at Santena, some of which had been previously given by Domenico Berti in his *Il Conte di Cavour avanti il 1848*—and other important documents.

In the editing of documents Ruffini is much more conscientious than Berti. Many of the Santena letters were given in fragments loosely translated into Italian by Berti; in the present work they have been reproduced in the original French, with close accuracy and in full. As a student of the period of the Maurice letters Ruffini shows himself better equipped than any biographer of Cavour's earlier life. He has made

a painstaking study of the political developments and intellectual influences of the time, particularly in France and Switzerland whence Cavour drew freely for his intellectual and moral nourishment. His biographical researches regarding the persons who figured in Cavour's environment or are mentioned in his letters, are minute and erudite, bringing together much hitherto neglected material, and his notes, which are well indexed, form a complete biographical and topographical commentary. As an expositor of the ideas and political and social doctrine of Cavour's youth and early manhood Ruffini has made a noteworthy advance over the efforts of his predecessors. His attitude toward Cavour is that of the hero-worshipper—but of the hero-worshipper thoroughly trained in the methods of severe historical criticism. He would conceal nothing, pass over nothing. Cavour is the first Italian in centuries who has weighed upon the destinies of the world. For the historian "nothing which relates to him can be considered too small, or insignificant, or superfluous, for genius has the virtue of changing into historical gold whomsoever and whatsoever it may touch" (I. xlviii). "An unpublished letter of Cavour appears to us to be sacred and *intangibile*" (I. xlv). To the dramatist-biographer these statements might seem to promise an indiscriminate mass of—for the most part futile—biographical detail; but the reader of these volumes will be forced to admit the justice of Ruffini's view in so far as it relates to the material which he has in hand. Cavour's mind matured at a remarkably early age. His interest in the world of politics was profound at eighteen. At that age he formulated his disbelief in the propaganda of universal peace on the ground that in the actual state of civilization it would only serve the cause of absolutism. And from this position he never moved throughout his life. At that time he wrote a powerful letter against hasty suppression of capital punishment, and opposing international arbitration, with the observation that as despotic and reactionary governments were in the majority, arbitration would be hurtful to the cause of liberty. "Civilize yourselves, educate yourselves, and then you will be delivered from the scourge of war" (I. 64). At the same time he declared his belief in the nobleness of the future work of civilizing Africa and of its utility to nations already civilized—a work in which Italy has entered with enthusiasm eighty-two years afterward. This remarkable letter is one of many preserved at Santena which were carelessly summarized, each in a few lines, by Berti, and which Ruffini now gives as practically unpublished.

One of Ruffini's most important new documents is the fragment of a letter written by Cavour in 1832, which was intercepted by the Austrian police, and for which historians have been searching for more than thirty years (I. 143-144). In it he forecasts French intervention in favor of small states whose independence might be violated by Prussia or Austria—the keynote of his international policy for the liberation of Italy twenty-six years later. In an unpublished letter of 1824 we find Cavour already bitterly censuring Massimo d'Azeglio (I. 211-212), and in an-

other of 1835 the importance of de Tocqueville's influence upon Cavour is established beyond doubt (I. 275). Cavour's letters throughout his early years reveal most of the main lines of the political and social philosophy which guided him later in public life. Of no other statesman of equal weight in the world's history is this true to a similar extent. In the face of these letters the charge can never be maintained against Cavour that during public life he was an opportunist in his principles.

A signal merit of Ruffini's work is the moderation shown throughout toward all parties and sects. Unlike many writers upon the Risorgimento, he never confuses the mission of the historian with that of the reformer or of the politician; he refrains from making use of Cavour's doctrines as cudgels with which to batter his own pet antipathies. The work is characterized throughout by fine accuracy of detail. Some errors there are, as in the use of the word "ambassador" for "minister" in different parts of the narrative in referring to diplomatic representatives; but it would be unfair to dwell upon trifling points in view of Ruffini's general scrupulous accuracy. It is a pleasure to note the several indications which these volumes contain of the writer's intention to continue researches in his new field until he has exhausted all available unpublished sources in efforts to make a definitive life of Cavour possible. The confidence of Cavour's heirs, which Ruffini enjoys, has procured for him many of the valuable documents used in his present work and promises fruitful results for his future labors; his work has already received recognition in his appointment upon the government committee entrusted with the publication of the forthcoming national edition of the complete works of Cavour, which is destined to bring out rich stores of unpublished material.

H. NELSON GAY.

*La Principessa Clotilde di Savoia: Biografia e Lettere.* Per P. L. FANFANI, O.P. (Grottaferrata: Tipografia Italo-orientale "S. Nilo". 1913. Pp. 169.)

PRINCESS CLOTILDE, daughter of Victor Emmanuel II., wife of Prince Napoleon (Jerome), and mother of Prince Victor Napoleon, is a personage who merits fuller notice in the history of modern Europe than has been generally accorded to her. Not only is her biography of interest for the light which it casts upon the character of two great dynasties, but it is to be remembered that it was upon her personal choice that the destinies of Italy and of Europe are believed to have at one moment depended. When Cavour and Napoleon III. conspired at Plombières in 1858 to provoke war with Austria and recast the map of Central Europe, the French emperor was so earnest in urging the marriage of Clotilde with Prince Napoleon (Jerome) as to persuade Cavour that while the Franco-Piedmontese alliance might be possible, yet it would have little practical value, if this marriage were not contracted. Victor Emmanuel left the matter to be decided by Clotilde of her free will—or more cor-

rectly, "to be settled by her with Cavour"—and after long consultation with her confessor and nine days of prayer to the Virgin, she gave on December 8, 1858, a favorable answer. It is customary to speak of her as having been "sacrificed" in her marriage, but it may be asked whether Prince Napoleon was not sacrificed also. She had slight personal charm, nor were her mental qualities and religious views of the sort that could appeal to such a high liver and free thinker as the prince.

It was as a mother rather than as a wife that Clotilde's influence, exerted in the shadow of two thrones, was most felt. Her strong character well illustrates the leading family traits of the House of Savoy—courage, devotion to duty, prudence. She was religious to the verge of bigotry; her time was spent as far as possible in the company of priests, her tastes were those of the cloister rather than of the court, and in 1871 she became a sister in the Third Order of St. Dominic. Had she been born two generations earlier her life would doubtless have been happier. After reading the volume of Father Fanfani, which is the only biography of Clotilde which has yet been published, one understands better what priestly influence meant in the councils and court life even of her later ancestors, Victor Emmanuel I., Charles Felix, and Charles Albert, and one better appreciates the significance of the changes since wrought in Italy. But Clotilde's religious convictions gave her firmness and confidence in making the supreme decisions of her life. The first was that of her marriage. The second was made in August, 1870, when Victor Emmanuel had sent to urge her to leave Paris for Italy. The full text of her noble reply is reprinted by Fanfani from the *Corriere della Sera* of 1911, where it was first published; it reflects the courage and pride of her race: "My duty is to remain here so long as I can, if necessary to remain and die here; one cannot fly before danger. . . . The good of my husband, of my children, of my country demands that I remain here. The honor of my name, your honor, dear Papa, the honor of my native country. . . . I am not a Princess of the House of Savoy for nothing. . . . To leave when our country is in danger would be dishonor and eternal shame" (pp. 26-27). The student who compares these sentiments with those of the Bourbon and Austrian rulers who deserted their Italian dominions at the first suggestion of danger in the days of the Risorgimento will understand better why it is that the House of Savoy rules in Italy to-day.

Fanfani's volume is animated by religious fervor rather than by single love of historical truth, and it is to be hoped that a biography may soon be forthcoming that will exhibit the life of Clotilde in a fuller light.

H. N. G.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Manuel d'Archéologie Américaine (Amérique Préhistorique: Civilisations Disparues)*. Par H. BEUCHAT. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1912. Pp. xli, 773.)



THE author, Professor H. Beuchat, is a well-known French archaeologist, who, of late, has devoted considerable time to a study of the aborigines of the New World. His book evinces a great deal of research, but it is unfortunate that he has not consulted recent American publications on the subject. A study of his bibliography indicates that he has not included the important writings of Professor W. C. Mills on the Ohio prehistoric sites, the later reports of C. B. Moore, and some other works. It might have been better for Professor Beuchat to have paid less attention to some of the earlier publications cited in his pages. There are a number of papers relating to cave exploration which he should have consulted. He does not appear to know that an extensive classification of American stone artifacts has been established.

But these criticisms are of minor importance compared with the general commendation which should be given his work. We have had no manual of American archaeology since the days of Dr. Thomas's *Introduction to the Study of American Archaeology*. Although there are several American archaeologists whose competency to write such a volume is unquestioned, none has done so, and the credit of producing an important publication treating of the American Indians in the broadest sense belongs to this distinguished Frenchman.

Professor Beuchat, as have other writers, takes the position that the Norsemen first discovered extreme northeast America, but that the points visited cannot be accurately determined. His references to various publications are quite complete. He thinks that the washing ashore, on the west coast of Europe, of a few native American objects, may have suggested the existence of a new continent (p. 40).

The historical section—the various voyages and discoveries—furnishes us with little that is new, yet it presents the reader with essential facts in a brief and pleasing manner.

The chapters devoted to glacial and palaeolithic man present the opposing views concerning the existence of very primitive culture in North America. The author remarks, however, that French archaeologists consider most of the Trenton implements to be of the quaternary period.

M. Beuchat discusses through several chapters the mounds and earthworks of the Mississippi Valley, and the objects found therein. However, he follows Thomas too closely, and Thomas, as modern exploration has proved, thought pretty much everything in the way of mound or enclosures to be of modern origin. The author falls in some respects into the errors committed by Thomas. The several and separate cultures of mound-building peoples might be emphasized more clearly. Yet there is much of value in the observations made, and European students will profit by reading Beuchat's pages.

Of the cliff and pueblo houses and the cultures evinced in the Southwest, the author's remarks are well worth our consideration. His authorities are Nordenskiöld, Howes, Jackson, Fewkes, and others—

all competent observers. American, as well as European students, will welcome the somewhat lengthy descriptions of Central and South American cultures. Aside from reports upon the well-known Mayan and Aztec ruined cities, we have had far too little on this interesting subject.

The author describes the various discoveries of supposedly early human cultures. The most ancient remains up to the present time, in the opinion of M. Beuchat, were those found by Lund in the caverns of Minas Geraes. He advocates more thorough investigations as to the antiquity of man in America—to which we will all agree.

By far the longest and most complete descriptions are those given to Central and South America and the Bahamas. Pages 229 to 728 are devoted to these cultures, and the illustrations are numerous, although small. Of the 262 figures, the greater number relate to the Central and South American arts and architecture. The treatment is as complete as the student might wish.

In his conclusions, M. Beuchat states that the opportunity for research in South America is greater than in North America with reference to the possible discovery of fossil man.

Several types may be recognized in America, but as yet anthropological studies of skin, hair, skeletal remains, or languages have not determined the origin of the American race. As to the theory of Asiatic origin Beuchat states that those who maintain this hypothesis do not take into account the physical difficulties—the great distances—the well-nigh impossibility that large bodies of men should journey from Asia *via* Behring to America. He considers the similarities between Mongolians and Indians as superficial. He cannot form a theory satisfactory to himself explaining the origin of our aborigines. The cultures he considers as rather low, except in Mexico and Central America. He observes that these cultures are different from those found elsewhere in the world. Three things constituting civilization he finds absent—domestic animals, the use of the wheel, and iron. He places considerable stress upon this fact. That the Mexicans did not discover the properties of ores, and thus produce iron and other metals, seems inexplicable. Restrained in their developments, the Americans did not develop up to their capabilities. The influence of America was not felt in Europe until European colonies had been established.

As a text-book the work is to be commended.

WARREN K. MOOREHEAD.

*The Colonial Period.* By CHARLES McLEAN ANDREWS, Ph.D., L.H.D., Farnam Professor of American History, Yale University. [The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company; London: Williams and Norgate. 1912. Pp. vii, 256.)

THIS little book, coming from the pen of one of the principal leaders

of the new school of historical writers on the colonies, emphasizes, as was to be expected, the imperial point of view and studies the American colonies with reference to the system of which they formed a part. The volume is typical of the reaction that has taken place among American scholars in the past fifteen years under the leadership of Professors Andrews, Osgood, and others against the older and provincial point of view. These older writers, neglecting the mother-country, fixed their attention almost exclusively upon the life and institutions of the colonies as isolated jurisdictions, with the resulting presentation of a picture crowded with minute details, without unity and with an unnatural perspective. The new point of view which regards the colonies as an integral part of the British Empire, is fortunately receiving increasing recognition. This is succinctly expressed by Professor Andrews in his preface, in the following words: "If we are to understand the colonies, not only at the time of their revolt, but also throughout their history from the beginning, we must study the policy and administration at home and follow continuously the efforts which were made, on the side of Great Britain to hold the colonies in a state of dependence and on the side of the colonies to obtain a more or less complete control of their own affairs." He thus recognizes the necessity of studying the British colonial system as a unit by presenting the chief factors both in the mother-country and in the colonies, as also the relation between them. This he does by writing from "the vantage ground of their origin" and viewing the colonies from some point outside of themselves. "To the scholar", he remarks, "there is only one point of observation, that of the mother country from which they came and to whom they were legally subject."

In carrying out this plan, the author has arranged his material in ten chapters as follows: two chapters are devoted to the two chief periods of settlement (1607-1640, 1655-1682); two to the development of the political, social, and economic life of the colonies; two to the Navigation Acts and the imperial administration chiefly in the eighteenth century; two to the colonies' struggle for self-control and evasion of the acts of Parliament, and two to the early attempts at colonial union, culminating in the Stamp Act Congress's resistance to the new parliamentary measures. The simple enumeration of the subject-matter of the chapters is sufficient to indicate the comprehensive and well-balanced character of the work. A closer acquaintance with its pages proves that they could have been written only by a master in the field. Probably there is no scholar of the period so well qualified as Professor Andrews to prepare such a résumé of the colonial period. His familiarity with the wealth of original material, resulting from the unusual opportunities afforded for research in the British Archives, in connection with the preparation of the *Guide* to the material relating to the colonies, for the Carnegie Institution, and his extended studies in the field of colonial administration have given him undoubted command of this phase of the subject.

Owing to the brevity of the work and the comprehensive plan of the writer, it has been necessary to omit the details and the romance of colonization, but sufficient attention has been given to the subject to demonstrate "how the settlements represent the outworking of important commercial, religious and political influences in England". The fundamental differences in the political organization and economic life of the various colonies, as also the contrast between the conditions and institutions of the colonies and the mother-land are briefly but for the purpose in view adequately treated. It is also worthy of note that all the British colonies in North America are included in this survey, not simply the original thirteen. Professor Andrews truly states, "No distinction existed between them in colonial times and none should be made now by the writer on colonial history." As already has been intimated, the distinctive contribution made by this little volume is through the fresh, clear, and simple presentation of the origin and development of the system of imperial administration. There is a wealth of information and illustration relative to the various phases of colonial administration comprised in the seventy-five pages of chapters VI.-VIII., much of which it would be difficult to find available elsewhere in print. But what is more remarkable than the encyclopaedic knowledge which commands our admiration and recognition is not only the author's grasp upon the material, but also his skill in presenting so scholarly, illuminating, and interesting a review of the colonial period within the compass of two hundred and fifty pages. The work, indeed, is a brilliant and masterly piece of condensation.

Those who have found this little volume of so much value, will be gratified to learn that it is the forerunner of a larger and more special study of the British administrative system, upon which Professor Andrews is now engaged.

HERMAN V. AMES.

*The Barrington-Bernard Correspondence and illustrative Matter, 1760-1770.* Drawn from the "Papers of Sir Francis Bernard" (sometime Governor of Massachusetts-Bay). Edited by EDWARD CHANNING, Ph.D., and ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, Ph.D., Professors of History, Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies, vol. XVII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University; London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press. 1912. Pp. xxiii, 306.)

THIS volume of unofficial correspondence between Governor Bernard of Massachusetts and Lord Barrington, a prominent official in the mother-country, is a welcome addition to the gradually growing list of printed sources. Confidential communications of this nature often reveal much that is hidden in the official despatches and, as a rule, their testimony carries conviction. There is extant a not inconsiderable mass

of such documents bearing on the history of the old British Empire. They can be found scattered throughout the personal papers of men like Coventry, Blathwayt, Wilmington, and Newcastle; and a number have been printed in the various reports of the British Historical Manuscripts Commission as well as in such collections as those containing the published correspondence of Randolph, Belcher, and Shirley. But this volume is unique in that the communications are entirely unofficial and, moreover, in most instances both the original letter and the reply are printed. The material was extracted from the voluminous Bernard Papers, which Jared Sparks purchased in England some sixty years ago and which now belong to the Library of Harvard University. In addition to these letters, the editors have printed in the appendixes some valuable illustrative documents from the same source.

These letters, it is true, add little to what was already known of this critical period in imperial history, but they are very valuable for the light they throw upon the spirit of the administrative system. Especially illuminating are Bernard's frank and explicit remarks about the relative importance and financial value of the various colonial governorships. Similarly, his persistent and protracted efforts to secure for one of his sons the reversion of the post of naval officer at Boston give an excellent insight into the forces controlling such appointments.

In general, Bernard appears to far better advantage than in the pages of the current American history of the Bancroft school; his portrait there as a blundering fomenter of friction is largely an imaginary one. Barrington, who is usually represented as an honest official with no firm political convictions, also appears in a more favorable light. He had both firm principles and political views; and, on one occasion chronicled here, he showed a delicate sense of honor, rare at all times and totally at variance with the traditional view of eighteenth-century political morality. In 1761, complaints against the collector of the customs at Boston had been forwarded to the proper authorities in England by Bernard; and, in addition, he unofficially explained the case to Barrington. Shortly before this Barrington had been made chancellor of the Exchequer and thus had acquired considerable influence in deciding the fate of this Treasury official. But he refrained from interfering, because, so he wrote, he thought it "would be unfair" on account of his relation to Bernard. The editors' gibe at Barrington as one of the "most successful of placemen who for three and thirty years fed at the public crib" is good literature but questionable history.

These letters also throw some light on Lord Botetourt's appointment in 1768 as governor of Virginia in succession to Amherst. It was charged at the time in the pages of *Junius* and in other sheets that this step was taken in order to provide for a needy courtier. This gossip has been repeated in many subsequent histories and is evidently accepted by the editors, who write that "the necessity for providing for Lord Botetourt" prevented Bernard from being transferred to Virginia.

Barrington's account should effectually dispose of this version. According to him, the state of Virginia was so alarming that it was thought necessary "a *Governor* and a man of great distinction" should reside there. As Amherst refused to assume the duties of his office, he added, "Lord Botetourt has been appointed in his room, a man every way fit for the business he has undertaken." In a subsequent letter, Barrington further wrote: "The News Papers have assigned other reasons for Lord Botetourt's appointment; but without the least ground. He never had an Idea of going to America till it was proposed to him."

GEORGE LOUIS BEER.

*Writings of John Quincy Adams.* Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD. Volume I., 1779-1796. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1913. Pp. xxiv, 508.)

"I HAVE, indeed, had little apprehension of incurring the censure of writing too little", wrote John Quincy Adams to his father from the Hague. "My principal fear has been lest the charge of an opposite fault should be applicable. . . . I have sometimes given a latitude to opinions upon actors and events, which perhaps will be thought indiscreet." Whatever opinion the Secretary of State may have entertained of the discursive communications of this young diplomat, posterity has reason to be grateful to him for "descending into the detail of minute circumstances". Every reader of the monumental *Memoirs* knows the variety and wealth of his observations during a half-century of public service and a residence of a quarter-century at European courts. Indeed, one's first feeling is that of wonder that the archives of the Adams family can be made to yield sufficient new material to warrant a series of volumes of unpublished writings. This initial volume demonstrates that the undertaking is of first-rate importance.

While the primary purpose of the editor has been to print material relating chiefly to the public life of the second Adams, he has included many letters of rare biographical interest. For a period of nine years (April, 1785, to June, 1794), an important formative period in the life of Adams, the *Memoirs* are a blank; and the portions of the *Diary* published subsequently cover only the years 1787-1789. A score of letters judiciously selected from his correspondence with members of his family, therefore, adds materially to our knowledge of the young lawyer on the threshold of his career. He shared the fate of most young barristers. "I gain my causes", he wrote despondently to his brother Charles, "but I get no business". During this period of enforced idleness, he was drawn into politics, much against his conscience. "I have been really apprehensive of becoming politically known before I could establish a *professional* reputation", he wrote to his father. The publication of Paine's *Rights of Man* in 1791 provoked him to his first essay as a publicist. Under the pen-name *Publicola*, he addressed twelve letters

to the *Columbian Centinel* which were at once attributed to John Adams and brought upon the author much pointless abuse. These essays are reprinted for the first time. Immediately upon the proclamation of neutrality, young Adams hastened to the defense of the administration, under the pseudonym *Marcellus*. Later in the year, as *Columbus*, he vigorously denounced the conduct of the French minister Genet. Both of these contributions to the polemic literature of the day are reprinted from the *Centinel*. "I see very plainly whither your bark is tending", wrote his brother Charles in 1794, apropos of his part in a Boston town-meeting, when he "came forward and acquired much honor". "You must be your father's own son, notwithstanding the rocks he has pointed out to you." It was the articles by *Columbus* which, according to John Adams, earned for the author the regard of President Washington, and his first diplomatic appointment. On May 30, 1794, he was commissioned as minister to the Netherlands, at the age of twenty-six.

From the numerous and lengthy despatches of the young diplomat at the Hague, the editor has selected twenty-nine, chiefly with a view to supplying the gaps in the *Memoirs*. A hiatus between October 31, 1794, and January 1, 1795, for example, has been closed partially by eight letters to the Secretary of State and by several letters to John Adams. The fragmentary account in the *Memoirs* of Adams's mission to England, in connection with the ratification of the Jay treaty, is supplemented by both private and official correspondence. In an interesting letter to Timothy Pickering, acting secretary, December 5, 1795, the editor has inserted an important paragraph (p. 446), which was omitted from the text printed in the *Memoirs* (p. 159). If we may trust the letters written in confidence to his father, Adams had little taste for this English mission—possibly because his heart was at this time otherwise involved. He doubted his qualifications as a diplomat. "I have been accustomed all my life to plain dealing and candor", he wrote, "and am not sufficiently versed in the art of political swindling to be prepared for negotiating with an European Minister of State." That his superiors did not share this low opinion of his talents was abundantly proved by his immediate appointment as minister plenipotentiary to Portugal.

From time to time, especially when writing to his father, Adams searches his own soul with Puritan rigor. A single chance observation reveals a salient quality of character and projects the reader far into the storm and stress of his later career. "The struggle against a popular clamor is not without its charms in my mind. Nothing great or valuable among men was ever achieved without the counterpoise of strong opposition, and the persecution that proceeds from opinion becomes itself a title to esteem, when opinion is found to have been erroneous."

It is a guarantee of the excellence of the workmanship of this series that Mr. Worthington Ford has undertaken the editorial management. This first volume, carefully annotated, satisfies every demand of the reader.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

*History of Ohio: the Rise and Progress of an American State.* By EMILIUS O. RANDALL and DANIEL J. RYAN. In five volumes. (New York: The Century History Company. 1912. Pp. xix, 496; xx, 600; xviii, 455; xiii, 541; ix, 447.)

THE publishers of these five pretentious volumes about Ohio have done their part well. They have provided an attractive binding, excellent paper, a pleasing font of type, and an abundance of illustrative material, largely, however, in the form of pictures of many of the distinguished men who played a part in the making of the commonwealth. Their work deserves mention first because it stamps the character of the volumes. These were written largely with the purpose of magnifying Ohio and its great citizens rather than with the idea of furnishing that impartial and critical analysis of men and of measures demanded of the modern historian. The secondary title, *The Rise and Progress of an American State*, is the better one. There is plenty of material to illustrate that. As a collection of papers about Ohio and Ohioans the five volumes have great interest. They will be read with eager satisfaction by all who claim any share in the state pride felt by those who count Ohio their home commonwealth. And of such there is a myriad.

Viewed from the physical side alone the history is disappointing in its make-up. There is a lack of those features which have become so important in the minds of specialists. There is no separate bibliography of Ohio history. Where references are given they are embodied in the text. Foot-notes are not used. Essential statements and anecdotal material of relatively slight importance alike find place in the narrative. In some places lists of one sort or another occupy much space, where the relegation to an inconspicuous foot-note would answer every need. Biographical sketches are introduced frequently in connection with the story of the part played by the individual. These things are mentioned not as criticisms but as further illustrations of the statement that the *History* was prepared for the general reader, proud of his state's heritage, rather than for students of history.

The inevitable weakness of joint authorship is apparent. There is no master mind which has studied the whole period of Ohio history as a unit in itself and as a part of the larger story of American national life. This impression is emphasized by the use of the topical method of treatment, the fifth volume, indeed, being made up of a series of articles on special subjects, contributed by half a dozen writers. All through the work there are evidences of the want of co-ordination and condensation. Even when the separate essays are well developed they seem to be strung together instead of being woven into a continuous story of cumulative progress. There is an abundance of material for history-making without the finished product itself. The volumes are not well balanced. More space is devoted to prehistoric times and to the Indian history preceding statehood than is given to the century of effective endeavor commemorated by the *History*, during which Ohio gained prominent place in the sisterhood of states.



The contribution of Mr. Randall is found in the first two volumes, which treat of events in Ohio before the state was formed. His intimate knowledge of this period, gained through years of painstaking service as a careful historian and editor, is apparent. He has used the available material to good advantage. He has assembled in compact and convenient form the testimonies of those whose personal experiences in the Ohio valley have been recorded in journals of great original value. His desire to make the story both reliable and readable has been realized. Barring the criticism already made that too much space, relatively, is given to this part of the *History*, the initial volumes are commended for their interest and careful preparation.

Mr. Ryan's field is that of Ohio as a state. The third and fourth volumes are devoted to this century of growth and development. The materials are not so well organized as in the first two books and it is here that the exploitation of individual citizens at times appears too dominant. In places the text is strongly suggestive of the county history written for sale to those whose virtues are duly recorded therein. Things are mentioned as facts but the relation of those facts to the political, social, and economic development of the commonwealth, particularly as a member of a confederation of commonwealths, is not always shown in a satisfactory way. Ohio has long been known for the number and the excellence of its educational institutions. But there is entirely inadequate treatment of these in their connection with the shaping of the religious and social character of the state. The meeting and mixing of race elements from New England and from the South, with their influence upon civil, social, and religious history, does not find that examination rightly to be expected in a present-day story of state evolution. The same weakness is evident when the reader seeks for an interpretation of the political forces which have operated to give Ohio so prominent a place in the affairs of the larger nation of which it is a part. As a collector of materials Mr. Ryan has been more successful than as a keen analyzer of men, motives, and measures.

All these criticisms aside, however, this centennial *History of Ohio* will appeal strongly to state pride and will satisfy those for whom primarily it was written. It is a story of achievement with many a page of far more than ordinary interest and attractiveness.

FRANCIS W. SHEPARDSON.

*Economic Beginnings of the Far West: how We Won the Land beyond the Mississippi.* By KATHARINE COMAN. In two volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. xix, 418; 450.)

ANY history of the occupation of the trans-Mississippi West must be primarily economic, whatever its title, since the first need of the pioneers was to eat and live. Professor Coman's new book on this theme confesses itself to be a treatise on economic history, but with slight altera-

tions it might pass for a general history of the far West. It touches upon exploration and social organization as well as upon economic foundations, and it finds the same difficulty that a general history would have in maintaining either unity or proportion.

There is little unity to the region and period that Professor Coman has chosen. The western prairies and plains, the mountain plateaus, and the Pacific slope present different problems in resources, chronology, and nationality. Five nations in four centuries made various experiments in one region or another. Geographically they were all "western", but logically few of the attempts are connected in the same chain of events. "Struggle for possession", in the strictest sense, rarely occurred. Each nation tested itself upon the West, and was superseded by the next, until the advance of American agriculture and transportation swept them all aside. There is a succession of episodes, rather than a coherent contest to be described in the period of beginnings.

The main divisions of the book deal with the Spanish occupation, exploration and the fur-trade, the advance of the settlers, the transcontinental migration, and free land and free labor. The first volume in general treats of exploration and colonization, while the American occupation fills the second. The divisions vary in length and manner of treatment, and the classification is loose, chiefly because of the inherent disorganization of the material. Pike, for instance, is classed among the colonizers. Texas appears in the same category, and reappears in connection with the American advance. The Santa Fé trade is associated with this advance instead of with the transcontinental migration, although the Mormons, who stopped short of the Pacific, are catalogued with the latter.

The book has a distinct value for reference in the history of the West. It gives in one work a survey that has long been needed. Its notes and bibliography are voluminous. Some of its chapters contain the best brief treatments available for class-room use. The Mormon migration, the acquisition of Oregon, and the conquest of California are described with circumstance and vivacity. Other chapters, particularly those on the explorers, are convenient statements of facts everywhere accessible. A few are misleading and inadequate.

The thirteen-page chapter on the Pacific railway and the Homestead Act invites comparison with the fifteen pages given to La Salle, and the twelve devoted to the Seven Cities of Cibola. It ought to have been much larger, or omitted entirely. Since the decision was to regard these topics as within the scope of the book they should have been treated according to their importance as fundamental factors in the American occupation. They should not have been disfigured by statements that the pony express was operated from 1852 to 1860, or that McClellan and Mullan (who were only the subordinates of General Isaac I. Stevens), explored the railroad route from Lake Superior to Puget Sound; and they ought to have included clear summaries of the Union Pacific Act and the Homestead Act.

The book has some inaccuracies: for instance, Professor Coman takes Pike's intentions at the explorer's own statement of them (I. 48), misdates the publication of his journal (II. 75), and gives a confusing reference to Professor Bolton's edition of the confiscated papers (I. 403); she accepts Jonathan Carver without a question; on a single page (I. 234) she speaks of "consul" Genet, and refers to Washington's Secretary of War as "Attorney General Knox".

Most of the works cited in the forty-eight-page bibliography can be found in any large university library. They are not listed with bibliographical precision, and, like the notes, are clumsily arranged by chapters at the end of each volume. In the cases of many of the works of travel the author has been content to refer the reader only to the *Trail Makers* series, or to Dr. Thwaites's useful reprints.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

*History of Road Legislation in Iowa.* By JOHN E. BRINDLEY. *History of Work Accident Indemnity in Iowa.* By E. H. DOWNEY. [Iowa Economic History Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, Iowa: State Historical Society. 1912. Pp. xiii, 422; xiii, 337.)

*Applied History.* Edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. Volume I. (Iowa City: State Historical Society. 1912. Pp. xix, 638.)

HISTORICAL societies in the eastern states have generally confined their activity to the colonial and revolutionary periods, with an occasional glance at some aspect of the Civil War. In the Middle West the period of origins extends well down into the nineteenth century and it is not surprising to find the historical societies there devoting a large share of their attention to this later period. The State Historical Society of Iowa, however, has gone far beyond this and by invading the recognized domains of economics, political science, and jurisprudence, has, under the guise of economic and "applied" history achieved the extreme of practicality and "up-to-date-ness".

The *History of Road Legislation* contains more history, in the accepted sense of the term, than either of the other volumes. The subject is treated chronologically, beginning with the acts of Michigan and Wisconsin territories, and continuing down through the various stages of development from the plank-road system of the forties to the good roads movement and the state highway commission of recent times. The volume concludes with a comparative study of road legislation and an appendix which presents the present status of road administration in each of the states of the Union. The details of the numerous acts are given so fully that it is frequently difficult for the reader to grasp the significant things. Some help is afforded, however, by convenient summaries at the end of each chapter. The author's "Road Legislation in Iowa" in the *Applied History* is a rearrangement of these summaries, together with a statement of principles which should obtain in future legislation.

With reference to the *History of Work Accident Indemnity in Iowa*, one can almost paraphrase Voltaire's celebrated remark about the Holy Roman Empire. It does deal with work accident indemnity, but it is not history and it has little more application to Iowa than to any of the other states. As a general treatise on the law and economics of work accident indemnity it appears to be a scholarly and valuable work. An abridgment of this work also is included in the volume of *Applied History*. The other studies in this volume deal with the Regulation of Urban Utilities; Primary Elections; Corrupt Practices Legislation; and Tax Administration. They are all studies in comparative legislation with special reference to the needs of Iowa.

The most interesting part of this book to the student of history is the editor's introduction in which he sets forth his theory of "applied history" as "the latest chapter in the history of historical study". The term is defined as "the use of the scientific knowledge of history and experience in efforts to solve present problems of human betterment". For justification in his attempt to abolish the "fitting interval" between the studies of historians and the present day and to make history, not only enable us to understand the present, but guide our footsteps in the future, the author appeals to Robinson's *New History*. After reading the introduction one is somewhat disappointed to find that the articles do not belong to some new species of intellectual endeavor but are merely studies in economics or political science with occasional reachings back into the past such as one is accustomed to find in such studies.

The format of the volumes is excellent. They are printed in large type on good paper and substantially bound in buckram. Each is equipped with an elaborate analytical index. The notes and references have been grouped at the end, an arrangement which is most inconvenient for the reader. On the whole, the work done in these volumes was eminently worth doing and they give evidence of extensive research and careful scholarship. It is an open question, however, whether such work could not be done to better advantage by a legislative reference bureau, leaving the historical society to devote its undivided energies to the exploitation of the "past history" of the state.

SOLON J. BUCK.

*Historia de los Archivos de Cuba.* Por JOAQUÍN LLAVERÍAS, Capitán del Ejército Libertador y Jefe de la Sección de Gobierno y Correspondencia del Archivo Nacional. Prólogo de F. de P. CORONADO, Secretario de la Academia de la Historia de Cuba. (Havana: Imp. "La Universal" de Ruiz y Comp. 1912. Pp. xi, 382.)

THE mere bulk of great archival collections seems generally to deaden interest and chide initiative in their custodians, but to this rule Mr. Llaverías is an exception. Thirteen years in the archive he describes have evidently no whit chilled the ardor of his service. To one

acquainted with the heart-breaking difficulties under which he and his fellows have labored and who knows personally the whole-hearted devotion to that work of the author of this book the qualities it embodies of tenacity and enthusiasm call for appreciation before any other of its merits or demerits.

The title of the book should read "administrative", or "external" history. It is mainly a record of the successive legal bases, the internal organization and personnel, the statistics of growth and depletion and of work accomplished—so many documents received in such a year from such an office: boxes, bundles, packages, or separate; so many sacksfull burned; so many thousand expedientes indexed or legajos renumbered and reshelfed. Most of these data can of course have no interest save for a very few students, but this permanent record is nevertheless desirable. In so far as such statistics are really worthless one may reflect that even American university libraries waste their time to-day on like trivialities; and, besides, they are eminently characteristic of Spanish officialdom. If one calls to-day in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid for one legajo or a thousand every call-slip goes to the Ministry for preservation and record! Some of Mr. Llaverías's minutest entries are really of great interest. Thus, remembering how some of Spain's proudest titular honors were cheapened in Cuba by sale and politics, one starts at the item of twenty-four boxes of letters-patent of King Amadeo's medal: time failed for the marketing of that particular lot of honors. Mr. Llaverías narrates also, in detail, the physical vicissitudes of the present Archivo General, and the lesser administrative collections that preceded it, in their successive homes. The story is a frightful indictment of the governments responsible. He vastly overestimates, however, the difference he imagines to have existed in the relative treatment accorded the Peninsular and colonial archives (pp. 2, 121, 209). Both were equally the prey of a corrupt, disjointed, kaleidoscopic, lethargic, and benighted administration. But nothing in the colonial period approaches in destructive barbarism the moving of the archive in 1906, with street-cleaners, chutes, and garbage carts, under the republic (pp. 267-270).

The data given respecting the destruction of documents considered worthless (pp. 32, 47, 58, 67-70, 93, 106, 197-198, 288; cf. 229, 244) explain the paucity in the archive, to-day, of eighteenth-century records, particularly of the eastern provinces and of an economic nature. The materials for the older history must be sought in Spain; and there only little material is preserved. Odd remnants remain in Havana. Doubtless much of this destruction was needless. The reviewer has utilized legajos of eighteenth-century financial records of Florida literally eaten into lacework by worms, and bound in a solid mass with their deposits; yet even such records will yield their data under patient inquiry.

In the prologue to this book by Mr. Coronado, that gentleman credits Mr. Llaverías with things the latter neither accomplishes nor attempts.

He does not, namely, tell us what papers the archive now contains—save, indeed, as above indicated, and excepting a summary tabular statement (pp. 325-327; cf. 115-116 and chapter 25). For that information one must go to the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (1902 to date)—the credit for initiating which is claimed by Mr. Llaverías (p. 246)—and to Mr. Perez's *Guide* (Washington, 1907). Neither is it true that the author "exhausts the subject" from 1538 onward. To the five pages that bring the narrative down to 1810 many other interesting details might have been added. Moreover, both Mr. Coronado and Mr. Llaverías lack precise information on two matters of primary importance; namely, the great shipments of papers to Spain in 1888-1889 and 1898. As regards the latter (pp. x, 210) it is strange that the author should have overlooked the analysis of those papers given in the *Revista de Archivos* (Madrid, 1901, p. 826); and though he does cite the royal order that commanded their removal to the castle at Segovia, it remains to be added that only the military papers (about 3600 legajos out of a total of 5206 legajos, 928 printed volumes, and 635 manuscript books—partly of the Philippines and Porto Rico) were, in fact, eventually so disposed of. All the papers were piled for a time in the court of one of the ministries in Madrid, where they were exposed to rain. Much, at least, of the portion now in the basement of the Archivo Histórico Nacional is in horrible condition; and presumably the same is true of the portion at Segovia.

Of the 2341 legajos remitted in 1888-1889 Mr. Llaverías prints in full the official inventories (pp. 143-191, cf. 138-139 and 196). This shipment included 724 legajos organized as collections, specifically, of Louisiana, East Florida, West Florida, and New Orleans (respectively 186, 211, 289, and 38 legajos), 119 relative to Santo Domingo, 256 relative to the continental colonies, 1230 relative to Cuba, and 12 unclassified. Of these last four groups, moreover, some hundreds of other legajos relate, in whole or in part, to Louisiana and the Floridas. It is extraordinary that Mr. Llaverías should not know, or state, that of most of the office archive of the captains general (1216 legajos) and of most of the West Florida collection, there exists in Havana an index (which should have accompanied the documents to Spain). Such defects in the account of matters so important compel doubts as to how far the book can be assumed to be either reliable or exhaustive in its lesser details.

It should be added that Mr. Roscoe R. Hill has just completed an examination, for the Carnegie Institution, of most of those legajos remitted in 1888-1889 which concern the Floridas and Louisiana, in facilitation of which it was the reviewer's privilege to make known to the Institution the existence of the index above mentioned—and his report will supplant the brief (and misleading) references in Dr. Shepherd's *Guide* (Washington, 1907, pp. 77-79).

Specific references to Louisiana and Florida records occur on some forty pages, almost all of which can be located through the index, which is uncommonly satisfactory.

FRANCIS S. PHILBRICK.

*Independencia de América: Fuentes para su Estudio. Catálogo de Documentos conservados en el Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla. Primera Serie.* By PEDRO TORRES LANZAS, Jefe del Archivo de Indias. In six volumes. (Madrid. 1912. Pp. xiv, 464; 510; 526; 558; 584; 152.)

OF the many confusing periods in the still unknown history of Spanish America, there is none more puzzling to the student than that which includes the wars of independence. Never have the causes, progress, and consequences of the revolt of the colonies been given the scientific investigation that they deserve. The details of the struggle, as they may concern a particular country or some prominent individual, have been chosen often enough for narration; but the exposition does not rest on an elaborate and impartial use of original material. Accordingly, the appearance of the six preliminary volumes of what promises to be an extensive calendar of the documents on the subject available in the General Archive of the Indies at Seville is most gratifying. That they are published under the immediate supervision of the director of the archive, Señor Pedro Torres Lanzas, already well known for his contributions to cartography, affords confidence in the accuracy of the compilation.

The volumes in question cover the years 1546-1842. They supply 8000 items, of which fourteen, relating chiefly to the ancestry of Miranda, Bolivar, and Sucre, are dated prior to 1750, and forty-eight after 1826, the great bulk naturally falling between 1808 and 1826. Arranged in chronological order, the extracts give the date, the place where the document was written, an outline of the subject-matter, and the shelf-number. The reference to place of origin, however, is not always cited, and the locality where any particular event occurred has to be determined at times from the text of the item, or from a geographical allusion in the shelf-number itself. If the documents bear the same date, no especial order is observable. The sixth volume contains an index of names and places, the usefulness of which is much impaired by its arrangement of items according to separate volumes instead of continuously through all five.

In the introduction the editor raises the question: "Who knows the history of the independence of America from the Spanish viewpoint?" Yet, in some measure at least, it was precisely because the early work of Torrente, the only important treatise on the general course of the struggle, is so pro-Spanish in tone that Spanish-American writers have dealt with the matter in an equally partizan fashion on the other side. The query, indeed, arouses a suspicion lest the present compilation should have been made on the basis of a selection of material quite as unfair; but a close examination of the contents of the several volumes serves to dispel the thought.

Out of the enormous mass of documents preserved at Seville, and soon to be swelled by the papers relating to America which are found

in the archives at Madrid, the compiler has striven, conscientiously it would seem, to bring together only some of the most important. He alludes frankly (p. xiii) to the total omission of any reference to the rebellion of Tupac Amaro (*sic*), for example, and calls attention to the relatively limited number of items bearing upon such incidents as the uprisings in Bogotá and Mexico, the formation of juntas, the work of Miranda, the attempt of the British to seize Buenos Ayres, and the recognition of Ferdinand VII. For some reason, also, the illustrative documents, which the compiler declares (p. ix) were to be inserted at the close of the fifth volume, are not forthcoming. Typographical slips now and then warn the student to be careful about his dates. A brief description of the mode of classification followed in the General Archive of the Indies would have enabled the worker unfamiliar with the arrangement to fix more readily the scene of action associated with a document. In the same connection it would have been interesting to learn just what portions of the entire collection have been levied upon for the present volumes.

Apart from the great value that the calendar has in other respects, two features deserve special remark. Of these one reveals the extent to which the idea of independence had been developing long before the revolution began, and the other, how exceedingly complex the struggle was. Nowhere else in print is the emphasis laid so definitely on the necessity of studying the movement in the closest possible relationship with the local environment in each of the centres of origin, before attempting to form a conception of it as a whole.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*Ägyptisches Vercinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer.* Von Dr. Jur. Mariano San Nicolò. Erster Band. (Munich, Oskar Beck, 1913, pp. 225.) A reviewer may easily do this book an injustice. On the one hand, he is bound to find it unsuited for the reader at large. It has, indeed, a few narrative passages that are informing and easily read, but the main body of the book is so sprinkled with snippets of Greek and citations of sources and authorities that only the scholar will proceed very far with it. On the other hand, it does not yield much that is new to the specialist. Even historians who have mastered the works of Ziebarth and Poland on the Greek *Vercinswesen*, Rostowzew's *Studien zur Geschichte des Römischen Kolonates*, Lesquier's *Institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, and Wilcken and Mitteis's *Grundzüge der Papyruskunde* have little to learn from this book. They will be rewarded for their patience, if they read it through, only here and there, by a bit of good criticism. We doubt whether it will convey many new ideas to them or to the professional papyrologists.

The author is partly to blame if his book—which shows paper, print, presswork, and proof-reading of rare excellence for a German work of



this character—creates a bad impression. He does not tell us that its chief content is the classified material which he means to discuss and interpret in the second volume, and he leaves it to the reader to infer that such is the case from the table of contents to volume II. which a happy afterthought led some one to add on the cover of volume I.

Volume I. of San Nicolò's *Aegyptisches Vereinswesen* is, accordingly, open to examination on two points only: the completeness and discrimination with which the materials are gathered, and the principles on which they are classified. On both accounts, however, the author is deserving of all praise. He alludes to himself in the preface as a beginner. It appears that he has been well schooled in papyrus studies, by Wenger of Munich evidently, to whom the book is dedicated. He knows well both the sources and the secondary authorities, and has, apparently, left nothing undone to make his collection complete in every particular.

Ziebarth divided Greek associations into such as were economic and such as served ideal purposes, carrying into illicit detail a classification mooted by Aristotle and approved by Gierke. Poland sought to arrange them according to the names by which they designated themselves, and in so doing made a lot of nice and suggestive distinctions. But his grouping of them into *orgeones*, *thiasoi* (which term San Nicolò has but imperfectly understood), and clubs whose name ended in *stai*, accords well only with Attic conditions, and proved not very helpful when extended to Greece generally. Accordingly, San Nicolò has been well advised to follow neither Ziebarth nor Poland, to discard a twofold system altogether, and to arrange the Egyptian associations according to his judgment as to the nature of the chief service they rendered. That this results in many arbitrary and temporary allocations is frankly and properly admitted. But the whole effect is good. It has, however, to be shown still that Poland's idea of a classification on purely formal grounds is inapplicable to Egypt. Only, let not the principles be abstracted from the usage of Athens or any other country but Egypt itself.

W. S. FERGUSON.

*Einführung in das Historische Denken.* Von Karl Lamprecht. Zweiter, unveränderter Abdruck. [Ordentliche Veröffentlichung der "Pädagogischen Literatur-Gesellschaft Neue Bahnen."] (Leipzig, R. Voigtländer, 1913, pp. 164.) This little book restates in more popular form the doctrines set forth in the author's *Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft*, published in 1904 (English translation under the title *What is History?*, New York, 1905). Hence it contains nothing essentially new. Part I. ("Entwicklung des historischen Sinns in Deutschland", pp. 1-53) seeks to show the correspondence, in the several "stages" of German history, between the ruling conceptions of history and the general state of culture; in part II. ("Das geschichtliche Denken der Gegenwart", pp. 54-164) the author draws a constructive picture of

the process of evolution in history as he conceives it. The reader meets again Lamprecht's well-known "culture-epochs" of "Symbolism", "Typism", "Conventionalism", "Individualism", and "Subjectivism", working themselves out under the modifying influences of "Ages of Transition", "Renaissances", "Receptions", and so on, and expressing themselves in successive "dominants" of the "social Psyche".

As Lamprecht thinks of it, history is a vast process in "psycho-genesis"—the evolution of human consciousness (see pp. 53, 71, 104-105, 143). Even more than formerly he lays stress on the psychological interpretation of history (pp. 130, note, 142, 145-146). The chief task of the historian is to trace the unfolding of the social soul, first in the great national cultures, but finally in the whole of humanity.

The book has nothing to say of historical method or of any practical phase of the science. It is an endeavor to formulate the laws of historical progress in terms of expanding human consciousness; hence it belongs in the field of the philosophy of history or of historical sociology rather than of historical science. Thus seen, it contains much truth, many suggestive and illuminating comments, showing broad learning, mature reflection, and great earnestness of conviction. Here and there the writer reveals more caution in statement in the face of the severe criticism of the last twenty years; but his faith in his own conclusions is unshaken. Very noticeable, too, throughout the book is the easy assumption that his point of view is the only truly "modern" one. As a portrayal of the present state of historical thinking, Lamprecht's book must be taken in a purely personal way.

ARLEY BARTHLOW SHOW.

*English Rule in Gascony, 1109-1250, with special Reference to the Towns.* By Frank Burr Marsh, Ph.D., Instructor in History, University of Texas. [University of Michigan Historical Studies.] (Ann Arbor, Michigan, George Wahr, 1912, pp. xi, 178.) It has long been regarded as established that southern Aquitaine clung to England after 1204 because the King of England was a more distant and a less threatening suzerain than the King of France, and because the commercial prosperity of the great southern cities was largely dependent upon English trade. The present "extended" and "recast" doctoral dissertation furnishes new evidence to support the second of these assumptions. It represents a thorough search through the published Close and Patent Rolls and the few other public documents which contained material relating to Guienne and Gascony. No important novel conclusions are advanced. The towns appear as the dominant factor in Gascon political life, and the great commercial families, especially those engaged in the English wine-trade, dominate the towns. The political divisions in the towns are shown to have been drawn upon more complex lines than those of democracy and aristocracy; the fact that some great houses traded mainly with Spain and others with England was often more determinative of party align-

ment. Bordeaux was the wine market of Gascony; Bordeaux sent its wine largely to England, and in Bayonnese vessels. "The extent of English rule on the continent may roughly be defined as the radius within which the Bordeaux-Bayonne pressure was strongly felt. . . . A system of privileges which in its results closely approximates to the preferential tariff of to-day united the scattered realm of Henry" (p. 153).

The book is unusually free from errors, but its bulk and its pretension are out of proportion to its contribution to knowledge. The author includes Gascon material when he finds it in the sources though it add little or nothing to the argument, and many pages are loaded with minutiae which, at most, belong to foot-notes. Some portions do little more than restate the conclusions of well-known monographs; the twenty-five page chapter on Simon de Montfort's "dictatorship" contains forty-three references to Bémont's biography. Yet the work is not final, even within its narrow limits of time and theme. The Close and Patent Rolls being the main source, it seems odd that the Close-Rolls volume for 1231-1234 (London, 1905) should not have been used at all nor included in the bibliography; the volume for 1237-1242 (1911) probably appeared too late to be used. No chronicle material, French or English, except only Matthew Paris, appears. "No use was attempted . . . of patent, charter, or close rolls not yet calendared, nor was search made in local archives."

A. B. WHITE.

*Machiavelli's Geschichtsauffassung und sein Begriff Virtù: Studien zu seiner Historik.* Von Eduard Wilhelm Mayer. [Historische Bibliothek, Band 31.] (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1912, pp. ix, 125.) In this country, with its advanced university studies modelled in so many respects on those of Germany, the printed dissertation has always been felt to be a rather sorry necessity imposed by the doctor's degree. I doubt whether this apologetic feeling is shared by the country of origin, for not only do the German universities continue to enjoy a vast quantitative superiority in this branch of literature, but the dissertation itself, in dryness, confusion, and general absence of any reasonable ground for obtruding itself on the notice of a harassed public, leaves its American imitation far behind. A dull doctor's dissertation planlessly enlarged by sporadic patchwork—such is this latest publication on Machiavelli. It has, in the present reviewer's opinion, neither inner life nor outer form, and the best that can be said for it—which, according to the reader's viewpoint, may also be the worst—is that it has a kind of muddy *Gründlichkeit* indicative of a tireless, worm-like grubbing among the alluvial deposits of the great Florentine's thought. The author undertakes to define and illustrate certain concepts and theses which go to make up Machiavelli's permanent mental background. Such are: the place, in the Florentine's estimate, of the individual in the *Geschichtsprozess*, his persistent rationalization of human nature, his dogmatic and humanistic bias, and finally his supreme touchstone for man and society

alike, *virtù*. I note, in brief, some of the author's findings. "The characteristic expression of Machiavelli's human ideal is energy, *virtù*" (p. 15). "*Virtù* is organized energy" (p. 20). "The opposite of *virtù* is *viltà*, weakness, lack of energy" (p. 19; also p. 85). "The rationalized individual is for Machiavelli the agent of historical causality" (p. 40), and consequently the Florentine has not yet reached the point of looking on man as an historical product (p. 42). "He comprehended religion only in the effect it has on men, not how it originated in them" (p. 97). These are all characteristic preconceptions of the famous author of the *Prince*, lending an undoubted bias to his reading of history, but they are certainly not new, and the excessive and disorderly illustrations supplied are an untold weariness to the mind. There is evidence that the author entertains a profound admiration for Burckhardt and his *Cultur der Renaissance*. This would be a credit to his discernment if he let himself be stimulated by Burckhardt's results without falling into the master's loose and discursive method. Exactly why the book should have been included in the *Historische Bibliothek*, which is supposed to deal in something more evolved than the raw laboratory product, is hard to say.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

*Part of the Opus Tertium of Roger Bacon, including a Fragment now printed for the first Time.* Edited by A. G. Little. [British Society of Franciscan Studies, vol. IV.] (Aberdeen, The University Press, 1912, pp. xlviii, 92.) With the approach of the seventh centenary of the approximate date of the birth of Roger Bacon, English scholars at length are making earnest efforts to publish a complete edition of the works of the most famous representative of the important "Oxford School" of the thirteenth century.

Mr. Little has decidedly promoted this difficult undertaking by the discovery and publication of a missing fragment of the *Opus Tertium*. This work, as it appears in Brewer's edition in the Rolls series (1859), is by no means complete. Several years ago, Professor Duhem of Bordeaux discovered an extensive fragment of the missing portion, which he edited under the title *Un Fragment inédit de l'Opus Tertium de Roger Bacon* (Quaracchi, 1909). Now Mr. Little has added to our good fortune by finding another fragment, covering nineteen pages in print, which fits in between the end of Brewer's edition and the beginning of Duhem's fragment. In addition to his newly discovered fragment, Mr. Little has carefully re-edited Duhem's fragment with some modifications made in the light of new manuscripts. An extended summary in English of both fragments enhances the value of the book. Unfortunately the *Opus Tertium* is not entirely complete even now.

L. J. P.

*Annals of the Emperor Charles V.* By Francisco López Gómara. Spanish text and English translation, edited, with an introduction and

notes by Roger Bigelow Merriman, Assistant Professor of History, Harvard University. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, pp. vii, 302.) Professor Merriman, in printing Gómara's *Annals* with a translation, has done a service to all interested in the history of the sixteenth century. Probably at the suggestion of Cortés, whose chaplain he was, Gómara began his well-known works *Chronicle of the Barbarrojas or the Sea Battles of our Days* and *A General History of the Indies*. After Cortés's death, Gómara continued his labors as an historian under very discouraging circumstances, for his *Chronicle* was not published until three hundred years after his death, while his exceedingly popular *History of the Indies*, reprinted seven times in two years and translated nearly twenty times in fifty years, was prohibited in Spain under heavy penalties; and the prohibition was apparently sternly enforced. Mr. Merriman conjectures, doubtless truly, that the cause of this punishment of the popular author was his extravagant praise of Cortés, and the implied suggestion of blame for the government's attitude towards him. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the original manuscript of the *Annals* perished and that the work exists to-day only in two seventeenth-century copies; one in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid and the other in the British Museum.

The difficult task of translation has been done with skill. The Spanish is reproduced in an English clear and accurate but not too smooth to give the effect of the original. The notes are neither too scanty nor too verbose.

That Gómara's *Annals* will modify in any important particulars the accepted view of the reign of Charles V., is not probable. It is based, to a considerable extent, on contemporary historians, but, in the words of Sandoval which the translator puts on his title-page, Gómara "noted all that he saw and heard during his life". Nevertheless he is too partizan and careless to be depended on very much without strong verification. But the book gives us in brief space an amazingly vivid suggestion of the mental attitude of a typical learned Spanish ecclesiastic. Such a passage, for instance, as his pen-portrait of Luther is a living picture of Gómara himself and of the educated Spaniard of his day.

The *Annals* also contains items of fresh information. For instance, this paragraph on the death of Caesar Borgia. "He fled to Navarre. When he was there Ximen Garcia de los Fayos, otherwise called Agreda, and another brother of his, killed him because he had grievously quarrelled with the followers of the Count of Lerin, who was going to relieve the Castle of Viana from starvation. Certain men of Logroño, who were there, told me how the drummer Damiancello finished him off as he lay groaning on the ground."

On comparing this review with the preface of the book, the writer finds a very close agreement with its estimate of the value of Gómara—an indication of the fairness and lack of bias with which Mr. Merriman has interpreted the manuscript on which he has put so much and such successful work.

PAUL VAN DYKE.

*Deutsche Geschichte vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zum Untergange des Römisch-Deutschen Reiches, 1648-1806.* Von Dr. Ottocar Weber, Professor an der Deutschen Universität in Prag. [Bibliothek der Geschichtswissenschaft, herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Erich Brandenburg.] (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1913, pp. viii, 204.) Professor Weber, who has written various monographs on German and Bohemian history in the eighteenth century, has undertaken to compress within two hundred pages the story of German history from the end of the Thirty Years' War to the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. Apparently the historical series of which this is a volume aims both to serve as a text-book for German students and also to be so well written as to appeal to a wider German public beyond the walls of the class-room. The author has succeeded, we should judge, in fairly satisfying both these aims. His six chapters, divided into twenty-four consecutive sections, deal chiefly with political history; constitutional and economic development is wholly omitted; social and artistic changes are only lightly touched upon.

One is apt to think of this period of German history as being chiefly notable for the rise of Prussia and the consequent conflict between Prussia and Austria. This is undoubtedly the most important single phenomenon, and the author gives a good brief statement of it. But he also ventures to devote much of his precious space to succinct accounts of what was happening in the lesser German states. The reader is made to realize that Prussia and Austria were not the only figures on the German stage in the eighteenth century. This is, from one point of view, an advantage, because it is more nearly the way the men of the eighteenth century themselves thought of their history. It is because we know what Prussia did in the nineteenth century that we are apt to give a disproportionate attention to what she was doing in the century and a half preceding. Therefore Professor Weber, after finishing his sections on Frederick II. and Maria Theresa, gives a two or three page sketch of the rulers and the leading political events between 1648 and 1806 in each of the lesser German territories of Saxony, Bavaria, Baden, Anhalt, Württemberg, Hesse, Nassau, Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg, as well as in the ecclesiastical lands and the Free Cities. He briefly characterizes, with a trenchant phrase or two, each princelet; and owing to the variety of his sprightly language his recital of the long list of duodecimo rulers is neither so commonplace nor so monotonous as one might expect. He also indicates very briefly to what extent each prince dissipated or husbanded his financial resources; how he aped Louis XIV. or tried to embody in legislation and practice the "enlightened" ideas of the eighteenth century; or how he built great buildings and new residences, such as Karlsruhe and Mannheim, which later became famous. This is the most distinctive feature of this book.

Obeying the severe limitation of space imposed by the general editor of the series, Professor Weber has managed to pack a surprisingly large amount of material between the covers of this slender volume. His

narrative is clear and concise, and enlivened by a genial sense of humor and by the use of lively, almost slangy, phrases. He almost always adopts impartially the best opinion of most recent monographs. Only in his statement of the relation of Germany to the French Revolution does he show some German bias.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*Manuel Pratique pour l'Étude de la Révolution Française.* Par Pierre Caron, Archiviste aux Archives Nationales. [Manuels de Bibliographie Historique, vol. V.] (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1912, pp. xv, 294.) The competence of the author of this *Manuel* need not be discussed, and students in this field will hardly need the assurance that the volume bears throughout the marks of M. Caron's remarkable combination of comprehensive and exact knowledge with judgment and literary skill. What is here aimed at, and accomplished, is well expressed by M. Aulard in his introductory letter: "J'ai passé une grande partie de ma vie à me procurer, une à une, à hasard des recherches, incomplètement ou péniblement, les indispensables connaissances que votre excellent Manuel offre toutes à la fois, épargnant au lecteur des années de recherches et d'incertitude." From the point of view of the worker, especially the young worker, in the history of France from 1789 to 1799, it would be difficult to point out how M. Caron could have put any part of his limited space to better use.

After some preliminary pages concerning the more general aids already available, chapter I., L'Organisation du Travail, describes official and other series of publications in the sources, and gives information as to learned societies and reviews working mainly in this field; the student is thus given incidentally a comprehensive view of a large part of the results of recent research. Chapter II., Sources Manuscrites, supplies details about the more important *dépôts*, French and foreign; the chief feature here is the admirable supplement (pp. 64-110) to existing guides in the use of the National Archives for the period. Chapter III., Sources Imprimées, occupies the remainder of the book; this may be looked on as provisional, since M. Caron has now for some time been engaged in the preparation of a comprehensive *Manuel* of the published sources of the Revolution, destined to form part of the Picard *Manuels de Bibliographie Historique*. We are here supplied meanwhile with a most valuable addition to our working resources; of special help are the brief critical estimates of the older compilations.

The utility of the volume is greatly increased by the printing as appendix of a full Concordance des Calendriers Républicain et Grégorien. It should be pointed out that the author confines his work to the Revolution within French territory (in the revolutionary sense). We need more than that, but this fact should not diminish our appreciation of what M. Caron has done for us in the publication under review.

V. C.

*Friedrich Gentz: an Opponent of the French Revolution and Napoleon.* By Paul F. Reiff, Ph.D. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois, 1912, pp. 159.) The aim of this study, says the author, is, in the first place, "a careful representation of Gentz's struggle against the first Napoleon. Its second object—historically the first—is an account of Gentz's relations to the first French revolution. The introductory chapter will try to give the causes of Gentz's attitude in both cases." In the pursuance of these objects Mr. Reiff devotes forty pages to an examination of the environment, the personal characteristics, and the political theories of Gentz, thirty pages to his struggle against the Revolution, and seventy to the struggle against Napoleon. He has succeeded, probably as well as one could succeed in such limited space, in presenting the ideas and activities of his subject. He avoids the common mistake of exaggerating the importance of his man. "A historic figure of the first rank, it is true, he never was; one may even hesitate to give him second rank, since the influence which he exercised on the course of events has, after all, been but a small one. Judged by the whole make-up of his nature, however, he undoubtedly deserves to be called a very remarkable personage" (p. 155).

Mr. Reiff's monograph rests upon a study of the numerous writings of Gentz. What is important in Gentz is, not his political theories, which do not convince one as reasoned theories at all but largely as instinctive prejudices, but his criticisms and descriptions of events and persons and his proposals for the political conduct of the governments of Europe to which he was a self-accredited adviser. He was an accomplished and facile pamphleteer accustomed to consider himself, and considered by many others, a publicist. He made his début, early in 1793, by a translation of Burke's *Reflections* and by five political treatises of his own, followed shortly by translations of works on the Revolution by Mallet du Pan and Mounier. His criticisms of the Revolution and of Napoleon are generally superficial and commonplace in substance but are interesting in the form in which they are presented. Here lay whatever power he possessed, the ability to write effectively. He was at first not unsympathetic to the Revolution. He would consider the failure of this movement as one of the greatest misfortunes that ever befell the human race, this "attempt to better humanity on a large scale". But the events of 1792, the "ever horrible year", completely changed his tone, and he strikes a pace, truly Burkean in its rhetorical velocity, which he maintains until the end. The Revolution is simply the triumph of the "fanaticism of vanity". Napoleon appears as "a faithless, vain, petty usurper", as a blood-reeking beast, as Baal, and as Beelzebub. It is no occasion for surprise that as Gentz contemplated the astonishing successes of such sinister phenomena he at one time thought that "the human race is just good enough to be drowned in a general flood". But there was some comfort to be had, from the contemplation of England, for which country Gentz's admiration was boundless and hyperbolic in



expression. It was the rock of justice, the blessing and last hope of the world. "For this reason no enlightened European will be able to perceive England's prosperity without exclaiming with that dying patriot: '*Esto perpetua*'" (p. 81).

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*Napoleon*. By Herbert Fisher, M.A., F.B.A. (New York, Henry Holt and Company; London, Williams and Norgate, 1913, pp. 256.) This little volume of sixty thousand words is a comprehensive biographical sketch of rare excellence. Its brevity permits, and its charm of style and intensity of interest compel reading at a sitting. The intensely dramatic nature of Napoleon and of his career, therefore, rightly impresses the reader with the feeling of rapid movement, breathless suspense, and inevitable fate. With true literary and historical appreciation, correct proportion and perspective are also observed.

Never has an Englishman written of Napoleon more impartially or with truer insight. One or two phrases will suffice to illustrate. In 1803 Napoleon discussed the declaration of war against England "in a superb message to the senate". "The St. Helena captivity . . . is barren neither of historical significance nor of intellectual grandeur." The constructive statesmanship of Napoleon is accorded adequate space and just valuation. "Napoleon applied to the problems of law a grand natural intelligence. . . . He stood upon the platform of the public interest. . . . The civil code . . . registers and perpetuates the vast social improvements introduced into Europe by the French Revolution." "Napoleon was the genius of economy." In France, "he built upon a groundwork of inherited instinct, followed the centralizing trend of national history, and obeyed the ordered genius of the Latin race". The statement of the analogies of the Napoleonic with the British, Roman, and Carolingian empires (pp. 160-166), and the summary of military tactics in the eighteenth century (pp. 31-36) are real gems.

An appendix of Napoleonic maxims, a genealogical table, a bibliography, an index, and three sketch maps complete the volume. Mr. Fisher, as the chief editor of the *Home University Library*, in which this volume is number 57, has set a high standard for the series.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

*Paris sous Napoléon: Spectacles et Musées*. Par L. de Lanzac de Laborie. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1913, pp. iv, 454.) This volume equals its predecessor (reviewed in this journal, XVI, 854-855) in scholarly excellence and exceeds it in interest. The first half of the volume supplements its predecessor, which dealt with the Théâtre-Français and the Théâtre de l'Impératrice (Odéon). The first two chapters are devoted to the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique, describing the buildings they occupied, their administration, their corps of singers and dancers, and their repertoires. A few paragraphs are given to the masked balls, oratorios, and concerts at the Opéra, and several pages to

the Opéra Italien or Opéra Buffa. The account of the audience at the Opéra and of its taste furnishes one of the most interesting passages in the volume. No less interesting are the two following chapters on the lesser theatres and on the occasional performances in celebration of anniversaries or victories. After describing briefly the numerous smaller and more popular playhouses which sprang up following the Revolution, the imperial measures for their regulation and restriction are described, and finally longer accounts are given of the Vaudeville, the Variétés, the Gaieté, and the Ambigu, which were permitted to survive after 1807. Some attention is given even to the various shows of more trivial and popular character from the Cirque Olympique down. For these chapters the author has employed much the same sources as in the earlier volume on the Théâtre-Français, but has had the added advantage of the recent monographs by Lecomte, especially *Napoléon et le Monde Dramatique*.

The absence of any considerable literature on the history of the French museums has made necessary much more extensive research in the archives, and consequently gives to the second part of the volume an air of greater originality. The chapter on the Louvre and the work of Denon, its curator, and the section on the Musée des Monuments Français and the unique services of its custodian Lenoir are of the most lively interest and genuine value. With abundance of piquant detail the story is told of Lenoir's efforts to preserve works of art from the vandals of the Revolution and later to convert his storerooms into a museum. In like manner the well-known fact of the amassing in the Louvre of the artistic rapine of Napoleon is developed into a lively narrative. There are also a few paragraphs on the Luxembourg and on Versailles. The final chapter deals mainly with David and Canova and their relations with Napoleon, but includes some account of the salons, and of the requisitions made by the emperor on the various artists to paint portraits or depict his victories.

Imperial Paris of a century ago, the faithful and efficient administrative system, and the penetrating genius and widespread activities of the great emperor will be better understood from reading these pages.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

*Correspondance du Duc d'Enghien, 1801-1804, et Documents sur son Enlèvement et sa Mort.* Publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par le Comte Boulay de la Meurthe. Tome IV. *Supplément suivi du Récit de la Campagne de 1796, par le Duc d'Enghien.* (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1913, pp. xxvi, 296.) This supplementary volume contains only incidental matter relating directly to the arrest and execution of the Duke of Enghien, but is made up mainly of family correspondence. Of the 120 new documents, eighty-two supplement the first volume, five the second, five the third, and the remaining twenty-eight form an entirely new chapter. (For reviews of the earlier vol-

umes, see this journal, X. 423, XIII. 905, and XVI. 165.) In addition there is published a *Journal de la Campagne de 1796* by the duke who recounts his own experiences in that campaign in Germany. This journal, which is divided into sixteen chapters, fills sixty-two pages. The introduction recites the history of the papers of the Condé family during and since the Revolution, so far as the editor has been able to trace them through their numerous transfers. There is not the slightest indication of the provenance of a single document published in this volume, but one is left to surmise that they are the result of further searching among the papers at Chantilly.

The volume adds very little that can be called new information, but it elaborates and confirms the material in the earlier volumes. Heretofore several of the most important letters have been known only from extracts published by Sevelinges in 1820 in the *Mémoires de la Maison de Condé*. At least fifteen such letters are here printed in full: notably Condé's letter of June 7, 1803, written three weeks after the renewal of war between England and France, with its prophetic warning; Enghien's reply of July 18, with its mingling of youthful impetuosity, injured innocence, and vigorous denial that he had rashly ventured on French soil; and old Condé's crotchety response of August 31, with its repeated caution, "songez à votre sûreté . . . ne vous endormez pas là-dessus". The most interesting new letter is Enghien's of August 22, 1802, to his father, the Duke of Bourbon, protesting that the relations between him and the Princess Charlotte de Rohan are not of a nature to prevent a dynastic marriage alliance: "Les craintes de mon grand-père sur cet objet, comme sur beaucoup d'autres, n'ont jamais eu de fondement. Je ne prendrai aucun grand engagement sans le consulter et sans avoir votre agrément." Still he prays that nothing will occur to interrupt his happy relations with the princess.

The new letters show no trace that Enghien was cognizant of the plots against Bonaparte; they show him anxious to enter the English, or preferably the Austrian army, to serve against Bonaparte. The strained relations between the young duke and his testy old grandfather reveal more clearly that distance from Condé as well as nearness to the Princess Charlotte was a consideration in fixing his residence at Ettenheim. The additional chapter shows that the duke had accumulated considerable savings from his English pension, and that he intended to constitute the Princess Charlotte his sole executrix and legatee. As the will itself could not be obtained the Duke of Bourbon took possession, and showed the princess no other generosity than to omit to collect some obligations due to the duke from her and her father. Some documents also relate to the reinterment of the duke's remains in 1816 and the erection of a monument in his honor.

The editor has again merited well of the republic of historical scholarship.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

*A Curtailed Memoir of Incidents and Occurrences in the Life of John Surman Carden, Vice Admiral in the British Navy.* Written by himself, 1850. Now first printed and edited by C. T. Atkinson, Fellow of Exeter College. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, pp. xxvi, 319.) The contents of this volume consist of an introduction by the editor (24 pp.), the autobiography of Carden (288 pp.), and an appendix (28 pp.). The last-named consists chiefly of a selection from the official orders of Carden, statements of the size, crew, and weight and number of guns of the frigates *United States* and *Macedonian*, Carden's letter to the Admiralty giving an account of the loss of the *Macedonian*, some verses describing the fight between the two frigates, and the sentence of the court-martial that tried Carden for losing his ship. The volume has no index.

Carden will be remembered as the ill-fated captain of the British frigate *Macedonian*, who after a gallant fight surrendered his ship, October 25, 1812, to Captain Stephen Decatur, commander of the *United States*. His misfortune in losing his vessel and the displeasure of the secretary to the Admiralty which he incurred on his return to England after his imprisonment in America, practically closed his active career in the navy. For this reason doubtless he devotes only nine pages to the period from 1814 to 1858, the year of his death. The period 1812-1813, which is of interest to students of the history of the American navy, is covered in twenty-eight pages. Almost the whole of the memoir therefore is concerned with the period from 1771, the year of his birth, to 1811. His professional career began with service as an ensign in the British army in America, 1780-1782. In 1788 he entered the navy and subsequently saw service in the East Indies, Egypt, and Ireland, and on the Channel and Mediterranean stations, all of which he describes with considerable detail.

His account of the fight between the *Macedonian* and the *United States* does not greatly add to our knowledge derived from the official accounts of himself and Decatur. It is of interest however as the version of one of the commanders written, when an old man, thirty-six years after the event. Of greater novelty is Carden's narrative of his captivity in America, which contains excellent evidence of the well-known friendship of New England for the British.

The memoir was written when the author was seventy-eight. It is naïve and simple, abounding with occasional misspellings and errors of detail. It is not an intimate, human document, since it relates chiefly to professional matters. While not adding much to history nor contributing much to the settlement of any controversy, it is an interesting autobiography of a somewhat typical naval officer who lived at an important period in the history of the British navy and is well worth publishing.

C. O. PAULLIN.

*Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789.* Edited from the Original Records in the Library of Congress by Gaillard Hunt, Chief

of the Division of Manuscripts. Volume XXI., 1781, July 23–December 31. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912, pp. 777–1236.)

During the period covered by this volume Congress continued its efforts toward the reform of the departments and other constructive legislation, to which it had been giving attention in the earlier part of the year. Such a measure was the ordinance for regulating the treasury and adjusting public accounts, adopted on September 11. On August 22 a committee (appointed July 20) reported a plan for the execution of the Articles of Confederation and for enlarging the powers of the federal government. Among the additions recommended by the committee were the power to lay embargoes in time of war, to appoint collectors and otherwise control the taxes imposed for the payment of requisitions, and to distrain upon the property of a state delinquent in its quota of men and money. The committee also declared a general council for the Confederation to be a necessary organ. In line with this committee's report Congress recommended to the states (November 2) to lay taxes for federal purposes separate from those laid for their own use, and to authorize the payment of the proceeds to the agents of the superintendent of finance, that is, to federal officers. The ordinance establishing a court of appeals in cases of capture, which was passed on July 18, was followed up, after much discussion, by a further ordinance (December 4) regulating the whole subject of captures on water. Although peace negotiations in Europe proceeded slowly much of the time of Congress was taken up with the consideration of foreign affairs. There were frequent memorials from the minister of France and conferences with him touching the relations between the two countries and also in regard to the peace adjustment. The minister particularly brought to the fore the financial obligations of the United States to France. On July 27 he presented a plan of a convention regulating the duties and powers of consuls, but it was not until January 9, 1782, that an ordinance governing the subject was passed. Another subject that occupied much of the attention of Congress during these months was the cessions by New York, Virginia, and Connecticut, with which were involved memorials from the Illinois, Wabash, Vandalia, and Indiana land companies. The Vermont question became acute in the early summer and continued to agitate Congress during the remainder of the year. The surrender of Yorktown on October 19 stirred Congress to some enthusiasm and enlarged its hope of peace, but otherwise affected but little its proceedings.

*Two Men of Taunton: in the Course of Human Events, 1731–1829.* By Ralph Davol. (Taunton, Massachusetts, Davol Publishing Company, 1912, pp. xiii, 407.) It is unfortunate that this book was not made either one thing or the other, for what we have is an amphibious curiosity, lying now on the solid land of biography and now in the unstable waters of romance. Though much of the narrative is based upon

reliable original material—the actual letters and diaries of the heroes—yet the author's fancy has been allowed to play with fact until we suspect the most impeccable data. We are treated to a great deal of rhetoric, many ethical judgments, and some mere sentimentality. In favor of a young man getting out and seeing the world the author says, "The acorn sprouting under the shade of the parent oak is spindling; the acorn carried by the blue jay to the open field grows stalwart." At times his figures become rather daring, as when he speaks of the Declaration of Independence as "severing the umbilical cord of the colonies". The work abounds in clever phrases, bright ideas, happy paradoxes, many poetical quotations, and much else which is rather out of place in serious biography. But these are superficial faults; the book is, in the absence of better lives of the two heroes, a very useful book, if not taken too seriously.

The two men of Taunton are Daniel Leonard, the loyalist, and Robert Treat Paine, the patriot. It was a quaint conceit to compare the two, but if Mr. Davol wished to serve a patriotic purpose, his comparison was ill chosen, for Leonard is ever the better man, more charming in person, more pleasing in spirit, more gallant in manner. He quite properly, when the time came, chose the Loyalist side, the aristocratic side, the conservative side, where his character and breeding naturally placed him. With many of his kind, he fled to England and there practised law until near the end of the war when he was made chief justice of Bermuda.

Paine was a very ordinary man, who could give an impromptu blessing at a dinner party, discuss theology over the tea-cups, serve as a pall-bearer, or be the moderator of a town-meeting, but had he not been merely the biggest man in a very small community, in the time of a great political upheaval, he would have cut a sorry figure in this big world. It is not uninteresting to trace his curiously varied career. After graduating at Harvard, he becomes an usher in a Latin school, then teaches a year at Lunenburg, and wearying of this goes to sea, making trips to Carolina, Europe, and Greenland. In three years he is again ashore, a minister at Shirley, Massachusetts, and then a chaplain on the Crown Point expedition. Tired of theology, he turns to law, and is admitted to the bar, where he begins to seek political office, rising through the offices of moderator, surveyor, member of the General Court, to the exalted position of delegate to the Continental Congress, where he was one of the surgeons, who performed that delicate operation to which we alluded above.

Aside from the biographies, there is a fairly good picture of colonial and revolutionary society. In the knowledge of the small things of life, the author shows good historical background, but in the matter of the essentials of the history he is not so well informed. He shows frequently an intolerance for the views of the Tories and the British government which is due to lack of knowledge.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

*Smuggling in the American Colonies at the Outbreak of the Revolution, with special Reference to the West Indies Trade.* By William S. McClellan. [Williams College, David A. Wells Prize Essays, no. 3.] (New York, Moffat, Yard, and Company, 1912, pp. xx, 105.) Contestants for the Wells prize are not called upon to perform original research but are expected to show "evidences of careful reading" and a "thoughtful handling" of material readily accessible. Mr. McClellan, who was graduated in 1908, therefore deals with topics which are very familiar: the development of American trade, the light restrictions imposed by the Navigation Acts, the iniquities of the Molasses Act, the infringements permitted by conniving royal officials, the awakening occasioned by the Seven Years' War and the more rigid enforcement which came as a result. His account is conventional, clear, and well-balanced. On the other hand his conclusion that the political question, emerging from the economic, so far obscured it that "by the time of the Declaration of Independence the objections to the commercial system were forgotten" (p. 90) is erroneous. Serious errors are few, despite the fact that the description of the Board of Trade as "a sub-committee of the Privy Council" (p. 46) seems to uncover a multitude of sins. But distinct carelessness is shown in such statements as those concerning the "salaries" of customs officials (p. 83) and the sending of instructions to colonial governors (p. 82). The reading on which the paper is based is fairly wide but it is unfortunate that the material accessible did not include Channing's *History of the United States* and such recent and well-known monographs as Root's *Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government* and Dickerson's *American Colonial Government*. It must also be said that a somewhat closer attention to the demands of technical scholarship in the matter of foot-notes, citations, and the critical use of such untrustworthy material as Sheffield's *Observations* might fairly be expected from the contestant for so considerable a prize. Nevertheless the writer's evident literary ability forces one to regret the necessary criticism.

H. C. B.

*The Despatches of Molyneux Shulldham, Vice-Admiral of the Blue and Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Ships in North America, January-July, 1776.* Edited by Robert Wilden Neeser. [Publications of the Naval History Society, vol. III.] (New York, Naval History Society, 1913, pp. xxxvi, 330.) These despatches, together with the "enclosures" or accompanying reports and correspondence, present an interesting picture, though much in outline, of the British operations about Boston and New York during the first half of the year 1776. As an original source they are of much value in showing the character of these naval operations as officially reviewed by the British sailor engaged in the task of coercing the revolting colonies. The conditions attending the blockade of the long coastline and the difficulties under which the

commanders struggled are brought out in much detail and particularly the extent to which their activities were hampered by the lack of food and supplies. In a despatch to the Admiralty, dated at Boston, March 8, 1776, in which the admiral announces the evacuation of Boston, he states that orders had been issued "for the Army to prepare to embark with all the dispatch possible, which the very distress'd Condition it is in for want of Provisions makes absolutely necessary, for 'till I gave Orders a few days ago for a Months Supply out of the Naval Stores, it had not then more than a sufficiency for Fourteen days, and except a Supply arrives very speedily for both services, the Consequence must be fatal". Neither at the time of the evacuation nor after the arrival at Halifax is any mention made of the large body of Loyalists who embarked with the fleet.

Admiral Shulldham followed Admiral Graves in command of the fleet on the North Atlantic Station and after a long and very stormy voyage arrived December 30, 1775, in Boston harbor. Nearly one-half of the present volume is devoted to the correspondence of the next three months. Then follows a period of three months of inactivity spent at anchor in Halifax harbor, with a short stay off Staten Island in New York harbor where the admiral was relieved of his command, late in July, by the arrival of Admiral Lord Howe. Many of the "enclosures" printed with the despatches, also relate to operations in Rhode Island and to the southward and even in the West Indies. One document which the student of United States naval history will find to be of much interest is the log-book of the 14-gun brig *Andrew Doria*, one of the Continental vessels that sailed from Philadelphia, January 4, 1776, in the squadron under Commodore Esek Hopkins. It probably is the earliest log-book of an American public armed vessel now in existence. Much the larger number of the documents included in the volume are taken from the series of "Admiral's Despatches" in the Public Record Office in London, transcripts of which are now in the Library of Congress. The "Secret Letters", the "Secretary's Letters to Commanding Officers", and the "Orders and Instructions" also have been drawn upon. The editor, in an eighteen-page introduction, has admirably summarized the "Despatches". Foot-notes appear sparingly. The index appears to have been prepared hurriedly as frequent omissions occur. The inclusion of unexplained marks appearing in the margins of the original documents seems to be useless and undesirable. The volume, published in an edition of three hundred copies, is finely printed on good paper and is an excellent example of what a society publication should be.

GEORGE FRANCIS DOW.

*Lectures on the American Civil War delivered before the University of Oxford in Easter and Trinity Terms, 1912.* By James Ford Rhodes, LL.D., D.Litt. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913, pp. xi, 206.) Before one passes judgment on this volume of published lectures, he would gladly summon a jury of the vicinage where they were delivered



and ascertain the impression which they made upon the commonalty. This resource failing, the reviewer can only record his own impressions, which are obviously not those of the Oxford student. The book gave rise to pleasant anticipations. Passing in review the great mass of material in his *History of the United States*, would the author see fit, after the lapse of years, to revise his judgment of men and events? To what extent would he accept the work which younger and lesser historians have accomplished since he wrote? And how would he distribute emphasis when time and space forced him to eliminate those varying shifts of opinions and incidents which in the larger work chain the interest of the reader as the great drama unfolds? The reviewer has laid down the book with a sense of disappointment. Mr. Rhodes is not at his best in this form of exposition. Forced to extricate himself from details, he has put in bald and almost dogmatic form conclusions which he erstwhile expressed with important qualifications. If he has read the newer literature on the antecedents of the war, he has paid scant attention to its effect upon his earlier conclusions.

In one sense the title given to these lectures is a misnomer. Fully one-half of the book is given up to the political antecedents of the war. As for the rest, the lecturer frankly announces his purpose to treat campaigns and battles briefly, and to dwell upon the salient characteristics of the conflict and their bearing on its issue. Even so, the treatment seems somewhat arbitrary. There are comments on Bull Run, Antietam, and Gettysburg, but only passing allusions to the campaigns in the West and a single reference to Sherman's march to the sea; there is an account of the Trent affair and some discussion of the attitude of England during the war, but little or nothing about the blockade. Indeed, the conspicuous defect of Mr. Rhodes's history appears again in these lectures. The economic factors are either wholly ignored or subordinated to the political events which they caused or conditioned. On the other hand, what the lecturer must have conveyed to his hearers was a sense of the immense stake for which North and South played, a vivid picture of the heroism of the combatants, and a moral enthusiasm for the unique personalities which the war produced in Lincoln and Lee. And every Oxford student must have been impressed with the qualities which Mr. Rhodes possesses in an eminent degree—candor and impartiality.

*Recollections of the Civil War.* With many original Diary Entries and Letters written from the Seat of War, and with annotated References. By Mason Whiting Tyler, late Lieut.-Colonel and Brevet-Colonel, 37th Reg't Mass. Vols. Edited by William S. Tyler. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912, pp. xvii, 379.) Colonel Tyler was one of that splendid body of young officers who served Massachusetts in the Army of the Potomac, and who by their efficiency, their high sense of duty, and their ardent patriotism, exercised an influence far out of proportion to their numbers and rank.

He came of sterling New England stock. Twenty Puritan ministers, one of them Jonathan Edwards, were among his ancestors, and his father was William Seymour Tyler, for over sixty years professor of Greek at Amherst College. The son graduated from Amherst in July, 1862, and, although in frail health, enlisted at once and was commissioned a second lieutenant by Governor Andrew. Except for a short detail of staff duty, he served throughout the war with the 37th Massachusetts, and at the close was in command of the regiment. He participated in all of the great battles of the Army of the Potomac from the first Fredericksburg to the capture of Petersburg and was with Sheridan at Winchester. After the war, he practised law with distinguished success in New York City.

Colonel Tyler had only partially completed the first draft of his manuscript at the time of his death. It ended with the arrival of the army before Petersburg; but the story of his service is continued by extracts from his letters and his diary.

So far as the book purports to be a history it does not invite special comment. But there can be no question of the real value and importance of the personal reminiscences and the picture they give of the inner life and struggles of the great army.

Perhaps the most instructive and certainly the most interesting chapter is the one devoted to a carefully written and detailed account of the battle for the Salient at Spottsylvania. The 37th Massachusetts held the apex of the Angle for twenty-two unbroken hours of desperate fighting and the reader of Colonel Tyler's very graphic description will not be inclined to challenge his high estimate of the service rendered by the regiment in that terrible struggle. A statement of the part taken and the position occupied by each of the brigades of the 6th corps engaged at the Angle is given in an appendix.

The chapters devoted to the letters and diary are accompanied by brief historical statements and notes which add to their interest. These are by the Reverend Calvin Stebbins, a classmate and life-long friend of Colonel Tyler.

For those who manage Spanish easily the *Memorias Inéditas del Licenciado Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada* (Brownsville, Texas, Tipografía de *El Porvenir*, pp. 111) should prove interesting and instructive reading in view of recent events in Mexico.

On the death of Juárez in 1872, Lerdo, then chief justice of the supreme court, became president of the republic. Four years later, as a result of a contested election, he was driven out of the country by General Porfirio Díaz. He died in New York, in 1889, where his memoirs were written—a disappointed old man without family and with few remaining friends.

Written in a discursive style, with many graphic touches that make one wish that the author had devoted himself to letters rather than to politics, with many blemishes in discussing his enemy's family affairs that

make one wish he had been more of a gentleman, the memoirs of Lerdo unconsciously disclose the enormous difficulties that await the man who endeavors to govern Mexico constitutionally. His description of the massacre of Vera Cruz, as the result of Diaz's telegram, *Mátalos en caliente*, is a model of rapid, vivid sketch work. But "Papá Lerdo's" manifest error was in attempting to apply European culture and administration to a country too recently emerged from despotism and anarchy to understand constitutional government.

E. L. C. MORSE.

#### COMMUNICATION

June 4, 1913.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Sir:

The reviewer of my book *The Origin of the English Constitution* in your April number, pp. 567-571, frankly admits at the close that he may at various places have mistaken my meaning. Will you allow me through the REVIEW to ask those who may be interested in the subject not to accept the interpretation of the book which is given by the reviewer but to go directly to the book itself for their knowledge of what it says? The reviewer's interpretation in general, and in most of the specific statements made, I cannot accept as an accurate representation of my ideas. The analysis of my arguments at the foot of p. 568 and on p. 570, for example, I wholly repudiate. I hope I should never make use of such arguments, nor have I ever entertained such ideas. Any one who will turn to n. 10, p. 21, which is cited, will see that it is clearly concerned with a single point only, and cannot fairly be used as a general confession; that it is quite the contrary indeed. But I do not care to go into detail. I merely wish to ask any who may be interested to get their ideas of the book from its own pages.

G. B. ADAMS.

## NOTES AND NEWS

From June 18 to September 18 the address of the managing editor of this journal will be "North Edgecomb, Maine".

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The *Annual Report* for 1911 will be distributed to members in the autumn.

In the *Original Narratives* series, Messrs. Scribner have published this spring the *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts*. The volume of *Narratives of Indian and French Wars*, edited by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln, is in the press and will be issued in the autumn. The next volume in the series, to be brought out in the ensuing spring, is *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases*, edited by Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University.

### PERSONAL

M. Paul Thureau-Dangin, since 1906 perpetual secretary of the French Academy, died at Cannes on February 24, 1913, in his seventy-sixth year. His attachment to the Catholic Church and to the liberal principles of the Orleans monarchy appears in nearly all of his works, especially the two major ones, *Histoire de la Monarchie de Juillet* (7 vols., 1886-1892), and *Histoire de la Renaissance du Catholicisme en Angleterre au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (3 vols., 1899-1906).

Professor A. C. Coolidge will be Harvard Exchange Professor in Berlin during the first half of the coming academic year. Professor W. S. Ferguson will be professor of Greek in the American School of Classical Studies in Athens during the whole year 1913-1914, and Professor R. F. Scholz of the University of California will be lecturer in ancient history in Harvard University during its first half.

Dr. Bertha Haven Putnam has been appointed to an associate professorship in history in Mount Holyoke College.

Professor C. H. Hull is to be absent from Cornell University during the year 1913-1914 on sabbatical leave.

Professor John H. Latané of Washington and Lee University has been appointed professor of American history and head of the department of history in the Johns Hopkins University, and will begin his work in that institution in October.

Rev. Peter Guilday, hitherto of Louvain and Rome, has been made professor of ecclesiastical history at the Catholic University of America.

Professor Amos S. Hershey, of the University of Indiana, has been awarded one of the Kahn Travelling Fellowships and will spend the year 1913-1914 in Europe and the Orient.

Professor James W. Thompson, of the University of Chicago, has been advanced to the full rank of professor of history.

Professor Guy Stanton Ford has been appointed professor of history and dean of the Graduate School at the University of Minnesota.

Courses in history will be given in the summer session of Columbia University by Professors John S. Bassett of Smith College, W. L. Westermann of the University of Wisconsin, Albert B. White of the University of Minnesota, and George M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University; in that of the Indiana State University by Professor F. A. Ogg of Simmons College and Professor C. B. Coleman of Butler College; by Professor David L. Patterson of Kansas in that of the University of Illinois; by Professor Carl Becker of Kansas in the University of Chicago; and by Professor Fred M. Fling of Nebraska in that of the University of Minnesota.

#### GENERAL

General reviews: H. Legband, *Geschichte der Litterarischen Kultur* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, X. 4); P. Diepgen, *Geschichte der Medizin* (*ibid.*).

The *History Teacher's Magazine* for April includes the address, "The History Teacher's Opportunity", delivered in October, 1912, before the Vermont State Teachers' Association, by Professor Theodore F. Collier of Brown University; a paper by Miss Gertrude W. Carrick entitled the Place of Woman in School Histories, and one by Howard C. Hill on the Teaching of History by Type Studies, read before the Wisconsin State Teachers' Association in November, 1912. The May number contains an article by Professor Edward Channing on the Teaching of American History in Schools and Colleges, and a paper by Moses W. Ware on the American Colonies under the Whig Supremacy. In the June number Professor H. Morse Stephens discusses Courses in History in the Junior College, and Professor Arthur C. Cole gives an account of the attempt by the War Department in the decade before the Civil War to introduce the camel into the United States and adapt it to the needs of the army on the southwestern frontier. The *Magazine* presents in this issue a catalogue of dealers in illustrative historical material, such as photographs, lantern slides, historical post cards, etc., with an introduction by the compiler, Dr. Albert E. McKinley. The editor also prints the report on the Certification of High-School Teachers of History presented by Professor Frederic L. Paxson, as chairman of a committee, to the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, at Omaha, May 8-10, 1913.

Ginn and Company have published *History as Past Ethics*, by P. V. N. Myers. The author holds to the view that "the development of conscience in the race is the ultimate goal of the historic movement", and therefore aims in this work "to gather and systematize the facts of the moral life of the race and relate them to the philosophic development of morals".

The Harvard University Press announces the following books as in preparation: *Essays on English Agrarian History in the Sixteenth Century*, by Professor Edwin F. Gay; *Studies in Anglo-Norman Institutions*, by Professor Charles H. Haskins; *The Search for Salvation in the Greek and Roman World*, by Professor Clifford H. Moore; *Judaism at the Beginning of the Christian Era*, by Professor G. F. Moore; and *A Bibliography of Municipal Government*, by Professor William B. Munro.

A new review is announced by George Sarton of Wondelgem-lez-Gand, Belgium, *Isis: Revue consacrée à l'Histoire de la Science*. The editor contributes the opening article on "L'Histoire de la Science". The subscription price will be thirty francs a volume.

Recent volumes of historical essays are: the fourth volume of Professor Usener's *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913); E. Rodocanachi's *Études et Fantaisies Historiques* (Paris, Hachette, 1913); the seventh volume of Professor Aulard's *Études et Leçons sur la Révolution Française* (Paris, Alcan, 1913); the second volume of Dr. Cabanès's *Légendes et Curiosités de l'Histoire* (Paris, Michel, 1913); and the third volume of Professor A. Fournier's *Historische Studien und Skizzen* (Vienna, Tempsky, 1913).

The Société d'Économie Politique of Paris offers a prize of a gold medal and one thousand francs (Prix Mercet) for the best essay, in French, on "L'Évolution des Idées Protectionnistes depuis 1815". Manuscripts offered in competition should be put into the hands of M. Daniel Bellet, secretary of the Society, Maisons-Lafitte, 18, rue des Canus, Paris, by December 31, 1914. They should be sent with a pseudonymous designation and accompanied by a sealed envelope reproducing that designation and containing the name and address of the author.

The eighth edition of Professor E. R. A. Seligman's *Essays in Taxation* (Macmillan), which is enlarged to twenty-one chapters from the original thirteen, contains a brief history of the medieval and modern property tax.

The first volume of J. Combarieu's *Histoire de la Musique des Origines à la Mort de Beethoven* extends to the end of the sixteenth century (Paris, Colin, 1913, pp. x, 650). The second and concluding volume will appear toward the close of the present year. The volume is freely illustrated with musical texts.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Croce, *Von der Geschichte der Geschichte* (Internationale Monatsschrift, April); W. Mitscherlich, *Der Nationalismus und seine Wurzeln* (Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung, und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich, XXXVI. 3); W. E. Dodd, *History and Patriotism* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); F. Gehrke, *Änderungen in Wesen und Richtung des Handels* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXIX. 2); A. M. Wolfson, *Efficiency of the History Recitation* (Educational Review, May); A. Harnack, *Der*

*Geist der Morgenländischen Kirche im Unterschied von der Abendländischen* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1913, VII.) ; C. M. Andrews, *International Congress of Historical Studies* (Nation, May 1).

### ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: H. Blümner, *Bericht über die Litteratur zu den Griechischen Privataltertümern, 1901-1910* (Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, CLXIII.) ; C. Lécrivain, *Antiquités Latines: Publications Étrangères* (Revue Historique, May).

Those maps in Professor William R. Shepherd's *Historical Atlas* which illustrate ancient history have been brought together in a useful volume entitled *Atlas of Ancient History* (Holt, pp. 44). It is Professor Shepherd's present purpose to issue similar parts of the *Historical Atlas* dealing with medieval, modern, and American history.

The excellence of the ninety-six plates and the explanatory text accompanying them makes Dr. Joh. Hunger and Dr. Hans Lamer's *Altorientalische Kultur im Bilde* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, pp. 64) of interest and value to teachers and students of history.

Professor F. Charles Jean has published *Les Lettres de Hammurapi à Sin-Idinnam, Transcription, Traduction, et Commentaire, précédées d'une Étude sur Deux Caractères du Style Assyro-Babylonienne* (Paris, Gabalda, 1913, pp. x, 280). A volume of *Politisch-Religiöse Texte der Sargonidenzeit* has been published by E. G. Klauber (Leipzig, Pfeiffer, 1913) with some 80 plates.

*Karanog: the Meroitic Inscriptions of Shablul and Karanog*, by F. L. Griffith, reader in Egyptology in the University of Oxford, makes public the results of studies of inscriptions in two cemeteries in Lower Nubia and furnishes a valuable basis for further study in this region.

Professor Beloch is bringing out a thoroughly revised edition of his *Griechische Geschichte* (Strassburg, Trübner). The first volume, which has recently appeared, deals with the period prior to the Persian wars.

*Themis: a Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, by Miss Jane Ellen Harrison, with an excursus on ritual forms preserved in Greek tragedy by Gilbert Murray, and a chapter on the origin of the Olympic games by F. R. Cornford (Putnam) is deserving of attention from students of Greek history.

An interesting study, equipped with notes and a bibliography, is that of Dr. George M. Calhoun, on *Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation*, which is *Bulletin* no. 262 of the University of Texas.

Professor Bouché-Leclercq of the Sorbonne has published a *Histoire des Séleucides, 320-64* (Paris, Leroux, 1913, pp. iv, 485).

Dr. Matthias Gelzer, privatdozent in the University of Freiburg, has made an interesting contribution to the political, institutional, and social history of the Roman Republic in *Die Nobilität der Römischen Republik* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912, pp. iv, 120).

Professor James S. Reid has published through the Cambridge University Press *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Naville, *La XI<sup>e</sup> Dynastie*, II. (Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, L. 1); L. Wenger, *Ergebnisse der Papyruskunde für Rechtsvergleichung und Rechtsgeschichte* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, X. 4); A. Lange, *Les Tyrans en Grèce* (Revue des Études Historiques, March); L. Homo, *L'Empereur Gallien et la Crise de l'Empire Romain au III<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, I. (Revue Historique, March); L. B. Register, *Notes on the History of Commerce and Commercial Law* (University of Pennsylvania Law Review, May).

### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General review: F. Cabrol, *Chronique d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April).

Three different phases of the history of religion in the second and third centuries are treated in J. Morel's *Essai sur la Foi et les Sentiments des Martyrs Chrétiens au II<sup>e</sup> Siècle, 155-250* (Alençon, Coueslant, 1912, pp. xiv, 116); in Eugène de Faye's *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme aux II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (Paris, Leroux, 1913, pp. 484), published in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*; and in the third edition of Professor Franz Cumont's *Les Mystères de Mithra* (Paris, Lamartin, 1913), which is thoroughly revised, and contains a description of recently discovered monuments as a supplement to his two volumes of *Textes et Monuments Figurés aux Mystères de Mithra*.

The well-known Bollandist scholar, Father H. Delehaye, is the author of *Les Origines du Culte des Martyrs* (Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 1912, pp. viii, 504; reviewed by P. Allard, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, April).

Professor J. Tixeront has published a *Histoire des Dogmes* (3 vols., Paris, Gabalda, 1912-1913; reviewed by F. Cabrol, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, April) which extends to the time of Charles the Great.

*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople, their History and Architecture*, by Alexander van Milligen, assisted by Ramsay Traquair, W. S. George, and A. E. Henderson (London, Macmillan, 1912), is attractively illustrated and presents much interesting information.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Emanuelli, *La Data della Morte di Cristo dal Punto di Vista Astronomico* [April 7, 30] (Rassegna Contemporanea, March 25); G. Costa, *La Politica Religiosa di Costantino il Grande* (*ibid.*); C. A. Santucci, *L'Editto di Milano specialmente nei*



*Riguardi Giuridici* (Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali e Discipline Ausiliarie, March 31); D. Donatien de Bruyne, *Un Nouveau Document sur les Origines de la Vulgate* (Revue Biblique Internationale, January).

### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

With the appearance last fall of *Das Mittelalter* by Drs. Gerhard Ficker and Heinrich Hermelink, and an index volume by W. Dell, the *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende*, edited and partly written by Professor Gustav Krüger of Giessen, is now complete. A supplementary volume that was to have contained an extensive history of the writing of church history has been indefinitely delayed by the death of Gerhard Loescheke of Göttingen. The book, as it now stands, consists of three volumes of handy size; at present its bibliographies come nearer than any other publication of the kind to bringing one down to date (to near the fore part of 1912 in one volume) in this field.

Two recent Byzantine studies are *Die Kirchliche Gesetzgebung des Kaisers Justinian I.* by Alivisatos (Berlin, Trowitzsch, 1913), and *Organisation Militaire de l'Égypte Byzantine* by Jean Maspero (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 157), published as number 201 of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*.

A new history of Mohammedanism, of distinct merit, is the *Histoire des Arabes*, of which C. Huart has published the first volume (Paris, Geuthner, 1912, pp. iv, 381).

Hohlfeld's *Stadtrechnungen als Historische Quellen* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1913) discusses town accounts as a source for the study of the close of the Middle Ages.

The second volume of R. Wolkan's *Der Briefwechsel des Encas Silivius Piccolomini* contains his letters as priest and bishop of Trent from 1447 to 1450. It is published in the *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum* (Vienna, Hölder, 1912, pp. xv, 202). Another recent volume on Pius II. is G. B. Picotti's *La Dieta di Mantova e la Politica dei Veneziani* (Venice, 1912, pp. 558).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Kehr, *Nachträge zu den Papsturkunden Italiens*, VI, VII. (Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., 1912, 4); T. Hirschfeld, *Das Gerichtswesen der Stadt Rom vom 8. bis 12. Jahrhundert wesentlich nach Stadtrömischen Urkunden* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, IV, 3); E. Caspar, *Studien zum Register Gregors VII.* (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Aeltere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, XXXVIII, 1); H. Kalbfuss, *Urkunden und Regesten zur Reichsgeschichte Oberitaliens*, II. (Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, XV, 2); J. Hofer, *Biographische Studien über Wilhelm von Ockham O. F. M.* (Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, April); R. Scholz, *Eine ungedruckte Schilderung der Kurie aus d. J. 1438* (Archiv für Kultur-

geschichte, X. 4); H. Prutz, *Pius II. Rüstungen zum Türkenkrieg und die Societas Jesu des Flandriers Gerhard des Champs, 1450-1466* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 1912, 4).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*The Story of the Renaissance* by William Henry Hudson (New York, Cassell) is a good condensation, popular in the best sense of the term.

The co-operative *Histoire de l'Art* edited by André Michel is brought to the close of the Renaissance in the ninth volume (Paris, Colin, 1912, pp. 516), which deals with the Renaissance art of Germany and the northern countries.

New volumes have appeared in three histories of the Jesuits in different countries. The second volume of H. Fouqueray's *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France* (Paris, Picard, 1913, pp. viii, 738) deals with the interesting period from 1575 to 1604. The second volume of Bernhard Dühr's *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern Deutscher Zunge* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1913, pp. xxviii, 1490) is in two parts and covers the first half of the seventeenth century. Father Pablo Pastells furnishes the opening volume of a *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay* (Madrid, Pérez de Velasco, 1912, pp. 593).

The pontificates of Julius III., Marcellus II., and Paul IV., 1550-1559, are the subject of the sixth volume of Ludwig von Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1913, pp. xl, 724). A brief study of *Pius V. und die Deutschen Katholiken* has been published by O. Braunsberger (*ibid.*, Herder, 1912, pp. 124).

To the earlier volumes on Cardinal de La Valette, and on Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the Vicomte de Noailles has added one on *Le Maréchal de Guébriant* (Paris, Perrin, 1912, pp. ix, 553) in his *Épisodes de la Guerre de Trente Ans*.

M. H. Roujon of the French Academy is the president, and M. D. Mornet, general secretary, of the newly formed Société du Dix-huitième Siècle. The first quarterly number of its elegantly printed organ, *Revue du Dix-huitième Siècle*, bears date of January and is published by Hachette of Paris. M. André Morize is the author of the opening article, on *Le "Candide" de Voltaire*. Most of the articles deal with social, literary, and artistic matters, in which the historical interest is secondary, but the review promises not to be without interest to the historian. The annual subscription is sixteen francs.

There are several recent studies in the international relations during the Napoleonic period which are worthy of note. Comte de Mayol de Lupé writes on *La Captivité de Pie VII.* (Paris, Émile Paul, 1912, pp. xv, 707). Édouard Gachot is the author of *1809; Napoléon en Allemagne* (Paris, Plon, 1913, pp. 449). The years 1809 to 1812 are dealt with in the second volume of D. W. R. de Villa-Urrutia's *Relaciones entre*

*España y Inglaterra durante la Guerra della Independencia* (Madrid, Beltrán, 1912). Professor A. Fournier has published important papers on *Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress* (Vienna, Tempisky, 1913).

Dr. Clarence Perkins of the Ohio State University has brought out *An Outline for the History of Europe since 1815* (pp. 41) designed primarily to provide a "scheme of organization" for the student's reading.

Austrian and German relations to the Eastern question at two different epochs in the last century are considered in E. Molden's *Die Orientpolitik des Fürsten Metternich, 1829-1833* (Vienna, Hölzel, 1913), and in M. Fliegenschmidt's *Deutschlands Orientpolitik im Ersten Reichsjahrzehnt, 1870-1880* (Berlin, Puttkammer and Mühlbrecht, 1913).

Three recent volumes on the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 may be selected for special mention. H. Giehrl has based his *W'eissenburg und W'örth* (2 vols., Berlin, Mittler, 1913) upon personal studies of the battlefields. The antecedents of Sedan are described in Alfred Duquet's *Chalons et Beaumont* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1912, pp. 514). Lieut.-Col. Grange has written on *L'Aile Droite Prussienne à Rezonville* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1912, pp. 373).

The relations of France and Germany during the past generation are discussed by R. Pinon in *France et Allemagne, 1870-1913* (Paris, Perrin, 1913, pp. viii, 307); by P. Albin in *La Paix Armée: l'Allemagne et la France en Europe, 1885-1894* (Paris, Alcan, 1913); and by the late J. Novicov in *L'Alsace-Lorraine: Obstacle à l'Expansion Allemande* (Paris, Alcan, 1913, pp. vi, 392). The Polish question is treated by Eugène Starczewski in *L'Europe et la Pologne* (Paris, Perrin, 1913, pp. ix, 367).

*Cinquante Ans d' Histoire: l'Alliance Israélite Universelle, 1860-1910*, is the work of M. N. Leven, the president of the alliance, who has made liberal use of the extensive materials in its archives. The first volume (Paris, Alcan, 1912, pp. 546) is practically a history of the Jewish question in the nineteenth century and embodies much information that is either new or not easily accessible (reviewed by L. Cohen, *La Révolution Française*, December, 1912, p. 562; and by E. Driault, *Revue Historique*, November, 1912, p. 359).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Troeltsch, *Renaissance und Reformation* (Historische Zeitschrift, CX. 3); E. Nys, *Traités de Subside et Troupes Auxiliaires dans l'Ancien Droit. Politique des Subsidés, Emprunts Émis au Profit d'États Belligérants sur les Marchés Neutres* (Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée, XLV. 2); M. Escoffier, *Un Procédé Diplomatique du Prince de Talleyrand: Affaires de Pologne, 1814* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, March); L. Cappelletti, *La Francia e l'Italia nella Guerra di 1870* (Rassegna Contemporanea, February 25); P. Albin, *L'Impératrice Frédéric à Paris, Février, 1891* (Revue de Paris, April 1); G. Jary, *Les Accords Franco-Espagnols de 1902 à 1912* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January).

## GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

General review: C. Bémont, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, II., III. (Revue Historique, March, May).

J. W. Jeudwine has attempted with some success to tell the story of the British islands as a whole in *The First Twelve Centuries of British Story* (London, Longmans, 1912).

*British Borough Charters, 1042-1216*, edited by Adolphus Ballard, comes from the Cambridge University Press. The volume not only contains over 300 charters but also has a valuable introductory essay on them.

Étienne Martin's *Histoire Financière et Économique de l'Angleterre, 1066-1902* (Paris, Alcan, 1912, 2 vols.) is not a work of scholarly research, but a good superficial account, with some comparisons with the corresponding developments in France.

Volume I. of *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066 to 1154*, by H. W. C. Davis assisted by R. J. Whitwell (Oxford University Press), covers the period from 1066 to 1100.

A convenient list of bishops' registers, English, Scottish, or Irish, published or in course of publication in any series, is printed in a recent circular of the Canterbury and York Society.

A study of the history of the Angevin empire entitled *The Loss of Normandy, 1189-1204*, by F. M. Powicke, has been added to the *Manchester University Publications*.

*The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346*, translated with notes by Sir Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow, MacLehose and Sons), contains also a discussion of the authorship of the chronicle by Rev. Dr. James Wilson.

The circumstances and the later importance of the battle of Bannockburn are entertainingly and clearly set forth by Mr. W. M. Mackenzie in *The Battle of Bannockburn: a Study in Mediaeval Warfare* (Glasgow, MacLehose, 1913, pp. 114).

Volume III. of *A History of England from the Earliest Times to the present Day*, edited by Professor C. W. C. Oman, is *England in the Later Middle Ages, 1272 to 1485*, by Kenneth H. Vickers (Putnam).

Among the spring books of the Oxford University Press is *The King's Council in the Middle Ages*, by Professor J. F. Baldwin of Vassar College.

In Messrs. Methuen's antiquarian series Dr. J. C. Cox has just issued a study of *Old Churchwardens' Accounts*, beginning with those still preserved from the fourteenth century, and forming a parallel to his book already published on the parish registers.

Messrs. Macmillan are soon to publish the fourth volume of Dr. James Gairdner's *Lollardy and the English Reformation*, which has been completed since that author's death by Dr. William Hunt.

*The Rise and Fall of the High Commission*, by Professor R. G. Usher of Washington University, St. Louis, is published by the Oxford University Press this spring.

It is expected that the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records will before long be enabled to resume, at 1603, the printing of the Registers of the Privy Council.

The theses of Miss V. M. Shillington on the medieval period, and of A. B. Wallis Chapman on the modern period are published jointly under the title of *The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal* (New York, Dutton, 1912, pp. xxxii, 344).

The latest issue of the *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society* contains a transcription of "The Fifth-Monarchy Manifesto of 1654" and a sketch of the life of Dr. Peter Chamberlin, "Pastor, Propagandist, and Patenter", 1601-1683.

Mr. Robert Dunlop is the editor of two volumes of important documents dealing with the government of Ireland between 1651 and 1659, entitled *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, and published as a *Manchester University Publication*.

*Sir Roger L'Estrange*, by George Kitchin (Dutton), is the latest important addition to the history of the English press in the seventeenth century.

Volume II. of Mr. H. W. Clark's *History of English Nonconformity* (Chapman and Hall) covers the period from 1660 to the close of the nineteenth century.

*Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England with the North of Europe*, edited by Professor C. H. Firth, contains a list of English diplomatic representatives and agents in Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, and of those countries in England, 1689-1762, contributed by J. F. Chance (Oxford, Blackwell).

*The Life and Correspondence of Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain*, by Philip C. Yorke, a work in six volumes, from the Cambridge University Press, is based largely on the Hardwicke and Newcastle manuscripts in the British Museum.

It is understood that the second and concluding volume of Sir George Trevelyan's *George III. and Charles Fox*, the end of his series relating to the American Revolution, may be expected to appear in the autumn of 1914.

*Commodore Sir John Hayes: his Voyage and Life*, by Ida Lee, published by Messrs. Longmans, is an excellent biography of a servant of the East India Company whose name is but little known.

No. XIX. of the *Manchester University Publications*, historical series, is to be *The Naval Mutinies of 1797*, by Conrad Gill.

*The Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell, 1805-1840*, edited by his son, Hon. Rollo Russell, has been announced by Fisher Unwin.

A year ago the Lords of the Admiralty appointed a committee to make a special historical study of the tactics of Trafalgar. The committee, consisting of Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, Admiral Sir Reginald Custance, and Professor Charles H. Firth, has its report nearly ready.

Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out *England in 1815 as seen by a Young Boston Merchant: being the Reflections and Comments of Joseph Ballard on a Trip through Great Britain in the Year of Waterloo*. The writer of these reflections was a young member of an old Boston family. His record of the visit, now first published, contains clear and accurate descriptions and naïve comments.

Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan has in press a biography of John Bright.

Messrs. Blackwood have just published a *Life of Sir Alfred Comyn Lyall, K. C. B., G. C. I. E.*, a singularly interesting personality, who gave fifty-five years of service to the government of India, was home secretary, ruler of the Northwest Provinces and Oudh, foreign secretary, and for twenty-three years a member of the Council for India, and was also distinguished in literature. The biography is written by Sir Mortimer Durand, formerly British ambassador in Washington, but long connected with the Indian government.

M. Beer has written a *Geschichte des Sozialismus in England* (Stuttgart, Dietz, 1913).

*British Social Politics*, by Professor Carlton Hayes, of Columbia University, deals with the social changes of the last few years in Great Britain.

British documentary publications: *Calendar of the Fine Rolls*, vol. III., Edward II., 1319-1327; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, vol. XIII., 1364-1367, ed. R. F. Isaacson; XIV., 1367-1370; *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the Archives and Collections of Milan*, vol. I., ed. A. B. Hinds.

Other documentary publications: *Publications of the Huguenot Society of London*, vol. XX., *Registers of the French Churches of Bristol, Stonchouse, and Plymouth*, ed. Charles E. Lart.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. H. Stevenson, *Senlac and the Malfossé* (*English Historical Review*, April); G. B. Adams, *Procedure in the Feudal Curia Regis* (*Columbia Law Review*, April); Hilary Jenkinson, *William Cade, a Financier of the Twelfth Century* (*English Historical Review*, April); Theodora Keith, *The Influence of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland on the Economic Development of Scotland before 1707* (*Scottish Historical Review*, April); C. E. Fryer, *The Numerical Decline of Dissent in England previous to the Industrial Revolution* (*American Journal of Theology*, April); E. R. Turner, *The*

*Peerage Bill of 1719* (English Historical Review); C. H. McIlwain, *The Tenure of English Judges* (Political Science Review, May).

## FRANCE

General reviews: L. Halphen, *Histoire de France: Époques Franque et des Capétiens Directs* (Revue Historique, March); P. Caron, *Publications Récentes sur l'Histoire Militaire de la Révolution* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, January); L. Villat, *La Corse Napoléonienne* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May); R. Lévy, *Histoire Intérieure des Deux Empires*, II. (*ibid.*, March); H. Hauser, *Histoire de France: Époque Moderne* (Revue Historique, May).

The publishers, Hachette of Paris, have announced the publication in 18 volumes of an illustrated edition of Lavis's *Histoire de France*. The fiftieth anniversary of Professor Lavis's entrance as a scholar in the Superior Normal School has recently been celebrated by his friends and pupils.

In the series *Histoire Générale de Paris*, F. G. de Pachtère has published *Paris à l'Époque Gallo-Romaine* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1912, pp. xlii, 192). The volume is largely based on the notes and plans made by T. Vacquer, formerly of the Carnavalet museum, who watched all the excavations during the rebuilding of Paris from 1844 to 1894.

M. Pierre Caron, in conjunction with Eugène Saulnier, has inaugurated another bibliographical undertaking, a *Bibliographie des Travaux Publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de la France de 1500 à 1789*, which will supplement his earlier publications.

Professor Gustave Lanson's *Manuel Bibliographique de la Littérature Française Moderne, 1500-1900* (4 vols., Paris, Hachette), besides its general usefulness to the historian, contains a section devoted to historical writers.

The two centuries from 1515 to 1715 are covered in the fifth volume of the *Histoire de Bretagne* by La Borderie and Pocquet. The sixth volume, which will carry the account to 1789 and contain an index, will appear in the autumn. A volume on *La Bretagne pendant la Révolution* has been published by R. Kerviler (Rennes, Simon, 1912, pp. 267).

Rev. B. S. Berrington has given to English readers a translation of L. Penning's *Life and Times of Calvin* which summarizes recent research on this subject.

In the first of two volumes on *Les Origines Politiques des Guerres de Religion*, Lucien Romier deals with *Henri II. et l'Italie, 1547-1555* (Paris, Perrin, 1913, pp. ix, 578).

The administration of a province under Louis XIV. is the subject of a monograph by Albert Croquez on *La Flandre Wallonne et le Pays de l'Intendance de Lille sous Louis XII*. (Paris, Champion, 1913, pp. ix,

452). R. V. C. has written an *Essai sur la Population des Taillabilités du Dauphiné d'après les Mémoires des Intendants, 1698-1762* (Valence, Céas, 1912, pp. xvi, 498). G. Vanel's *Une Grande Ville aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (Caen, Jouan, 1912, pp. 400) is the third volume of a series on Caen. *Les Remontrances et Arrêts du Parlement de Provence, 1715-1790*, has been edited by P. A. Robert (Paris, Rousseau, 1912, pp. 692).

E. Laloy of the National Library has written *Énigmes du Grand Siècle: le Masque de Fer, Jacques Stuart de la Cloche, l'Abbé Prignani, Roux de Marsilly* (Paris, Le Soudier, 1913, pp. 312) in which he adduces proofs that the famous masked prisoner was a person unknown, probably a priest, who was arrested at Dunkirk in 1669 and imprisoned at Pignerol under the name of Eustache Dauger. The author finds that Matthioly, who was long considered the man of the iron mask, was not arrested until 1679 and died at Sainte-Marguerite in April, 1694. The proof of the death in 1678 or 1679 of the Abbé Prignani refutes the hypothesis of Mgr. Barnes. The mysterious Jacques Stuart de la Cloche is proven an impostor who died in 1669. Eighty pages are devoted to Roux de Marsilly, a protestant who plotted the assassination of Louis XIV. and was executed in 1669, and Mr. Andrew Lang's suggestion that Roux's valet Martin might have been the masked prisoner is rejected. A chapter is devoted to a review of the literature of the subject.

Mgr. A. Baudrillart and M. Léon Lecestre are the editors of the *Lettres du Duc de Bourgogne au Roi d'Espagne, Philippe V., et à la Reine*, of which the first volume, extending from 1701 to 1708, has just been published by the Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, Renouard, 1912, pp. 393).

The financial administration under Louis XVI. receives some attention in Fengler's *Die Wirtschaftspolitik Turgots und seiner Zeitgenossen im Lichte der Wirtschaft des Ancien Régime* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1913), and in the Marquis de Ségur's *Au Couchant de la Monarchie: Louis XVI. et Necker, 1776-1781* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1913).

The thesis of Dr. Pierre Ladoué is an excellent and elaborate bibliography of 463 items by *Les Panégyristes de Louis XVI. et de Marie Antoinette* (Paris, Picard, 1912, pp. xxvii, 214). There is a twenty-page introduction and an index. The arrangement is mainly by years.

*L'Oeuvre Législative de la Révolution* is a working manual compiled by L. Cahen and R. Guyot (Paris, Alcan, 1913, pp. iii, 486). Under four headings, political and constitutional, administrative, military and diplomatic, and economic and social, there are arranged in chronological order the principal laws enacted during the Revolution. In case of the more extended acts, unimportant portions are omitted. The volume will be a great convenience to every student of the Revolution.

Recent issues of the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française* are the second volume of *Cahiers*



de Doléances des Bailliages des Généralités de Metz et de Nancy, ed. Ch. Étienne; the fourth volume of the *Cahiers de Doléances de la Sénéchaussée de Rennes*, ed. H. Sée and A. Lesort, which completes its series with a general index and a bibliography; and the second and concluding volume of *Documents Relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux dans le Département de la Gironde*, edited by Professors Marion, Benzacar, and Caudrillier, which contains an index (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. 442, 571, 646).

Several notable biographies of revolutionary personages have recently appeared. General de Piépape is the author of a *Histoire des Princes de Condé au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle: la Fin d'une Race, les Trois Derniers Condé* (Paris, Plon, 1913, pp. iv, 529); A. Chuquet, of *Le Général Dagobert* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1912, pp. 472); Vicomte de Brachet, of *Le Conventionnel J. B. LeCarpentier* (Paris, Perrin, 1912, pp. xv, 399); and J. Lhommer, of *Un Homme Politique Lorrain: François de Neufchâteau* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1913, pp. x, 233).

Miss I. A. Taylor has given to English readers an excellent account of the rising in La Vendée in 1793 in *The Tragedy of an Army: La Vendée in 1793* (Hutchinson).

The twenty-second volume of Aulard's *Rccuil des Actes du Comité du Salut Public* (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. 868) covers the period from April 12 to May 9, 1795.

M. Frédéric Masson has published the tenth volume of *Napoléon et sa Famille* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1913) dealing with the years 1814 and 1815. The same author has also issued *Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1912, pp. xv, 504). Lieutenant E. Peyron has made a study of an episode in the early life of Bonaparte in his *Expédition de Sardaigne: le Lieutenant-Colonel Bonaparte à la Maddalena, 1792-1793* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1912, pp. 152).

Under the title *The French Revolution in 1848 in its Economic Aspect* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, two vols.) we have for college and other use Louis Blanc's *Organisation du Travail*, reprinted from the fifth edition of 1848, Émile Thomas's *Histoire des Ateliers Nationaux*, published in that same year, and a critical and historical introduction prepared by Mr. J. A. R. Marriott.

*La Fusion Monarchique, 1848-1873*, by C. N. Desjoyeaux (Paris, Plon, 1913, pp. 468), deals with the relations between the Legitimist and Orleanist branches of the Bourbon family and their respective followings.

*Republican France, 1870-1912: her Presidents, Statesmen, Policy, Vicissitudes, and Social Life*, by Ernest Alfred Vizetelly (Boston, Small, Maynard, and Company), is a work by an Englishman who displays a remarkable understanding of French institutions and French life.

The presidency of Carnot is the subject of the third volume of Lieut.-Col. Simond's *Histoire de la Troisième République* (Paris, Charles-

Lavauzelle, 1913, pp. 470). Léon Jacques has attempted in *Les Partis Politiques sous la Troisième République* (Paris, Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1913, pp. 541) to give for young voters an impartial account of the existing parties. Armand Charpentier gives the recent history of one of the parties in *Le Parti Radical et Radical Socialiste à Travers ses Congrès, 1901-1911* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1912).

A considerable group of interesting volumes has recently appeared relating to Algeria. The most important is E. Le Marchand's *L'Europe et la Conquête d'Alger* (Paris, Perrin, 1913, pp. viii, 340), which is based upon new materials from the French state archives. G. Esquer's essay on *Les Débuts de l'Administration Civile à Alger* (Algiers, Jourdan, 1912, pp. 40) is an off-print from the *Revue Africaine*. The same publisher and author have issued a valuable guide to *Les Archives Algériennes et les Sources de l'Histoire de la Conquête* (1912, pp. 63). Professor Georges Yver of the University of Algiers has published the *Correspondance du Capitaine Daumas, Consul à Mascara, 1837-1839* (Algiers, Jourdan, 1912, pp. xxviii, 688). J. Tournier has written *Le Cardinal Lavigerie et son Action Politique, 1863-1892* (Paris, Perrin, 1913, pp. x, 416).

There has been founded at Paris a Société pour l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, with M. Alfred Martineau, president, and MM. Henri Froidevaux and Charles Mourey, secretaries. The society has undertaken a quarterly *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, and a series of publications of which the first volume is LaCourbe's *Premier Voyage fait à la Côte d'Afrique en 1685*, edited by P. Cultru. Both the review and the publications will be handled by M. Henri Champion of Paris. The subscription will be twenty-five francs a year. The society plans to publish an historical atlas of the French colonies. As the society includes in the scope of its researches and publications the former as well as the present colonies of France, its work will have a distinct interest for students of American history.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Mauriou, *La Formation de la Seine-Inférieure*, I., II. (*Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*, November, January); R. de Fréville, *Étude sur l'Organisation Judiciaire en Normandie aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (*ibid.*, November); V. L. Bourilly, *Antonio Roncin et la Politique Orientale de François 1<sup>er</sup>*, I. (*Revue Historique*, May); R. Picard, *Les Mutations des Monnaies et la Doctrine Économique en France, du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle à la Révolution* (*Revue d'Histoire des Doctrines Économiques et Sociales*, V. 4); E. Rott, *Richelieu et l'Annexion projetée de Genève, 1631-1632*, I., II. (*Revue Historique*, March, May); G. del Vecchio, *Ueber einige Grundgedanken der Politik Rousseau's* (*Archiv für Rechts- und Wirtschaftsphilosophie*, VI. 1); Comte d'Haussonville, *Madame de Staël et M. Necker d'après leur Correspondance inédite*, I.-IV. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, February 15, March 1, March 15, April 1); A. Aulard, *La Nuit du 4 Août* (*La Révolution Française*, March); A. Calmette, *Les Car-*

*bonari en France sous la Restauration*, I, II. (La Révolution de 1848, January, March); G. Weill, *Les Saint-Simoniens sous Napoléon III*. (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May).

### ITALY AND SPAIN

General reviews: C. Rinaudo, *Rivoluzione Francese, 1789-1815: Risorgimento Italiano, 1815-1912: Mazziniana; Garibaldiana* (Rivista Storica Italiana, January); G. Bourgin, *Histoire d'Italie, Période du Risorgimento, 1789-1870* (Revue Historique, March).

The second, third, and fourth volumes of the *Corpus Statutorum Italicorum* have appeared. E. Anderloni has edited the first volume of *Statuti dei Laghi di Como e di Lugano*; G. degli Azzì, the first volume of the *Statuti di Perugia*; and E. Rinaldi, the *Statuti di Forlì, 1359-1373* (Rome, Loescher, 1913).

A. Crivellucci has edited the *Historia Romana* of Landulfus Sagax for the *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* (Rome, Loescher, 1913, 2 vols.).

The administration of the Italian communes is treated in Franchini's *Saggio di Ricerche per l'Istituto del Podestà nei Comuni Medievali* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1913).

Baron A. Manno has contributed the *Bibliografia Storica degli Stati della Monarchia di Savoia* as the ninth volume of the *Bibliografia Storica Italiana* (Turin, Bocca, 1913, pp. 540).

The first volume of the *Fonti di Storia Fiorentina* contains *Le Carte del Monastero di S. Maria in Firenze, Badia*, edited by L. Schiaparelli (Rome, Loescher, 1913).

Biagio Pace of Palermo has contributed to the *Archivio Storico Siciliano* for 1912 an account of Sicily from the fifth to the ninth centuries, entitled *I Barbari e i Bizantini in Sicilia*. The first chapter deals with the Vandals, the second with the Goths, and the remainder with the Byzantines, closing with an account of the Saracen conquest in the ninth century. The author has brought together much valuable new material.

The unfortunate illegitimate son of Frederick II., Enzo, king of Sardinia, is the subject of two recent monographs: A. Messeri, *Re Enzo* (Genoa, Formiggini, 1912, pp. 78), and M. de Szombathely, *Re Enzo nella Storia e nella Leggenda* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1912, pp. 133).

The years 1836 and 1837 are the period included in the twelfth and thirteenth volumes of the *Edizione Nazionale* of Mazzini's *Scritti editi ed inediti* (Imola, Galeati, 1912). Giuseppe Calabrò has written a critical study of *La Dottrina Religioso-Sociale nelle Opere di Giuseppe Mazzini* (Palermo, Reber, 1912).

Don José Fernández Montaña has written *Felipe II, el Prudente, Rey de España, en Relación con Artes y Artistas, con Ciencias y Sabios* (Madrid, Imp. de San Francisco de Sales, 1912, pp. 506).

Professor Ernst Daenell of the University of Kiel has contributed to the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* an enlightening study of the colonization and colonial policy of Spain. The study bears the title "Kolonisation und Kolonialpolitik der Spanier, vornehmlich in Nordamerika".

The first English life of Queen Isabella II. of Spain has come from the pen of Mr. Francis Gribble, under the title *The Tragedy of Isabella II.* (Chapman and Hall).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: E. A. Goldsilber, *Courrier Allemand*, III. (Revue des Questions Historiques, April).

Among recent works on German institutions and conditions in the Middle Ages are: Mayer-Homberg's *Die Fränkischen Volksrechte im Mittelalter* (vol. I., Weimar, Böhlau, 1913); Glitsch's *Untersuchungen zur Mittelalterlichen Vogtgerichtsbarkeit* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1913); Schwietering's *Zur Geschichte vom Speer und Schwert im 12. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, Gräfe and Sillem, 1913); Krammer's *Das Kurfürstenkolleg von seinen Anfängen bis zum Zusammenschluss im Renser Kurverein des Jahres 1338* (Weimar, Böhlau, 1913); Hans Hirsch's *Die Klosterimmunität seit dem Investiturstreit* (Weimar, Böhlau, 1913); Hans Spangenberg's *Vom Lehnstaat zum Ständestaat: ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Landständischen Verfassung* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1912, pp. xii, 207).

Dr. Andreas Walther, privatdozent in the University of Berlin, is the author of a very interesting discussion of the antecedents of the schemes for imperial reform under Maximilian I., *Die Ursprünge der Deutschen Behörden-Organisation im Zeitalter Maximilians I.* (Berlin, Kohlhammer, 1913, pp. 92). He emphasizes the importance of native in contrast to foreign influences.

Professor Hartmann Grisar, S.J., of the University of Innsbruck, has completed his life of *Luther* by a third volume with the sub-title, *Am Ende der Bahn, Rückblicke* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1912, pp. xviii, 1108). The volume contains a full index to the whole work. Following closely after the appearance of this work in Germany comes an English version of vol. I., translated by E. M. Lamond and published by Kegan Paul.

T. von Liebenau has contributed a study on *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner* to the ninth volume of Pastor's *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1913, pp. viii, 266).

Under the auspices of the Verein für Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg, W. Friedensburg has published one volume and M. Haas another of *Kurmärkische Ständeakten* in the sixteenth century (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1913).

Hermann Hallwich is publishing *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte Wallensteins, 1630-1634* (Vienna, Hölder).

A volume of *Preussische Staatsverträge aus der Regierungszeit König Friedrich Wilhelms I.*, edited by V. Löwe, has recently appeared among the publications of the Prussian State Archives (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1913).

An elaborate study of the financial administration under Frederick the Great is by G. P. Reimann on *Das Tabaksmonopol Friedrichs des Grossen* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1913).

Three volumes of *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte der Burschenschaft und der Deutschen Einheitsbewegung*, edited by Herman Haupt (Heidelberg, Winter), have already appeared under the auspices of the recently constituted Burschenschaft Historical Commission.

The French occupation of Prussia furnishes the subject for two recent monographs: H. Granier's *Berichte aus der Berliner Franzosenzeit* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1913) makes extensive use of papers from the archives of both Berlin and Paris. A smaller work on *Ostpreussen in der Franzosenzeit* is by Bezzenberger (Königsberg, Gräfe and Unger, 1913).

Prince Schwarzenberg's *Briefe an seine Frau, 1799-1816*, have been edited by J. F. Novák (Vienna, 1913); and J. von Pflugk-Harttung has edited Gneisenau's *Briefe, 1809-1815* (Gotha, Perthes, 1913). A life of Schwarzenberg has also been published by Kerchnawe and Veltzé (Vienna, Gerlach and Wiedling, 1913). O. Harnack has published a biography of *Wilhelm von Humboldt* (Berlin, Hofmann, 1913).

The beginnings of political agitation in Germany after the Congress of Vienna are set forth in *Die Anfänge des Parteipolitischen Lebens und der Presse in Bayern unter Ludwig I., 1825-1831*, by W. Lempfrid (Strassburg, Herder, 1912); and in A. List's *Der Kampf ums gute alte Recht, 1815-1819, nach seiner Idee und Parteigeschichtliche Seite* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1913).

Dr. Lina von Kulenkampff in *Der Erste Vereinigte Preussische Landtag, 1847, und die Oeffentliche Meinung Südwestdeutschlands* (Berlin, Rothschild, 1913, pp. 106), and E. Hemmerle in *Die Rheinländer und die Preussische Verfassungsfrage auf dem Ersten Vereinigten Landtag, 1847* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1912, pp. 229) deal with somewhat different aspects of the same question.

Hans Schmidt has produced a volume on *Die Polnische Revolution des Jahres 1848 im Grossherzogtum Posen* (Weimar, Duncker, 1912, pp. xxxii, 389), which is an exhaustive compilation of facts resulting from researches in various archives.

G. Goyau's *Bismarck et l'Église: le Kulturkampf, 1870-1887* (vols. 3 and 4, Paris, Perrin, 1913) is now complete in four volumes.

The latest issues in the *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen* are Dr. Otto Schmidt's *Die Reichseinnahmen Ruprechts v. d. Pfalz* (Leipzig,

Quelle and Meyer, 1912, pp. 100), which describes the financial administrative system, and both the regular and the extraordinary sources of revenue and collection; Dr. Walther Thenius's *Die Anfänge des Stehenden Heerwesens in Kursachsen unter Johann Georg III. und Johann Georg IV.* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1912, pp. xii, 148), which describes the development and condition of the Saxon army from 1680 to 1694; and Dr. Walter Thum's *Die Rekrutierung der Sächsischen Armee unter August dem Starken* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1912, pp. 89). Each thesis is based upon the use of material from the archives as well as upon published sources.

H. Wäsche is publishing a three-volume *Anhaltische Geschichte* (Cöthen, Schulze, 1912-1913).

A *Geschichte der Freien Stadt Frankfurt-am-Main, 1814-1866*, has been written by R. Schwemer (Frankfort, Baer, 1912).

Adolf Rapp has made the first attempt to publish the sources for the history of Stuttgart, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Stuttgart* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1912, pp. xxii, 680), of which the first volume runs from the earliest mention in 1229 to 1496. The volume is the thirteenth issued by the Württemberg Historical Commission.

Professor Richard Charnatz's *Wegweiser durch die Litteratur der Oesterreichischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1913, pp. x, 138) is a manual for elementary and popular rather than for scholarly use. It is an attempt to list the best books on the different phases, political, economic, and cultural, of the history of the whole Austro-Hungarian monarchy. A more pretentious and specialized work is Dr. I. Kont's *Bibliographie Française de la Hongrie, 1521-1910, avec un Inventaire des Documents Manuscrits* (Paris, Leroux, 1913).

Count Victor Ségur-Cabanac has written a sympathetic account of *Kaiser Ferdinand I. als Regent und Mensch* (Vienna, Konegen, 1912, pp. xvii, 262). His great-grandfather was Ferdinand's chamberlain and an opponent of Metternich.

W. Alter has used some new materials in a little monograph on *Die Auswärtige Politik der Ungarischen Revolution, 1848-1849* (Berlin, Paetel, 1913), and in his *Feldzeugmeister Benedek und die K. und K. Nordarmee, 1866* (Berlin, Paetel, 1912; reviewed by General von Zwehl, *Deutsche Rundschau*, January).

The rise of the municipality of Geneva, and its civil, judicial, and financial systems in the fifteenth century are described by the late Léopold Micheli in *Les Institutions Municipales de Genève au XV<sup>me</sup> Siècle*, published in the *Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève* (Geneva, Jullien, 1912, pp. 244). A series of illustrative documents is printed as an appendix.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Bloch, *Die Sachsengeschichte Widukinds von Korvei* (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Aeltere

Deutsche Geschichtskunde, XXXVIII. 1); K. Strecker, *Notkers Vita S. Galli* (*ibid.*, 1); F. L. Baumann, *Die Benediktiner Urkunden bis 1270* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 1912, 2); W. Fraknoi, *Die Thronfolgeordnung im Zeitalter der Arpáden* (Ungarische Rundschau, January); H. Niese, *Materialien zur Geschichte Kaiser Friedrichs II.* (Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., 1912, 4); D. Csánki, *Matthias, König der Ungarn* (Ungarische Rundschau, January); J. A. Faulkner, *Luther and the Bigamous Marriage of Philip of Hesse* (American Journal of Theology, April); P. Hildebrandt, *Die Päpstliche Politik in der Preussischen und in der Jülich-Klevischen Frage*, II. (Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, XV. 2); P. Hildebrandt, *Die Anfänge des Direkten Diplomatischen Verkehrs zwischen dem Päpstlichen und dem Preussischen Hofe: ein Nachtrag zu "Preussen und die Römische Kurie"* (*ibid.*); V. Marcé, *La Chambre des Comptes de Prusse et la Cour des Comptes de l'Empire Allemand*, I. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, March); M. Lehmann, *Die Ehrhebung von 1813* (Preussische Jahrbücher, March); H. Scholz, *Fichte und Napoleon* (*ibid.*, April); F. J. Schmidt, *Hegel und Marx* (*ibid.*, March); K. A. von Müller, *Bismarck und Ludwig II. in September 1870* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXI. 1).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

General review: S. Grawez, *Livres Belges qu'il faut lire pour notre Vie Nationale* (Revue Bibliographique Belge, December).

Rudolf Häpke is the editor of *Niederländische Akten und Urkunden zur Geschichte der Hanse und zur Deutschen Seegeschichte*, of which the first volume extends from 1531 to 1557 (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1913).

Dr. H. W. van Loon, a Dutch scholar, now of Washington, has issued a volume on *The Fall of the Dutch Republic*, through Messrs. Houghton Mifflin in Boston and Messrs. Constable in London.

Professor A. Cauchie of the University of Louvain has published *Le Comte L. C. M. de Barbiano de Belgiojoso et ses Papiers d'État conservés à Milan: Contribution à l'Histoire des Réformes de Joseph II. en Belgique* (Brussels, Weissenbruch, 1912, pp. 190; reviewed, *Revue Critique*, March 29), in volume LXXXI. 3 of the *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire de Belgique*. Count Barbiano di Belgiojoso was the real administrator of the Austrian Netherlands under Maria Christina from 1783 to 1787, and was the unpopular agent of Joseph's reforming policy. The *Bulletin*, LXXXI. 4, contains a collection by M. Émile Dony of letters of Philip II. and Margaret of Parma to Philippe de Croy, third duke of Aerschot, and one of letters and other documents of Gerard Mercator, edited by Professor F. Van Ortrooy. The next number

(LXXXII. 1) presents an interesting study of "La Vie intime en Flandre au Moyen Age d'après des Documents Inédits", by M. Napoléon de Pauw.

The sixth volume covering the closing years of the Napoleonic empire completes *La Domination Française en Belgique*, by Jules Delhaize (Brussels, Lebègue, 1913, pp. 358; reviewed, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, April).

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Professor A. C. Crowell has completed an excellent translation of Dr. Karl Mortensen's *Handbook of Norse Mythology* (New York, T. Y. Crowell, pp. viii, 208). Felix Niedner has written *Islands Kultur zur Wikingerzeit* (Jena, Diedrichs, 1913, pp. vi, 189) as an introductory volume for the collection of German translations of early Norse literature, *Thule*.

The Cambridge University Press (New York, Putnams) has lately added to its series of *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature* two good little historical books: on *The Icelandic Sagas*, by Dr. W. A. Craigie, and on *The Vikings*, by Professor Allen Mawer.

Hutchinson and Company have published in two volumes M. Eugénie Koch's translation of *An Exiled King: Gustaf Adolf IV. of Sweden* by Sophie Elkan.

Justice Barton of the British High Court of Justice is bringing out the first volume of a *Life of Bernadotte*, based on new as well as old material, and published by John Murray.

A recent contribution to the history of the Baltic Provinces is Drever's *Die Lübsch-Livländischen Beziehungen zur Zeit des Unterganges Livländischer Selbständigkeit, 1551-1563* (Lübeck, Schmidt, 1913).

Professor Jireček of the University of Vienna has published a timely study on a little known subject, *Staat und Gesellschaft im Mittelalterlichen Serbien* (Vienna, Hölder, 1913).

Some account of the conditions in the Balkan peninsula preceding the present war may be found in L. Boussenard's *La Terreur en Macédoine, Récit Vrai* (Paris, Tallandier, 1912, pp. viii, 396). Another volume of war correspondence is *De Sofia à Tchataldja*, by René Puaux, of the *Paris Temps* (Paris, Perrin, 1913). The first attempt of a military historian to give an account of the war is Lieut.-Col. Boucabeille's *La Guerre Turco-Balkanique, 1912, Thrace, Macédoine, Albanie, Épire* (Paris, Chapelot, 1913, with 11 maps; reviewed, *Revue Historique*, May).

*The Ottoman Empire, 1801-1913*, by William Miller (Cambridge University Press) follows the history of Turkey and the Balkan states down to March, 1913. Among other books dealing with recent Turkish his-



tory are: *With the Turks in Thrace*, by Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett (New York, George H. Doran); *With the Conquered Turk*, by Major Lionel James (Boston, Small, Maynard, and Company); *The Balkan War Drama*, by Cyril Campbell (New York, McBride, Nast, and Company); *With the Victorious Bulgarians*, by Lieut. Hermenegild Wagner (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company); *Two Years under the Crescent*, by H. C. Seppings Wright (Nisbet and Company); and *With the Bulgarian Staff*, by Noel Buxton (London, Smith and Elder).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Willgren, *Zur Agrargeschichte Schwedens im Früheren Mittelalter* (Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, February); E. Bull, *Die Sozialistische Bewegung in Norwegen* (Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung, III. 3); A. Bugge, *Norske Historikere* (Samtiden, XXIV. 2); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Sur la Mort de Paul I<sup>er</sup>* (Revue des Études Historiques, March); M. Baumgart, *Les Pouvoirs de l'Empereur d'après la Constitution Russe* (Revue du Droit Public et de la Science Politique en France et à l'Étranger, January); A. Andréadès, *Ali Pacha de Tébélín, Économiste et Financier* (Revue des Études Grecques, November).

### THE FAR EAST

Herbert H. Gowen has published through Sherman, French, and Company, a brief but useful *Outline History of China*, which, in 182 pages, covers the period from the earliest time to the Manchu conquest.

M. Henri Cordier has prepared a *Bibliotheca Japonica, Dictionnaire Bibliographique des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Empire Japonais, rangés par Ordre Chronologique jusqu'à 1870, suivi d'un Appendice renfermant la Liste Alphabétique des Principaux Ouvrages parus de 1870 à 1912*, which forms the eighth volume of the fifth series of the *Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (Paris, Leroux, 1913, pp. xii, 762).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Courant, *Les Débuts de la Révolution dans les Provinces Chinoises* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, March); A. Legendre, *La Révolution Chinoise* (Revue de Paris, February 15).

### AMERICA

#### GENERAL ITEMS

Of the staff of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Mr. Leland continues in Paris and Miss Davenport has gone to England for further work upon her volumes of treaties. Professor Faust of Cornell University is now at work in the archives of the German cantons of Switzerland. From June 18 to September 18 the headquarters of the Department will as usual be "North Edgecomb, Maine". Of the forthcoming publications it is expected that Professor Bolton's *Guide to the Materials for United States History in the Archives of Mexico* will appear during the summer. The index

to Mr. Parker's *Guide* to similar materials in Canada, and that to Messrs. Paullin and Paxson's book on those in the English archives for the period after 1783 are now being prepared. Galley-proof of the second volume of Professor Andrews's *Guide to the Materials for American History in the Public Record Office* has been read.

The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has recently acquired several extremely interesting collections: the entire body of the papers of the African Colonization Society; the extensive papers of Nicholas Biddle; those of Gideon Granger and of Francis Granger, the latter including a part of the papers of Thurlow Weed; those of S. L. Southard and of Hugh McCulloch; the letter book of W. H. Crawford when minister in France, and the letters written to him by the treaty commissioners at Ghent; the account book of Robert Carter Nicholas as treasurer of Virginia, 1775-1777; and a number of important papers in colonial history from the Phillipps sale in London.

The volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies*, for 1703 is all in type. Beginning with that for 1704 it is understood to be the intention of the Deputy Keeper of the British Public Records to pursue a different system, intended to advance more rapidly the work of calendaring. Instead of inserting in their chronological places, day by day, the matters contained in the Journals of the Board of Trade and, as has of late been done, those contained in the journals of the colonial assemblies, these will in future be wholly omitted. The American states, and apparently also the West Indian authorities, will be relied upon to complete the printing of their journals if not already printed, and an independent publication will be made of the Journals of the Board of Trade, beginning at present with 1704, but later running back to 1696. It is expected that this change of system will enable the ground of the *Calendars* to be covered at twice the present rate of progress.

On July 19, 1912, the President issued an executive order instructing the heads of executive departments to obtain from each office under their jurisdiction, outside the city of Washington, information concerning what archives prior to 1873 exist in these offices and in what condition they are. These reports were to be sent to the Librarian of Congress to be edited. The report of the Librarian of Congress, dated February 28, 1913, was transmitted to Congress by the President and has been printed with the title *Archives of Government Offices outside of the City of Washington* (62 Cong., 3 sess., *House Doc. no. 1443*, pp. 219). The reports from the diplomatic and consular offices throughout the world show that, in spite of many gaps and losses, these archives contain a great mass of unused material valuable for the diplomatic and commercial history of the United States. Reports from government offices within the United States, such as the mints, and the offices of collectors of internal revenue and of customs (though the customs reports are meagre and perfunctory) indicate the existence of much material of

value for the economic history of the country. The report also covers the archives of the federal district courts, attorneys, and marshals, those to be found at the various forts and military posts, and in navy yards, and the land office records, these last being the best preserved. Deliberate destruction of records not in current use must have occurred much oftener than is recorded in these reports. Of the lack of care in their preservation the reports afford abundant evidence. The librarian suggests that many of these records may properly be destroyed, but recommends that this shall be done only after an examination by competent authority. The rest, it is plain, should go to Washington, to the proposed National Archive Building.

The Macmillan Company has brought out a volume of the addresses delivered by Mr. James Bryce during the past six years. The volume bears the title *University and Historical Addresses* and includes the Character and Career of Lincoln, the Beginnings of Virginia, the Landing of the Pilgrims, Thomas Jefferson, the Constitution of the United States, and other addresses.

In his monograph *The Supreme Court and Unconstitutional Legislation* (*Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*), Dr. B. F. Moore discusses the early attitude of the state courts towards declaring legislation unconstitutional, as well as the course of the Supreme Court of the United States on the question, and analyzes the federal statutes held void by the court. Five appendixes contain analytic tables of cases.

The Library of Congress has issued a third edition of its *List of References on Federal Control of Commerce and Corporations* (pp. 164). The present edition, compiled under the direction of H. H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer, is made up of references selected from the earlier lists (compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin) and from the material published during the past five years. It is the first of two sections and contains the references of a general character on interstate commerce, the constitutional question, etc. A second section, now in preparation, will contain references to material dealing with special applications of the principle of federal control.

The issues of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for January, March, and April contain the concluding installments (parts iv. and v. and supplement) of the List of City Charters, Ordinances, and Collected Documents.

The address of Mr. Charles Francis Adams, *'Tis Sixty Years Since*, delivered before the University of South Carolina on Founder's Day, January 16, 1913, has been brought out by the Macmillan Company. The purpose of the address is "to compare the ideals and actualities of the present with the ideals, anticipations, and dreams of a past now somewhat remote", and the opportunity to utter trenchant criticism upon some latter-day political panaceas is not neglected. The address is full of vital interest and illuminating interpretation.

Mr. Garfield Charles has compiled a supplementary volume to William M. Malloy's compilation of *Treaties, Conventions, etc., between the United States of America and other Powers* (Government Printing Office, 62 Cong., 3 sess., *Senate Doc. no. 1063*, pp. xxii, 443). The volume is in two parts, part 1 being Conventions in Force, and part 2, Conventions not in Force.

Senator Elihu Root's Stafford Little lectures, delivered recently at Princeton University, will be published by the Princeton University Press under the title *The Essentials of the Constitution*.

Colonel Reuben T. Durrett is contributing to *Americana* (January, February, March) a series of interesting papers upon Traditions of the Earliest Visits of Foreigners to North America. The articles relate principally to the Madoc Tradition. In the March number, under the caption "A Patriot's View of the Political Situation immediately following the Civil War", Mr. Duane Mowry presents a letter of Christopher L. Sholes, January 1, 1866, to Senator James R. Doolittle. Mr. Brigham H. Roberts brings his History of the Mormon Church down to 1857.

Mr. Mark A. Candler contributes to the January number of the *Magazine of History* a biographical sketch of John Adams Treutlen, the first governor of Georgia under the constitution of 1777, and Mr. Levi S. Gould contributes some Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln. A letter of Nathan Hale, October 19, 1775, is given in facsimile. Articles in the February number are: President Jackson and the Second United States Bank, by C. N. Holmes; the Counties of Rhode Island, by Rev. Daniel Goodwin; and a translation, contributed by Mr. L. D. Scisco (from *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, XXXIV. 357-363), of the commission, dated May 1, 1509, to Ponce de León, granting certain privileges in the island of Porto Rico.

In the January-April issue (double number) of the *German American Annals* Mr. Preston A. Barba continues his paper on Friedrich Armand Strubberg, giving an analytical account of Strubberg's literary works. Mr. Charles F. Brede's German Drama in English on the Philadelphia Stage is also continued.

A Mennonite Historical Society was recently organized with Rev. N. B. Grubb, Philadelphia, president, S. K. Mosiman, Bluffton, Ohio, vice-president, H. P. Krehbiel, Newton, Kansas, secretary, and G. A. Haury, Newton, Kansas, treasurer.

*Missionary Explorers among the American Indians*, by Mary Gay Humphreys, includes stories of notable missionaries to the Indians told largely in their own words (Scribner).

Mr. L. D. Scisco contributes to the December (1912) issue of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* translations of two patents for colonization issued to Ponce de León, the one of February 23, 1512, and the other of September 26, 1514. Texts of these docu-

ments are in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, XXII. 26, 33. The March number includes "Sundry Landmark Notabilia of our Society", by Rev. William J. McCallen, and a life of Bishop Conwell of Philadelphia, by the late Martin I. J. Griffin, revised and edited by Rev. Lemuel B. Norton.

The Doire Publishing Company of Philadelphia has recently published *The Irish Contribution to American Independence*, by Thomas H. Maginness, jr., a work intended to establish the importance of the Irish in the history of this country.

The American Geographical Society has placed on exhibition in its building in New York a number of notable maps in the form of glass transparencies, and has issued an historical description of them, prepared by Dr. Edward L. Stevenson: *Maps reproduced as Glass Transparencies: Selected to represent the Development of Map making from the First to the Seventeenth Century* (pp. 44). The transparencies, on glass plates about 44 by 56 centimetres in size, of which there are forty-one, have been placed in the windows of the society's lecture hall. The set includes the Peutinger Table, the world map of Cosmas, that of Blaeu, 1605, etc. Dr. Stevenson includes brief descriptions of nine notable maps which were on exhibition, though not as transparencies, among them facsimiles of the recently discovered maps of Waldseemüller and Hondius.

Professor Charles A. Beard has brought out through Macmillan *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. The book will be appropriately reviewed in an early issue of this journal.

The Macmillan Company has published *An Industrial History of the American People*, by J. R. H. Moore.

The *Proceedings*, vol. XXII., part 2, of the American Antiquarian Society relate in large measure to the celebration on October 16 of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the society. An "Historical Address" was delivered by Mr. Charles G. Washburn, and an address on Democracy and the Constitution by Professor A. C. McLaughlin. At the centennial dinner brief speeches were made by President Taft, Mr. James Bryce, Señor Pezet, minister of Peru, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Mr. Samuel W. Pennypacker, and Professor William A. Dunning. The volume includes also a description of the original records of the council for New England, recently presented to the society by Mr. Frederick L. Gay of Brookline. Included also are lists of the officers and members of the society, 1812-1912.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The *Viceroys of New Spain*, by Donald E. Smith, appears among the *University of California Publications in History*.

*A Naval History of the American Revolution*, in two volumes, by Dr. Gardner W. Allen, has been published by Houghton Mifflin Com-

pany, while Mrs. Reginald De Koven's *Life and Letters of John Paul Jones*, also in two volumes, has come from the press of Scribner. Both will be reviewed in an early number of this journal.

The diary of Fray Pedro Font, the chaplain who accompanied Juan Bautista Anza on his expedition to San Francisco Bay, September, 1775, to June, 1776, translated and edited by Mr. F. J. Teggart, has been published in original and translation by the University of California (*Academy of Pacific Coast History Publications*). The volume is entitled *The Anza Expedition of 1775-1776; Diary of Pedro Font*.

The series of lectures on the life and work of Thomas Jefferson, recently delivered by Senator John Sharp Williams at Columbia University, has been published by Lemcke and Buechner. The book bears the title *Thomas Jefferson: his permanent Influence on American Institutions*.

Ex-Senator Albert J. Beveridge has been making elaborate studies toward a life of Chief Justice John Marshall, and will be glad to hear of additional material.

It is understood that Mr. C. R. Brown of Princeton University has in press *The Northern Confederacy according to the Plan of the Essex Junto*.

In the monograph *The Development of Sentiment on Negro Suffrage to 1860* (*Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, no. 477, pp. 135), by Emil Olbrich, is presented a phase of the subject that has not been well known. The opinion is expressed in the opening paragraph of the study that the imposition of negro suffrage on the Southern states by the reconstruction measures of 1867 cannot be fully understood without a knowledge of the development of the ideas concerning the African's right of franchise through more than a hundred years of previous history. The author traces these ideas through legislation, discussion, and practice from the earliest known instances of negro voting (which were in 1701 and 1703, and strangely enough in South Carolina) to the outbreak of the Civil War. The author recognizes that negro suffrage as applied to the South after the war presented a different aspect from that which had been manifest in the Northern states before the war, when its advocacy was due to devotion to abstract principle, with scarcely any practical bearing; but believes that previous development of the idea had in no small measure prepared the ground. Mr. Olbrich died in 1906, and the monograph is put forth, with explanations, by Professor Carl R. Fish.

The centennial anniversary of the birth of Stephen A. Douglas was celebrated in Chicago on April 23, under the auspices of the Chicago Historical Society. Reminiscences of Douglas, prepared by his son, Robert M. Douglas, were read by his grandson, Martin F. Douglas. Colonel Clark E. Carr pronounced a eulogy on Douglas.

Moffat, Yard, and Company have brought out *William Lloyd Garrison*, by John J. Chapman.

*Major Robert Anderson and Fort Sumter, 1861* (pp. 19), by Eba Anderson Lawton, is a résumé of the affair of the defense of Fort Sumter, including some of the important correspondence, and is anticipatory of the memoirs of Major Anderson, which it is understood are in preparation.

The continuation of *The Story of the Civil War*, by the late John C. Ropes, of which two parts had been published before his death, was entrusted to Colonel W. R. Livermore. Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons have now brought out part III., which covers the campaign of 1863 to July 10, together with the operations on the Mississippi from April, 1862, and is in two volumes, book I. dealing with Chancellorsville, the operations against Vicksburg, etc., and book II. with Vicksburg, Port Hudson, Tullahoma, and Gettysburg.

Volume XXV. of series I of *Official Records of Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, edited by Mr. Charles W. Stewart, has been issued (Government Printing Office, 1912, 61 Cong., 3 sess., *House Doc. no. 1017*).

*The Life and Letters of General George G. Meade*, edited by his son and by his grandson, George G. Meade, is now out and will shortly be reviewed in this journal.

*The Indian War of 1864: being a Fragment of the Early History of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and Wyoming*, is by Captain E. F. Ware, a participant (Topeka, Crane, pp. 601).

Professor James A. Woodburn's *Life of Thaddeus Stevens* (Bobbs-Merrill Company) has come from the press.

Messrs. Putnam have just brought out in six handsome volumes *The Speeches, Correspondence, and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, selected and edited by Dr. Frederic Bancroft on behalf of the Carl Schurz Memorial Committee.

The library of Princeton University has published *An Essay towards a Bibliography of the published Writings and Addresses of Woodrow Wilson, 1875-1910* (pp. 24), by Harry Clemons, reference librarian. The compiler desires information from any source that will enable him to make complete the bibliography of the writings of Mr. Wilson to the time of his resignation of the presidency of Princeton University.

Senator Robert M. La Follette's *Autobiography: a Personal Narrative of Political Experiences*, which has been appearing serially in the *American Magazine*, is now published in book form (Madison, The Robert M. La Follette Company).

*The Panama Canal Conflict between Great Britain and the United States of America: a Study*, by Professor L. Oppenheim, of Cambridge, is a concise but forcible presentation of the case from the British point of view.

*The New International Year Book for 1912* (Dodd, Mead, and Company) has come from the press. Prominent features of the volume are American politics, foreign affairs, aqueducts and canal, reforms in the development of municipal government, progress of the peace movement, etc.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

*New England and New France: Contrasts and Parallels in Colonial History*, by James Douglas, has been published by Putnam.

Mr. J. Gardner Bartlett contributes to the April number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* a chancery bill (1627) relating to the dispute between John Pierce of London and the Merchant Adventurers. The town records of Gosport, New Hampshire, are continued; the records of the church at Willington, Connecticut, 1759-1790, contributed by Miss Mary K. Talcott, are begun.

*The Finances of Vermont (Columbia University Studies)*, by Frederick A. Wood, Ph.D., traces the financial history of the state from its beginning as the New Hampshire Grants to the near present.

It is understood that the Massachusetts Biographical Society will shortly bring out its *Biographical History of Massachusetts*, of which Dr. S. A. Eliot is editor-in-chief.

In the *Bostonian Society Publications*, vol. IX., appears the narrative of Ensign D'Berniere, one of the spies sent by General Gage, in February, 1775, to find out the state of the provincial magazines at Worcester and Concord. The narrative is edited and annotated by Mr. J. C. Hosmer. Rev. A. Titus contributes an account of Madam Sarah Knight, schoolmistress, and author of the well-known diary of travel.

The Essex Institute has published *Vital Records of Dunstable, Massachusetts*, extending to the end of the year 1849.

Charles Hudson's excellent *History of Lexington, Massachusetts*, first published in 1868, has been carefully revised and brought down to date by a committee of the Lexington Historical Society, and is now issued by the Houghton Mifflin Company in two handsome volumes, of which the second is entirely genealogical.

The New England Historic Genealogical Society has published *Vital Records of Abington, Massachusetts*, to the year 1850.

*Daniel Gookin (1612-1687), Assistant and Major-General of the Massachusetts Bay Colony: his Life and Letters and Some Account of his Ancestry*, by Frederick W. Gookin, is the result of research extending over sixty years, begun by John Wingate Thornton in 1840 and carried to completion by Mr. Gookin. It is published in Chicago by the author.

An act of the New York legislature, approved by the governor on April 30, makes important changes in the law relative to the divisions of history and of public records in the education department of the state.



The functions of the division of history are broadened to include the preparation for publication of any manuscripts which, in the judgment of the state historian, are worthy of preservation, whether official records of the state or of its civil subdivisions or manuscripts possessed by chartered historical and patriotic societies. In every instance, however, authorization must come from the commissioner of education. The education department is given supervision and custody of the records of any extinct office, board, or institution, and the officers of the local divisions of the state are authorized to transfer to the custody of the department any records not in general use. The division of public records, at the head of which is a supervisor, is given supervision over the making and preservation of records and may enforce its recommendation in the courts. Public records no longer in current use may be destroyed only with the consent of the commissioner of education.

The *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* for April contains the addresses of Mr. James Bryce, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, and Mr. Joseph H. Choate at a meeting of the society on December 14. Miss Elizabeth Simpson contributes to this issue a letter written by Asa Wheeler, a soldier, from Van Schaick's Island, September 5, 1777. The records of the Reformed Church at Machackemeck (Deerpark) are continued, as are also the several genealogical series.

*The Origin and History of Grace Church, Jamaica, Long Island*, by Rev. Horatio Oliver Ladd, long rector of the church, is announced for publication by the author. The history of the church, which was ministered to for nearly one hundred years by the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, goes back to the end of the seventeenth century. The book is understood to include much of personal as well as religious history.

Dr. William E. Chancellor has produced a short *Life of Silas Wright*, United States senator from New York, 1833-1844, and governor of the state of New York, 1844-1846 (New York, W. C. O'Donnell).

The legislature of New Jersey, at its recent session, passed an act establishing a department of public records and archives, consisting of three commissioners appointed by the governor, to have charge and supervision over the public records of the state and of the several counties and municipalities as well. The governor has appointed to this commission Edwin R. Walker, William Nelson, corresponding secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society and for the last thirty years editor of the *New Jersey Archives*, and Francis B. Lee. Unfortunately, no appropriation was made by the legislature for carrying into effect the purposes of the act, but it is expected that this omission will be remedied.

Volume LI. of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, by Dr. L. S. Blakey, is a discussion of Southern liquor legislation with especial reference to the distribution of the negro population. The study is entitled *The Sale of Liquor in the South*.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* for March prints a paper by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner on Kent County and Kent Island, 1656-1662, and various continued articles.

*The Land System in Maryland, 1720-1765* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, series XXXI., no. 1, pp. 106), by Clarence P. Gould, Ph.D., is a study of the Maryland land system in four aspects, the system of land grants, the charges on the land, the methods of management, and a separate study of the manors.

The *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, March 19, 1702/3 to January 31, 1711/2*, has appeared.

Of the contents of the April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* only the most summary notion can be given. The installment from the Randolph manuscript is a continuation of the Commission and Instructions to the Earl of Orkney for the Government of Virginia. A group of papers relating to Virginia in the period 1667-1676 includes the grievances of Virginia (about 1675), and several documents in the case of Giles Bland, relating to a Virginia estate. Among the council papers are some proclamations of Governor Nicholson in regard to trade, shipping, and public revenue (1699), instructions to him in regard to pirates (1697), martial law (1699), orders in regard to Scottish vessels in the West Indies (1699), a letter from the Privy Council to the governor, June 26, 1699, one from the Board of Trade, June 28, 1699, two proclamations of the king in regard to pirates (1699), and two in regard to the Huguenots (1700). This number of the *Magazine* includes also the proceedings of the society at the annual meeting on February 15.

Much of the contents of the April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* relates to the Civil War. An unsigned article (presumably by the editor), bearing the caption "The Breaking of the Light", discourses upon the growth of a more liberal spirit of inquiry in regard to the struggle between the North and the South, and the expression of more candid and generous views. The article is followed by some correspondence between Moncure D. Conway and J. M. Mason, in June, 1863, upon a proposition of Conway, in behalf of anti-slavery leaders, to withdraw support from the war in the event that the Confederate government would emancipate the slaves, and some extracts from the diary of Edmund Ruffin, 1863-1864, relating to the devastations of the war and touching upon the question of retaliation. In this issue are also an instructive paper on the Virginia Legislature and the Stamp Act, by E. J. Miller, Notes from the Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1712-1726, and a continuation of Mr. Lothrop Withington's contribution, Arrivals in Virginia in 1656.

Miss Mabel L. Webber contributes to the January number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* two lists of South Carolina Loyalists, the one taken from the Colonel Thomas Dundas

manuscripts, now in the Library of Congress, the other from the transcripts of memorials in the New York Public Library. An account of the Tattnall and Fenwick families in South Carolina is contributed by Mr. D. E. Huger Smith.

*The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, by Professor William W. Davis of the University of Kansas, is a recent number of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

In pursuance of a vote adopted by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at its last meeting it is intended to begin next autumn the publication of a journal to be called the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, devoted to such purposes as the title readily indicates. Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois is to be the managing editor. The editorial board consists of the following: Professors Eugene C. Barker, Walter L. Fleming, Archer B. Hulbert, James A. James, Orin G. Libby, Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Claude H. Van Tyne, and Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites.

The most important feature of the April number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is a "Diary of the Indian Congregation at Goshen on the River Muskingum from the 1 January to 30 April 1812", written by Rev. Benjamin Mortimer, who accompanied David Zeisberger to Goshen in 1798 and became a zealous worker among the Indians. The original of the diary is in the archives of the Moravian church at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Professor Frank U. Quillin has recently published *The Color Line in Ohio: a History of Race Prejudice in a typical Northern State*, in which he reaches the conclusions that the negro is less fortunately situated in the North than in the South in respect both to industrial and to civil conditions, and that race prejudice has increased since 1865 and always increases as the proportion of negroes in a community increases.

The legislature of Indiana has created a department of history and archives, to be a department of the state library, and has made an appropriation of \$2500 a year to carry on the work. The department will be under the direction of Professor Harlow Lindley.

Professor Harlow Lindley has brought out a report on the archives of Indiana which includes lists of documents in the principal state offices.

The March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a sketch of the career of James Noble, United States senator from Indiana, 1816-1831, by Nina K. Reid, and a reprint (from the *Indianapolis News* of January 4, 1908) of Charles M. Walker's "Concerning the Hoosier: an Appreciation".

The Illinois State Historical Society held its fourteenth annual meeting at Springfield on May 15 and 16. The meeting was in considerable measure devoted to aspects of the religious history of the state, particularly the attitude of important denominations toward the slavery ques-

tion. Rev. N. S. Haynes read a paper on the Disciples of Christ in Illinois and their Attitude toward Slavery, Mr. Willard C. MacNaul on the Baptists and Slavery in Illinois, Rev. John M. Ryan on the Slavery Controversy and the Methodist Episcopal Church in Illinois, Rev. H. D. Jenkins on the History of the Presbyterian Church in Illinois, and Rev. James J. Howard a Sketch of the History of the Roman Catholic Church in Illinois. Professor E. B. Greene discussed the public archives of the state, and Mr. Frank E. Stevens discoursed upon Stephen A. Douglas, the Expansionist.

The principal paper in the April number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is a study, by Jessie McHarry, of John Reynolds, governor of Illinois 1831-1834, and afterwards for several terms member of Congress. The paper is a thesis in the graduate school of the University of Illinois. Other noteworthy contents of the issue are: a study of Fort Kaskaskia, accompanied by several plans, by Dr. J. F. Snyder; and Major H. C. Connelly's Recollections of the War between the States, a continuation of the story of Morgan's raid, which appeared in the January number of the *Journal*.

Arrangements have been made whereby the remarkable library of Col. Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, rich in rarities and other materials for the history of Kentucky and the Old West, will pass into the possession of the University of Chicago.

The *Annual Report* (pp. 198) of the Chicago Historical Society for the year 1912 contains the usual extended accounts of the society's proceedings during the year, reports, etc. Among the manuscripts acquired are several letters of notable Americans, including one from Meriwether Lewis to William Clark, dated Philadelphia, May 17, 1803.

The legislature of Michigan at its recent session created the Michigan Historical Commission, to consist of six members appointed by the governor for a term of six years, the governor to be ex officio a member of the commission. The commission is authorized to appoint a secretary, who is to be the editor of the publications of the commission, to take possession of any records in state and local offices which are not less than thirty years old and are not in current use, and to co-operate with the Michigan Pioneer Society. It may in some particulars take over the property and functions of that society. The commission as now constituted consists of Mr. Clarence M. Burton, president, Mr. William L. Jenks, vice-president, Mgr. Frank O'Brien, Mr. Lawton T. Hemans, Mr. Edwin O. Wood, and Professor Claude H. Van Tyne. Dr. George N. Fuller of the University of Michigan is secretary.

Dr. George N. Fuller of the University of Michigan has in press a volume, *Economic Beginnings of Michigan: the Settlement of Michigan Territory*, which will be published under the auspices of the University of Michigan.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recently acquired the papers of the New York and Mississippi Land Company, a company formed in 1835 to buy up lands that had been allotted in severalty to Chickasaw Indians, who were about to remove to Indian Territory. There are six folio volumes of these papers, comprising more than one thousand letters and documents, extending from 1835 to 1884, the great bulk of which consists of the full and frank letters of the company's manager during all these years, whose residence was at Pontotoc, Mississippi. The letters richly illustrate the economic and social conditions and developments in Mississippi from the panic times of 1837 to the Civil War and afford glimpses of the politics of the era.

A number of separates from the *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin have appeared, which call for special mention. In "The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act" (no. 149) Professor F. H. Hodder offers a different interpretation of the motives of Stephen A. Douglas from that which has usually been accepted, maintaining that Douglas was controlled by devotion to the development of the West. "Captain Jonathan Carver: Additional Data" (no. 150), by John T. Lee, is intended to be supplementary to the Bibliography of Carver's Travels, which appeared in the society's *Proceedings* for 1909. "The Capture of Mackinac in 1812" (no. 151), by Dr. Louise P. Kellogg, devotes several pages to the early history of Mackinac before describing the events of the capture by the British. "Chapters in Fox River Valley History" (no. 152) comprises: I. William Powell's Recollections, and II. Pioneers and Durham Boats on Fox River, by John Wallace Arndt. The first of these items contains Powell's recollections of early days in Wisconsin as taken down by Lyman C. Draper in 1878, with which is coupled Powell's later statement, which he wrote out himself. The second item is condensed from Arndt's pamphlet *The Early History of Green Bay and the Fox River Valley: Personal Reminiscences*, published in 1894. In the article "House Miscellaneous Papers in the Library of Congress" (no. 153) Dr. A. C. Tilton describes the somewhat casual selection of miscellaneous papers of the House of Representatives which, by resolution of March 5, 1910, were transferred to the Library of Congress.

The Wisconsin History Commission has brought out *A Narrative of Service with the Third Wisconsin Infantry*, being the experiences of Major J. W. Hinkley. As here presented the story is compounded by the commission out of a diary of Major Hinkley, his letters, and a narrative written by him several years after the war, and in this final form bears his approval. *Civil War Messages and Proclamations of Wisconsin War Governors* (pp. xvi, 319), edited by Dr. R. G. Thwaites, has been issued by the Commission as *Reprint* no. 2.

The legislature of Minnesota, at its recent session, provided for the construction of an historical library building of modern type, to be

erected on a site adjoining the new capitol. The cost of the building is to be \$500,000, with an addition of \$75,000 from the Minnesota Historical Society for furnishing its library, portrait gallery, and museum. About half the building is at first to be occupied by the Minnesota supreme court and the state library, but it is expected that after a few years these departments will be provided with other quarters and this building be turned over to the exclusive use of the Historical Society. The society, organized in 1849, has taken especial care to obtain genealogies and works on local history pertaining both to the United States and to Canada, and has gathered files of nearly all the newspapers published in Minnesota since 1849, of which it now possesses 9641 bound volumes.

At the session of the general assembly of Iowa which closed in April the permanent annual support of the State Historical Society of Iowa was placed at \$20,000. This is an increase of \$4,000 a year over the amount previously appropriated for the society.

Among the various lines of research being carried on under the direction of the State Historical Society of Iowa is a thorough and comprehensive study of the history of education in Iowa, which is being made by Dr. Clarence R. Aurner. This work when completed will occupy five or six volumes. The society has in press a biography of James Harlan, former United States senator from Iowa and secretary of the interior under President Johnson, written by Mr. Johnson Brigham, state librarian of Iowa.

The following articles appear in the January issue of the *Annals of Iowa*: The Stampede from General Weaver in the Republican Convention of 1875, by James S. Clarkson; Some Characteristics of General U. S. Grant, by Major-General Grenville M. Dodge; Pioneer History of the Territorial and State Library of Iowa, II., by Johnson Brigham; and biographical sketches, by E. H. Stiles, of Henry O'Connor and D. C. Cloud, prominent in the early history of Iowa.

In the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* Professor Fred E. Haynes, in a paper designed as an introduction to the study of the third party movements in Iowa, discourses upon Forward Movements in Politics since the Civil War; Mr. Thomas J. Bryant gives an account of the Capture of General Marmaduke by James Dunlavy, an Iowa private cavalryman; and Mr. Jacob Van der Zee contributes a translation of the record of "An Eminent Foreigner's Visit to the Dutch Colonies of Iowa in 1873". The eminent foreigner was the Rev. Dr. M. Cohen Stuart, a Hollander, who journeyed through portions of the United States in 1873 and published his impressions in a bulky volume, *Zes Maanden in Amerika*. The translation presented by Mr. Van der Zee is of that part of the book which relates to Iowa. Mr. Van der Zee also contributes to this issue of the *Journal* an introduction and notes to a reprint (from 29 Cong., 1 sess., *Senate Doc. no. 1*, pp. 217-220) of the

report by Captain Edwin V. Sumner of his dragoon expedition in the territory of Iowa in the summer of 1845.

The *Missouri Historical Review* for April contains a second paper by Floyd C. Shoemaker on the Story of the Civil War in Northeast Missouri.

Professor Herbert E. Bolton contributes to the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* an account of Spanish Activities on the Lower Trinity River, 1746-1771, based upon materials in the Béxar archives, Lamar Papers, Nacogdoches archives, and transcripts from the archives of Mexico and Spain in Professor Bolton's personal collection. Alleine Howren contributes a careful study, from the Austin Papers and Mexican archives, of the Causes and Origin of the Decree of April 6, 1830. An important feature of the decree was its prohibition against Americans' settling in Texas. The correspondence from the British archives in this issue includes a letter from Kennedy to Aberdeen, June 9, 1843, accompanied by an historical abstract in reference to the Texan tariff.

In the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for September, 1912, Rev. J. N. Barry writes of the Trail of the Astorians, Mr. William Barlow presents Reminiscences of Seventy Years, and Mr. Walter Bailey an investigation of the Barlow Road. John C. Calhoun as Secretary of War, 1817-1825, a thesis presented to the department of history, Leland Stanford University, by Francis Packard Young, is a study of this period of Calhoun's career made from a variety of printed sources.

A. C. McClurg and Company have published a history of California by Henry K. Norton, under the title *The Golden State*.

Volume III., part 2, of Father Zephyrin Engelhardt's *The Missions and Missionaries of California* is now out.

Dodd, Mead, and Company have published *Hawaii Past and Present*, by William R. Castle, jr.

The Philippine Library of Manila, of which Dr. James A. Robertson is librarian, has secured by purchase the great collection of Filipiniana possessed by the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas of Barcelona. This new collection, added to what was already possessed by the library, will give it the best collection of Philippine material in the world.

The *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada* (vol. XVII., publications for the year 1912), edited by George M. Wrong and W. Stewart Wallace, covers in its usual judicious manner both books and magazine articles of importance. It is interesting to note the number and character of publications relating to Canada, as classified by the reviewers, which have appeared during the past year. Bearing upon the relations of Canada to the empire are 10 books besides many magazine articles; there are about 70 books and numerous articles relating to the political history of Canada as a whole and a like number to provincial

and local history; 55 to geography, economics, and statistics; 45 (including magazine articles) to archaeology, ethnology, and folk-lore; 27 to law, education, and ecclesiastical history; and 12 to bibliography.

The *Eighth Report* (1911) of the Bureau of Archives of Ontario contains the journals of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, 1805-1811.

A *Catalogue of Maps, Plans, and Charts in the Map Room of the Dominion Archives*, classified and indexed by H. R. Holmden, in charge of the Map Division, has been issued as no. 8 of the *Publications of the archives* (Ottawa, 1912, Government Printing Bureau, pp. xii, 685). The collection is naturally richest in maps pertaining to Canada, especially to New France, the province and city of Quebec, and Upper Canada, but there are also many maps of South America and West Indian islands, as well as of the United States and the whole of North America. The plans and charts are of great variety. In addition to the catalogue 83 pages of the volume are occupied with appendixes of geographical and historical interest: a translation of the *Ensayo Bibliográfico del Célebre Navegante y Consumado Cosmógrafo Juan de la Cosa*, etc., published in Madrid in 1892, by Cánovas Valledo y Traynor, together with an historical description of the chart of Juan de la Cosa, by Professor Traynor; S. E. Dawson's Memorandum upon the Cabot map (from the *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1897, pp. 102-105), in English and French; legends in Latin and Spanish on the map, with English translation (*ibid.*, pp. 106-123), to which is added a French translation; and a reprint of the legends and description (28 pages) of the large scale map, made by order of General Murray (1763), of that part of Canada lying along the St. Lawrence between Cape Tourmente and the Cedars.

*An Early Canadian Impeachment* (Bulletin no. 7 of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, pp. 15), by D. A. McArthur is an account of the impeachment proceedings by the House of Assembly of Lower Canada in 1814 against Jonathan Sewell, chief justice of the province, and James Monk, chief justice of the Court of King's Bench for the district of Montreal.

Charles Scribner's Sons have published, in the South-American series, *Latin America: its Rise and Progress*, by F. García Calderón, with a preface by Raymond Poincaré, president of the French Republic. The translation is by Bernard Miall. The book contains frank and striking views of the United States.

*The Civilization of Ancient Mexico*, by Lewis Spence, has been added to the *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature*.

In 1882 the late Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, in his *Maya Chronicles*, printed portions of the books of Chilam Balam, native annals of Yuca-



tan. The University of Pennsylvania Museum has now brought out as one of its anthropological publications, with an introduction by Dr. G. B. Gordon, a photographic facsimile of *The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*, Maya text in Spanish transliteration from a manuscript of 1782, but of much earlier derivation.

Professor José N. Matienzo of the University of Buenos Aires has brought out *Le Gouvernement Représentatif Fédéral dans la République Argentine* (Paris, Hachette, pp. 380).

Don Manuel de Amat, viceroy of Peru, sent an expedition in 1772 into the South Sea Islands, and especially to Tahiti. Dr. W. F. Tolmie has discovered in the Archives of the Indies at Seville a complete journal of this expedition, which the Hakluyt Society intends before long to publish.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. Gay, *La América Moderna, el Gobierno Colonial de España en América, según el Dr. Zeballos* (La España Moderna, March); T. Jahr, *Nordmenn i Ny Nederland* [Anneke Jans] (Symra, IX. 1); K. Th. Heigel, *Die Beteiligung des Hauses Zweibrücken am Nordamerikanischen Befreiungskrieg* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 1912, 6); H. Keiler, *Zur Geschichte der Schiffahrtspolitik in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, April); R. W. Breckenridge, *The Constitution, the Court, and the People* (Yale Law Journal, January); M. Farrand, *The Election and Term of the President* (Yale Review, April); H. B. Fuller, *Myths of American History* (Munsey's Magazine, May); J. L. Hall, *The Religious Opinions of Thomas Jefferson* (Sewanee Review, April); C. F. Adams, *John Quincy Adams in Russia: Unpublished Letters* (Century, June); E. Lehr, *La Doctrine de Monroe: ses Origines, son But, ses Dangers, d'après une récente Publication Américaine* (Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée, XV. 1); A. Henderson, *Forerunners of the Republic*: III. *Isaac Shelby*; IV. *James Robertson and Pioneer Democracy*; V. *John Sevier and the Evolution of American Democracy* (Neale's Monthly, March, April, May); Ruth B. Hawes, *Slavery in Mississippi* (Sewanee Review, April); Rev. P. C. Croll, *Early Lutheran Annals in the "Far West"* (Penn Germania, March); Capt. A. Gleaves, U. S. N., *An Officer of the Old Navy: Rear-Admiral Charles Steedman, U. S. N. 1811-1890* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, March); Mrs. John A. Logan, *Recollections of a Soldier's Wife*, cont. (Cosmopolitan, March, April, May, June); Gamaliel Bradford, *G. P. T. Beaurcgard* (Neale's Monthly, March); Henry Watterson, *The Hayes-Tilden Contest for the Presidency* (Century Magazine, May); G. F. Edmunds, *Another View of the "Hayes-Tilden" Contest* (ibid., June); Henry Watterson, *Rejoinder to Ex-Senator Edmunds* (ibid.); C. O. Paullin, *A Half Century of Naval Administration in America, 1861-1911*, II. (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, March); Francis E. Leupp,

*The Passing of a Dynasty* (Atlantic Monthly, March); W. R. Riddell, *Upper Canada in Early Times: a Review* (Canadian Magazine, May); John S. Ewart, *Canada: Colony to Kingdom* (American Journal of International Law, April); Adam Shortt, *The Relation between the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Canadian Government* (Political Science Review, May).

## ERRATUM

In Mr. Charles Francis Adams's article, "Wednesday, August 19, 1812, 6:30 P. M.", page 521, note 11, the date of the death of Isaac Hull Adams should have been November 5, 1900.



